

PART III



THE
COMMON PLACES

THE GRACE OFFERED US IN
CHRIST AND ITS FRUITS

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI

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Peter Martyr Vermigli

Monergism Books

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CHAP. I. Of Predestination; Upon the Ninth Chapter to the Romans.

Least in disputing our talk might stray too far, which might easily come to pass, in so large a field of God's predestination, the tract whereof is very intricate, all that we mind to say, we will divide into four principal points; that is to wit, I will first diligently search out the nature and definition thereof. Secondly, what are the causes of it; for nothing can perfectly be known, which is not known by causes. Thirdly, what are the effects, which predestination bringeth forth in men; for there are many things, which by their effects are most plainly understood and perceived. Lastly, whether the power or force thereof be such, that it bringeth unto men necessity; and whether it either taketh away, or hindereth the liberty of the will of man; and whether it may be altered or changed. These parts being diligently discussed, we will then make an end of this discourse. And yet will I not promise of this matter to speak all that were to be spoken; for there are infinite things, which come to their mind that consider of this matter: only those things will I touch at this present, which shall seem most necessary, and are in greatest controversy; which being so compacted, it

shall not be hard for others, to gather else-where to themselves much more matter. But before we go to the definition of predestination, I am to dispatch two matters. The one is, whether it stand with true Christian religion, either to dispute or to preach of predestination; least that if it be not lawful, we should seem to do wickedly. The other, forasmuch as the Logicians teach, that the question, whether a thing be or no, naturally goeth before that question, whereby is demanded, what a thing is; that we break not that order, let us first consider, whether there be any predestination or no; to the end we may afterward the more safely define it.

As touching the former question, this is to be understood; that there are sundry elections of God. For there are some, which serve for the executing of some certain office, as to a kingdom, or to an apostleship: and others there are, unto eternal life. And these elections are sometimes separated asunder; for it happeneth oftentimes that he which is chosen unto a kingdom, is not straightway chosen unto eternal life: which also happeneth of the apostleship, as in Judas. Howbeit, sometimes they are joined together; so that whereas we speak of temporal election, we may also understand that the same is meant of the eternal. And after this sort Paul saith; that he was called to be an apostle, and severed from his mother's womb, namely to the apostleship, and preaching of the gospel: and yet together therewithal he understandeth, that he was predestinate to eternal salvation. Christ also said, that he had chosen his disciples, to go and to bring forth fruit, and that their fruit should remain: and yet together therewithal, He commandeth them to be of good comfort, for that their names were written in heaven. There is therefore, between these elections a great difference; and there is also between them a great conjunction: so that oftentimes the one is taken for the other. So Paul, by his wonderful wisdom,

transferred unto spiritual things those temporal things, which seem to be prophesied of Jacob and Esau in Genesis and Malachi.

2. Now, as touching this latter election, I see there have been many, that have judged this disputation is not meet to be touched; whose reasons, Prosperus, and Hilarius bishop of Orleans, sometimes disciple unto Augustine, do plainly declare in the two epistles which are prefixed unto the books of the predestination of saints; which epistles were upon this occasion written, that when Augustine writing against the Pelagians, touching the grace of Christ, had oft in his books urged many things of predestination; many of the brethren in France, and not of the meanest sort, were sore troubled and wonderfully offended. For they affirmed that by this doctrine, is taken away from such as are fallen, an endeavor to rise again: and to such as stand, is brought a slothfulness. For that they judged, that diligence should be in vain to either part, when as by the predestination of God it was already determined of them, that they being reprobate could not be restored again; and that they being elect could by no means fall away: and yet could not keep a constant and firm course, for as much as they were uncertain of their predestination. Therefore, seeing by this doctrine, industry is taken away, and only a certain fatal necessity doth remain; it is much better that this matter be left unspoken of. They add moreover, that it is superfluous, to dispute of that which cannot be comprehended. For it is written; Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counselor? So that their judgments was, that it should be taught, that God of his goodness would have all men to be saved: but in that all men are not saved, it hereof cometh, because all men will not be saved, and this (say they) is a safe doctrine.

But on the other side, this doctrine of predestination, taketh away all the force and use both of preachings, and also of admonitions and corrections. For if there be appointed a certain number of the elect, which can neither be diminished nor increased, then shall preachers labor in vain. For if the determination of God be immoveable, then shall there be an unsearchable confusion between the elect and the reprobate; so that none of this sort can go to the other, nor none of these other pass over to them and so in vain and unprofitable shall be all the labor and travel of such as are teachers. This doctrine also seemed unto them new; because the old fathers had written as touching this matter, either nothing at all, or very little; or else entreated of it after another sort. And for as much as, even unto Augustine's time, the church had without this doctrine, defended the doctrines of faith against heretics, they also could even then be content to want it: for they affirm, that such as teach this, do nothing else, but call men back to an uncertainty of God's will: which is nothing else, but to drive men unto desperation. All these things were objected unto Augustine; which if they were true, then should we rashly, and without advisement take in hand the treatise of this matter. But the reasons, with which Augustine defendeth himself, may also maintain our purpose: wherefore those things which we intend in this place to speak of, we will briefly gather out of two books of his; the one whereof is entitled, *De bono perseverantiae*: in which book, in the 14th, 15th, and 20th chapters, he confuteth those objections, which we have now made mention of; the other is entitled, *De correptione & gratia*; where in the 5th, 14th, 15th, 16th chapters he entreateth of the self-same thing.

3. First of all he marveleth, that those men should think, that the doctrine of predestination should subvert the profit and commodities of preaching; especially, seeing Paul the teacher of the gentiles, and preacher of the whole

world, doth in his epistles, both oftentimes, and also plainly and purposely urge that doctrine; as in the epistle unto the Romans, unto the Ephesians, and unto Timothy; yea and he saith, that Luke also in the Acts of the apostles, and Christ himself in his sermons maketh mention thereof. For Christ saith: Whom my father hath given me, those can no man take out of my hand; and, that Many are called, and few are elected. And in the last day he saith, that He will answer unto the godly, Come ye blessed of my father, possess ye the kingdom, which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. And, He giveth thanks unto the father, for that he had hidden those things from the wise men, and revealed them unto babes; because it was his pleasure so to do. In another place also; I know (saith he) whom I have chosen. Again; Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. And if Christ and the apostles, have in their sermons oftentimes made mention hereof; no man (saith he) ought to doubt, that this doctrine is against the fruit and commodity of preaching. He affirmeth also, that It followeth not, that although our will, salvation, and good works, depend of the will and appointment of God; therefore we should cast away all our diligence, endeavor, and care. For Paul, when he had said, that God worketh in us both to will and to perform; yet ceased not to give good counsel. And when he had written unto the Philippians, that God who had begun in them, would accomplish the work, which he had begun, that they might be blameless in the day of the Lord; in which words he attributeth unto God both the beginning and success of good works: yet in the self-same epistle, he wonderfully exhorteth them unto holiness.

Christ also commanded his apostles to believe, and yet on the other side he saith; that No man can come unto him, but he whom the father shall draw. He also saith; He which hath ears to hear, let him hear. And yet God

saith in the scriptures, that He would give them a heart from above to understand, eyes to see, and ears to hear. Wherefore these things are not repugnant one to the other; namely, that the appointment of good works lieth in God, and that the gift of them is to be hoped for at God's hands only; and that we also must put our care and endeavor to live uprightly and godly: for as we have before said, the holy scriptures teach both. Moreover, if for this cause, we should deny predestination, seeing after the self-same manner, the fore-knowledge of God is certain, and cannot be deceived; shall we therefore deny, that God fore-knoweth all things, if peradventure there be some which may be offended with this doctrine? And in his book *De bono perseverantiae*, the 15th chapter, he bringeth an example which happened in his time. He saith, that in the same monastery that he was in, was a certain man of a loose life, who when he was admonished of his fault, was accustomed to say; Such a one shall I be, as God hath fore-known me. And when he so spake (saith Augustine) he spake indeed the truth; but although his judgment was true, yet became he every day worse and worse: at the last also he saith, that he returned to his old vomit; howbeit (saith he) what manner of one he shall in time to come be, God only knoweth. Though this man abused the truth, yet will not therefore any godly man deny, that God fore-knoweth all things. And that this fore-knowledge of God, is no let unto good works, Christ declared, when he commanded his disciples to pray, when as yet in the meantime, he plainly told them, that God knew right well what they had need of. So then, fore-knowledge of God doth not call us back from desire to pray: for the things profitable and necessary, which God hath decreed to give us, he hath decreed to give them by this mean.

They also are deceived, which think that this doctrine is an unprofitable doctrine; yea, their sight is but small, and they understand not the profit thereof. Unto the godly it is very profitable, to the end they should not put any confidence, either in themselves, or in any other men; but should fix all their whole heart and confidence in God alone. Which thing undoubtedly, none can truly and from the heart do, but those which are fully persuaded, both that their salvation, and also their good works depend not upon themselves, but of God. No, we cannot acknowledge the gifts of God, except we understand from what fountain they spring. But that fountain is the free purpose, and mercy of God, given unto them, whom he hath elected before the constitution of the world. He which seeth not this, seeth not the goodness of God towards him. By this doctrine may men be brought, not to glory in themselves; but in the Lord: which they cannot do, that ascribe unto their own free will that little, whatsoever it be; for the which they say they are chosen of God: for they have in themselves whereof to glory. Over this, the scriptures will have us to be mortified, and to behave ourselves lowly; which thing, nothing more easily bringeth to pass, than doth this doctrine. The certainty also of salvation, which we defend, is by no other means made more manifest. And in the latter epistle to the Thessalonians, Paul willeth us for this cause, to give thanks unto God, that we are elected of God: but this can we not do, unless this also be wholly made plain and known unto us. Neither without this doctrine can the grace of God be sufficiently defended against the Pelagians; for they taught, that the election of God cometh by our merits. Free justification also should perish, except we be rightly taught of predestination. Seeing therefore this doctrine, being soundly understood, is unto so many things so profitable, no man ought to

count it unfruitful: and since it is set forth in the holy scriptures, it cannot undoubtedly be called a new doctrine.

4. But if the fathers, before Augustine's time, have not so diligently spoken of it, it ought not to be marveled at: for the occasions wherefore doctrines were the more diligently discussed, and searched out, were new heresies which often sprung up in the church. And for that before Pelagius time, no man had spoken against the grace of God; there was no need, that any man should defend it: but when there arose up a new error, it was necessary, that this doctrine should the more diligently be examined. And yet did not the fathers, which were before Augustine, always leave this thing unspoken of. For Augustine himself proveth that, in the 19th chapter of his book *De bono perseverantiae*. Ambrose upon Luke saith, that God could, if he would, of undevout persons make devout. And again he saith, that God calleth them, whom he vouchsafeth; and whom he will, he maketh religious. These things writeth he upon that place, wherein it is written, that the Samaritans would not receive Christ. He citeth also Gregorius Nazianzenus, who saith; that God granteth that the faithful both believe the blessed trinity, and also confess it. But whereas they quarrel that this doctrine is very obscure, and cannot be understood; but rather bringeth men to be uncertain of the will of God, he answereth; that indeed it is an obscureness unsearchable, if any man go about to seek out reasons of the judgments of God, why (other men being rejected) this or that man is chosen. But if so much be taught of predestination, as the holy scriptures do set forth unto us; those things are not so obscure, but that they might be manifest enough unto our faith.

Neither counsel we, that when a man doth anything, he should deliberate with himself of predestination; but rather refer himself unto the will of God,

expressed in the scriptures: and that everyone also ought to have a trust, that by predestination he is not excluded. Neither is this any let to preaching, that the number of the elect (as it is in very deed) is certain and immovable. For by preaching, we go not about to translate men from the number of the reprobate, into the number of the elect: but that they which pertain to the elect, might by the ministry of the word be brought unto their appointed end: which self-same ministry, as unto the one it is profitable, so unto the other it bringeth destruction, and taketh away from them all manner of excuse. But whether predestination and election unto salvation, may be said to pertain unto all men; so that God Will have all men to be saved, we will afterward in his due place speak of. Howbeit in the meantime Augustine willeth us not to conceal the truth touching predestination; because there upon hangeth danger, least by misunderstanding thereof, corrupt doctrine might be confirmed. Neither are those, which are of capacity, to be defrauded, for their sakes which are not able to attain unto it.

And forasmuch as out of this doctrine, many consolations may be had, it is indifferently to be set forth, both to the learned, and to the unlearned; although not always after one manner. For, unto some, milk is meet; and unto other some, strong meat. And this self-same thing may so aptly be entreated of, that it may satisfy both the learned and unlearned. Which Augustine himself did wisely accomplish, who not only disputed of this matter against the Pelagians very sharply; but also in his homilies and familiar sermons plainly and expressly handled the self-same thing unto the people; What (saith he) is more profound than the saying of John; In the beginning was the word? Or than this other; The word became flesh? In which sentences many may fall, and perniciously err; and yet notwithstanding, we must not cease to set it forth both to the learned, and

unlearned; but yet using therein a sundry kind of speech. We ought not so to preach predestination unto the people of God, as to say; Whether thou doest this, or doest it not, thou canst not alter the determination of God: and if thou be elect, whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not be removed from salvation: for these speeches easily hurt weak and unlearned men. It is the part of an unskillful or rather malicious physician, so foolishly and unaptly to apply a medicine, which is otherwise good, that it may be hurtful unto health.

But to set forth this doctrine profitably, and with fruit; the ends and commodities which we have before spoken of, ought to be regarded. And let all our speech be directed to this, namely that they, which are of Christ, ought not to put confidence in their own power and strength, but in God; and that they ought to acknowledge his gifts, and to glory in God, and not in themselves, and to have feeling of the grace and mercy that is given them, and that they are freely justified by Christ. Let them understand also, that they are predestinate, to be made like unto the image of the Son of God, into the adoption of children, and to walk in good works; lastly, to testify to them the assurance of God's good-will towards them. Further, everything hath his ears or handles, whereby a man may most aptly hold it; which if it should be taken by any other way, or part, will either fall from the hand, or else hurt him that taketh it. This have we gathered out of those books of Augustine, which we before cited; wherein he answereth to the objections of Hilarius and Prosperus.

5. Now rest two doubts to be dissolved; first, that they say, that we appoint a certain fatal necessity; secondly, that they think that men by this means are brought to desperation. As touching the first, if by fate or destiny they understand a certain force influent from the stars, and an impregnable

connection of causes, by which God himself also is restrained; we (and that not without just cause) will utterly renounce the name of fate. But if by that name they understand the order of causes, which is governed by the will of God, then cannot that thing seem to be against piety; although in my judgment I think it best, to abstain from that name, least the unlearneder sort should think, that we approve the feigning's of the Ethnics. Of this matter hath Augustine excellently well written in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, the eighth chapter; Neither by this predestination, are the natures of things changed, as touching necessity, and hap; as in the treatise of providence we have declared: nay rather, by the effect of predestination, that is, by grace, we are made free from sin, and made servants unto righteousness; which servitude is holy, and in the Lord worthy to be embraced. And so far is it off, that by predestination our hope should be broken or diminished, as even by it, it is most strongly confirmed. For Paul in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, when he had said; Hope confoundeth not: and had added, that Unto them that love God, all things work to good, confirmeth the same by predestination. For whom God hath fore-known (saith he) those hath he predestinate: and addeth afterward; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish, &c? And immediately; Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, &c. Wherefore we are not by this doctrine driven to desperation, but rather much more confirmed in hope, and by it is received great comfort. And undoubtedly, it is much more safe to commit our salvation to the care and providence of God, than to our own judgment. For we, as we are changeable, would every day, and every hour, destroy ourselves. But our salvation, forasmuch as it lieth in the hand of God, is most safe and sure. And to conclude, there is nothing that more advanceth

the glory of God, than doth this doctrine: wherefore we ought not to fly from this doctrine of predestination. And especially, seeing it is a certain part of the Gospel, which must not be received in part, but fully and wholly; and thus much as touching the first part proposed in the beginning.

6. In the other part we are to consider, whether there be any predestination; lest we seem to go about to set forth and define a thing feigned and imagined: not that ever any have been, which openly, and of purpose, durst deny the predestination of God; but for that there have been some, who have laid such grounds, as those being granted, predestination cannot stand. For some say, and amongst them especially Pighius, that In God is neither anything past, or to come; and therefore, he presently, that is, always predestineth and fore-knoweth. And he saith, that We are herein deceived, that we think, that God already, before, and in times past, hath predestinated some. Whereof are gathered many absurdities; Unto God (saith he) all things are present, therefore he always fore-knoweth, and predestineth: and thereupon inferreth, that it lieth in every man to be fore-known of God, what manner of one he is; and that it is in our power to be predestinate, to be even such as we ourselves will be. But this saying strayeth far from the truth: for although in God, there be no courses of times, neither with him is anything past, or to come; yet that creature, whom God fore-knoweth and predestineth, is not without beginning. Wherefore, seeing it is not coeternal with God the Creator, it followeth of necessity, that God predestinated the same, before it was brought forth: for predestination is of the number of those actions of God, which have respect to another thing. So as we must not fly the eternity of God; for in it men have no participation with God the Creator.

This may better and plainlier be understood by the time past. Therefore say thus; Certain men are now dead and gone, but unto God all things are present; wherefore God now predestineth them, and now also is it in their power, how to be predestinated. Here there is none so blockish, but that he seeth the absurdity: for they are not now predestinated, seeing they are already come to an end; neither lieth it in their power, either that the thing, which they have now received be not at all, or how it ought to be. And if their reason be so weak, touching the time past, how can it be firm of the time to come. But leave we this argument, which nevertheless is most strong; and let us weigh what the scriptures say. Doeth not Paul affirm of those twins; Before they were born, or had done either good or evil, that it was said; The elder shall serve the younger. And to the Ephesians, doth he not say, that We were predestinate before the foundations of the world were laid? These places and many other such like, do most manifestly declare, that these men are predestinate before they begin to have their being; which thing he that taketh from us, doth therewithal take away from us one great comfort, which we receive of this, that we know that we are predestinate of God unto glory, before all eternity. But let us consider to what end Pighius doth thus wrest these things; forsooth to this end, to confute this; that our doings are determined and appointed of God, before they be done. For then he thinketh, that the freedom of man's will should perish, and men should be left under necessity. This evil he thinketh may thus be remedied, if we say, that God doth all things presently. But he should have remembered, that in the prophets, and other scriptures, many prophesies are read, wherein things were determined and appointed, how they should be done before they were done. What shall we here say? Shall we think that those prophesies went not before those things which were to come? Christ saith,

that It behooveth that the scripture should be fulfilled: wherefore these fond imaginations are to no purpose. These men study only, with their lying inventions, to make dark a thing plain and manifest, as the fish stirreth the mud to hide and save itself.

7. Pighius also goeth on further, and saith, that The providence of God hath not prefixed unto men the time or kind, either of life or death; yea rather (he saith) that there have been many, which as touching the providence of God, might have lived longer, if they had not either by negligence, or intemperance shortened their life. For if these things were so determinate (saith he) a murderer, when he killeth a man, may be excused; because he hath executed the will of God. Verily I wonder that a man being a divine, could let such an old wives tale once come out of his mouth. As though the murderer, when he slayeth a man, hath respect to the pleasing of God. This only he regardeth, how he may play the thief, or accomplish his hatred or enmities: for how could he know, that this is the will of God, seeing God hath in his laws commanded the contrary? Doeth he think, that Judas can be excused of his wicked treason, because he had heard the Lord fore-tell his mischievous fact? Or shall Pharaoh therefore be excused, because God had fore-told that his heart should be hardened? Wherefore it is a foolish thing to bring in an excuse of sins, by reason of the determination which we affirm to be in God. But Pighius addeth also another argument; If our doings (saith he) should in such sort be determined by God, then should all our care, diligence, and endeavor be taken away: for what might it profit (saith he) to avoid thievish and dangerous journeys, or sailings in the winter, or surfeiting's, or unwholesome meats, if both the kind, and time of death, and such other like, be already certainly appointed of God?

Here cometh to my mind, that which Origin hath in his second book against Celsus, where he maketh mention of a subtle argument tossed between them which disputed of fate or destiny. A certain man gave counsel to a sick man, not to send for the physician; because (saith he) it is now already appointed by destiny, either that thou shalt recover of this disease, or that thou shalt not. If it be thy destiny that thou shalt recover, then shalt thou not need the physician; if it be not thy destiny, the physician shall nothing help the: wherefore, whether destiny have decreed, that thou shalt recover, or not recover, the physician shall be called in vain. Another by the like argument dissuaded his friend from marriage. Thou wilt marry (saith he) a wife to beget children; but if it be thy destiny to have children, thou shalt have them without a wife; if it be not thy destiny, then will it thereunto nothing profit thee to marry a wife: so that whatsoever destiny hath decreed, thou shalt in vain marry a wife. Thus did they deride and scorn fate or destiny: for they intended to show, in what absurdities men should fall, if they would defend fate.

Contrariwise, they which defended destiny thus dissolved these reasons; and showed, that those reasons should not trouble men. Wherefore they said, that the sick man might thus have made answer; Nay rather, if by fate it be appointed that I shall recover, I will send for the physician, because he professeth to restore health to the sick; that by his industry I may attain unto that which destiny hath decreed. And that other, which deliberated as touching the marriage of a wife, they imagined thus to answer; If it be appointed that I shall have children forasmuch as that can come by no other means, but by the coupling of man and woman, I will marry a wife, that destiny may take place. Let Pighius also think, that these answers may serve against him; for him also do the holy scriptures openly reprove. For unto

the life of Hezekiah were added 15 years, and to the captivity of Babylon were prescribed 70 years. And Christ saith, that All the hairs of our head are numbered; and that Not so much as a sparrow shall light upon the ground without the will of God.

8. That also is childish, which he addeth; namely, that our prayers should be in vain, if the events of things were certainly appointed. Of these things we have spoken in another place; that God hath not only decreed, what he will give unto us; but also hath determined means, whereby he will have us to attain unto them. So Christ saith, that God knoweth what we have need of, and yet nevertheless admonisheth us to pray. This is nothing else than to lead away a man from the providence of God: for that providence is not new, but an eternal disposition of things. Unto the death of Christ, both the place, and time, and manner, was prescribed and revealed in the foresayings of the prophets; and that it could not otherwise come to pass, Christ himself saith; Mine hour is not yet come. And that which was true in Christ, how can it be denied in others? We grant, that in the stars are long before seen the reasons and causes of winds, showers, tempests, fairness of weather, and dryness; and shall we not affirm those causes to be in God, who infinitely comprehendeth more things, than heaven doth? And the scriptures do not only speak manifestly of that which we a little before rehearsed, as touching the twins, that Before they were born, or had done good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger: and Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated: but spake it also of the time to come; I will have mercy, on whom I will have mercy. Also; Not of works, but of him that calleth, that the purpose should remain according to election. And in Deuteronomy it is written; He chose their seed after them. Unto David was appointed a posterity, even to the coming of Christ; and when he had committed sin, it

was told him, that The sword should not depart from his house; and that his wives should openly be deflowered by the nearest of his blood. And of Jeremiah, it is written; Before that I framed thee in the womb, I knew thee. Christ saith, that The elect also should be deceived, if it were possible: and, That as many as were given him of his father, no man should be able to pluck out of his hand. And in the Acts, we read; They believed, as many as were ordained to eternal life.

God also is compared with a potter, who undoubtedly, before he beginneth to work, casteth in his mind what kind of vessel he will frame. And a little before; Whom he fore-knew, those also hath he predestinate, to be made like unto the image of his son. Predestination is set in the former place, and afterward followeth the conformity to the image of the son of God. And in the Acts we read, that The Jews took Christ, and crucified him; according to the fore-knowledge and determinate counsel of God. What need we anymore testimonies? Paul to the Ephesians saith, that We were elected before the foundations of the world were laid. These things sufficiently declare, that we are not deceived, when we teach that the fore-knowledge and predestination of God, doth before all eternity go before those things, which are fore-known and predestinate: and that unto this determination this is no let, that in God's action, there is nothing either past or to come. By these things, which we have brought out of the holy scriptures, it is very manifest, that there is a predestination of God: which will appear, even by those things, which we will afterward make mention of. Now in the meantime it shall be confirmed by a reason, and that such a reason, as doubtless in my judgment, may seem to be a demonstration. The end whereunto we are made, far passeth nature; for that by our own power and strength we cannot attain unto it: so that we have need of God, to prepare

us, and to lead us unto it. Therefore Paul saith to the Corinthians; The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, neither have ascended into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Wherefore, seeing that of necessity, we must by God be brought unto the end, this cannot be done by chance, or rashly; but by the counsel of God, the which was appointed and determined, even from before all worlds.

9. Now, seeing that there is no let, but that we may come to the definition of predestination, I think it best to begin with that, which the Logicians call *Quid nominis*, that is, what the word signifieth. The Grecians call predestination προορισμόν, of this verb προορίζειν, which signifieth To determine and appoint before; for ὄρος is Terminus, that is, A bound or a limit: so as the elect are separated asunder from them that are not elect. The Latins called this *Praedestinatio*. For to destinate, is nothing else, but firmly in mind to determine, and constantly to appoint anything, or by some firm decree of the mind to direct a thing to some purpose. But predestination, which we speak of, may be taken two manner of ways: either as touching the bringing of it to the effect, as that Paul going to Damascus was converted to Christ, and by that means separated from the unbelievers: or in respect it is with God from eternity, before men are born. Of this, Paul writing to the Galatians, saith, that He was set apart to preach the Gospel, from his mother's womb, long before he was converted. And to the Ephesians also he saith, that We were predestinate before the foundations of the world were laid. And to the Romans, of the twins, he saith; Before they had done either good or evil, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. And we at this present speak of this eternal predestination of God: wherefore the other is nothing but a declaration of this predestination; therefore predestination may be taken both commonly and properly.

But forsomuch as God doth all things by an appointed counsel, and nothing by chance or fortune; undoubtedly whatsoever he createth or doth, he appointeth it to some end or use. After this manner, neither the wicked, nor the devil himself, nor sins, can be excluded from predestination: for all these things doth God use according to his will. Wherefore Paul calleth wicked men vowed to utter damnation σκεύη, that is, The vessels of God, upon whom he maketh open his wrath. And Solomon in his Proverbs saith, that God made all things for himself, and the wicked man also to the evil day. And of Pharaoh it is said; Even to this end have I raised thee up, to show my power in thee. Yea, if predestination be thus taken, then shall it be common to all things. Neither shall this word signify anything else, then the eternal ordinance of God, touching his creatures, unto some certain use of his. But the holy scriptures do not much use this word; but touching the elect only, although in the 4th chapter of the Acts we read; They assembled together, to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel had predestinated to be done. Which words yet, if they be referred unto the death of Christ, and unto the redemption of mankind, pass not the bounds of election to salvation. But if they have a respect unto those also, which assembled together against the Lord, they comprehend likewise the reprobate.

But now let us judge by the scriptures, as they for the most part use to speak. Wherefore the School-divines also affirm, that The elect only, and not the reprobate, are predestinate. That opinion will we also at this present follow: not because of that reason, which they bring; for it is a reason very weak, as we shall afterward declare in due place: but because I see the scriptures so speak for the most part. Wherefore in this treatise, under the name of predestination, we will comprehend the saints only. And for that cause I think Augustine entitled his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*,

that is; Of the predestination of saints, which signifieth the decree of God, whereby the saints are appointed to the communion of salvation: and unto predestination, by Antithesis or contrary position, is set reprobation. Thus far as touching the word.

10. Now, before we come to the true and proper definition, we must suppose certain things, of which the first pertaineth to the fore-knowing of God, which (as Paul testifieth) is joined together with predestination; For whom he hath foreknown (saith he) those hath he predestinated. And although in God, all things are one and the self-same; yet because of our capacity and understanding, those things that are attributed unto him, are by some manner of way to be distinguished. So as we must understand, that the knowledge of God extendeth further than his prescience: for his knowledge reacheth not only to things present, past, and to come; but also to those things which shall never come to pass; whether they be possible, (as men speak) or impossible: howbeit this prescience pertaineth but unto those things which shall come to pass: so that prescience requireth a will, which goeth before; for there is nothing which shall come to pass, except God will have it so: for otherwise he would let it. Wherefore God fore-knoweth those things, which he will have come to pass. Further, God doth not also predestinate all those, whom he fore-knoweth; for he fore-knoweth the reprobate, whom he knoweth shall be damned. But even as the prescience of God hath joined with it his will, and yet notwithstanding pertaineth to the knowledge or understanding of God: so contrariwise predestination, although it cannot be without fore-knowledge; yet it properly pertaineth unto the will: which thing Paul declareth to the Ephesians, when he teacheth; that We are predestinate according to purpose, by the power whereof God worketh all things, according to the decree of his will. By

these things we may, after a sort, see how predestination is joined with foreknowledge, and how it differeth from it.

Now let us see what it hath common with providence, or wherein it differeth from the same. This it hath common with providence; that either of them requireth knowledge, and is referred unto the will, and that either of them hath a respect unto things to come. But herein they differ; for that providence comprehendeth all creatures: but predestination, as we speak of it, pertaineth only unto the saints, and unto the elect. Besides this, providence directeth things to their natural ends; but predestination leadeth to those ends which are above nature: as is this; To be adopted into the son of God; To be regenerate; To be endued with grace; To live well; and last of all, To come unto glory. Wherefore we do not say, that brute beasts are predestinate; for they are not capable of this supernatural end: neither are angels now predestinate; for they have already attained unto their end. But predestination hath a respect unto things to come. Whereas we said, that providence pertains to all things; that may thus be proved, because nothing is hidden from God: otherwise he should not be most wise. And if he know all things, either he governeth all those things, or else he abjecteth the care of many of them. If he abject the care of anything, he therefore doth it, either because he cannot, or because he will not take upon him the care of those things. If he cannot, then is not he most mighty; if he will not, then is he not most good. But to deny that God is most wise, most mighty, and most good, were plainly to deny him to be God. So then it remaineth, that God's providence is over all things, which the scriptures in infinite places, most manifestly testify. For they teach, that the care of God extendeth even unto the leaves of trees, even unto the hairs of the head, even unto sparrows.

Providence may thus, by the way, be defined; Providence is God's appointed, immovable, and perpetual administration of all things. When I speak of God, I mean that he is endued with great authority, and that he is mighty. Administration signifieth, that his government is not tyrannous; but quiet, gentle, and fatherly. For tyrants violently oppress their subjects, and refer all things to their own commodity and lust. But God violently presseth no man, neither by this government getteth any commodity unto himself; but only communicateth his goodness unto creatures. And this administration extendeth unto all things; for there is nothing free from it, neither can endure without it. It is called, appointed; because it is joined with most excellent wisdom: so that it admitteth no confusion. It is immovable, because the knowledge of this governor is not deceived, neither can his power be made frustrate. It is also perpetual, because God himself is present with the things: for neither did he, when he had created things, leave them unto themselves: nay rather, he himself is in them, and perpetually moveth them; For in him we live, we move, and have our being. And thus much of providence.

Unto these things fate is also like, which word, if (as we have before said) it be taken for a certain inevitable necessity, which depends of the power of stars, the fathers have not without just cause abstained. But if it signify nothing else, but a certain connection of second causes, which is not carried rashly or by chance, but is governed by the providence of God, and may at his will be changed; I see no cause, why the thing itself should be of any man rejected. Howbeit, because there is danger, that error might sometimes creep in; Augustine thinketh best, that we utterly refrain from that word. We ought also to remember, that the love, election, and predestination of God, are so ordered in themselves, that they follow one another in a certain

course. First, to the knowledge of God are offered all men not being in happy estate, yea rather being needy and miserable; whom God of his pure and singular mercy loveth, those he careth for, and putteth apart from other whom he overpasseth, and embraceth not with his benevolence; and they by this separation, are said to be elected: and those so elected, are appointed to an end.

11. Augustine in his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the twelfth chapter, thus defineth predestination; that It is a preparation of grace. And in the twelfth chapter he saith; that The same is a foreknowledge, and a preparation of the gifts of God, whereby they are certainly delivered, which are delivered: but the rest are left in the mass or lump of perdition. In another place, he called it, The purpose of mercy. The master of the sentences, in the first book, distinction 40, defineth it to be a preparation of grace in this world, and of glory in the world to come. These definitions I reject not; howbeit, because they comprehend not the whole matter, I will (as nigh as I can) bring another definition more full. I say therefore, that predestination is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he hath from the beginning, constantly decreed to call all those, whom he hath loved in Christ, to the adoption of his children, to justification by faith, and at the length to glory through good works, that they may be made like unto the image of the son of God: and that in them may be declared the glory and mercy of the creator. This definition (as I think) comprehendeth all things that pertain to the nature of predestination; and all the parts thereof may be proved by the holy scriptures.

First we take purpose for the general word; for that word is common both to predestination and reprobation. Paul unto the Ephesians saith; that We are predestinate according to the purpose of God. And in the epistle to the

Romans he saith, that The purpose might abide according to election. But what this purpose is, we understand by the first chapter unto the Ephesians. For there it is thus written, that God hath predestinate us according to his good pleasure. By these words it is manifest, that that is called his good pleasure, which Paul afterward called purpose. And that this purpose pertaineth unto the will, those things which afterward follow, do declare; By whose power (saith he) God worketh all things according to the counsel of his will. But by this will we ought to understand that will which is effectual, which they call consequent; whereby is brought to pass, that the predestination of God is not frustrate. This purpose we call most wise, because God doth nothing rashly, or by chance, but all things with most great wisdom. Therefore the Apostle joined predestination together with fore-knowledge, saying; Whom he hath foreknown, those hath he predestinate. [The purpose of God from the beginning.] This is therefore added, because predestination is no new thing; neither such (as many fain) that goeth not before things, or ever they be done. Paul saith in his later epistle to Timothy; Which hath called us with his holy calling, not according to our works; but according to his purpose and grace, which was given to us in Christ Jesus before the world was. Here we manifestly see, that with the predestination of God, is joined the eternity of times. And unto the Ephesians, We are said to be elect, before the foundations of the world were laid: whereby he hath constantly decreed. By these words we are taught, that the predestination of God is immutable; for Paul saith in the latter epistle unto Timothy; The foundation standeth firm; the Lord knoweth who are his. And in the eighth chapter, when the apostle would teach, that hope maketh not ashamed, and that they which had an assured hope should be saved, he bringeth a proof thereof by predestination, saying; Whom he

hath foreknown, those also hath he predestinate. And he addeth; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish? &c. And James saith, that With God is no changing nor variableness. And in Isaiah, God crieth; I am God, and am not changed. And in the epistle to the Romans the 11th chapter, where is entreated of predestination, Paul saith; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But whereas God in Jeremiah the 18th chapter saith; that He would change his sentence, which he had threatened unto many nations, so that they would repent; that is not to be understood of predestination, but of those things which are fore-told shall come to pass, by that will of God, which they call the will of the sign: namely, when by his prophets he declareth unto men, either what their sins have deserved, or what hangeth over their heads by reason of natural causes.

12. [Whom he hath loved in Christ]. This we add, because whatsoever God giveth, or decreeth to give, that giveth he, and will give, through Christ. And as we have oftentimes alleged, Paul to the Ephesians saith, that We are elected and predestinated in Christ; for he is the prince and head of all the predestinate, yea none is predestinate, but only to this end, to be made a member of Christ. [To call into the adoption of children.] So Paul in a manner everywhere speaketh, and especially in the first chapter to the Ephesians, for there he saith, that We are predestinate, to the adoption of children. And that calling followeth straight way after predestination, those words which we have already alleged do declare; Whom he hath predestinate, those also hath he called. [To justification by faith.] That unto calling is adjoined justification, Paul by these self-same words teacheth; Whom he hath called, those also hath he justified. [Unto glory, by good works.] This also Paul teacheth in the self-same place; Whom he hath

justified (saith he) those also hath he glorified. And that this glory shall follow by good works, and that we are predestinate unto those good works, that place unto the Ephesians, which we have already often cited, manifestly proveth. For first he saith; that We are predestinate, that we should be holy and blameless before God. Afterward he saith, that God hath prepared good works, wherein we should walk.

[That they may be made like unto the image of the son of God.] This image indeed is begun in us by regeneration, when we are justified; and in them that are of full age, it groweth daily to perfection by good works, and is fully finished in the eternal glory. But in infants this likeness hath place, while that it is begun by regeneration, and is finished in that last glory. Howbeit in them, for want of age, are not required good works. [That in them might be declared the mercy and goodness of the Creator.] This is the last end of predestination, shadowed unto us by Paul in the similitude of the potter, which hath power to make one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor: so God hath prepared his vessels to glory, that in them he might declare his glory. By this definition we gather, that God hath predestinate unto the elect, not only glory, but also good works; that is, means whereby he will have his elect come unto glory. By this we may see, how foully they are deceived, which live wickedly; and yet in the meantime boast that they are predestinate. For the scriptures teach, that men, according unto the predestination of God, are not brought unto glory by wicked facts and naughty deeds, but by virtuous life and manners. Neither are they to be harkened unto, which cry out; Howsoever I live, the predestination of God shall have his effect. For this is utterly to be ignorant what predestination is, and impudently to go about to abuse it.

13. Now that we have severally, after this manner, examined this definition by his parts; let us gather thereout certain things not unprofitable. First this, that predestination is a work of God, and is to be placed in the purpose of God: for although men are said to be predestinate, yet must we not appoint predestination in them. So likewise things are said to be perceived, and known; when as yet in them is neither knowledge nor perceiving, but only in the man that knoweth them. Wherefore, even as we can fore-see either rain, or cold, or fruit, before they come; so God predestineth men, which as yet have no being. For of relatives some are such, that of necessity the one cannot be but together with the other; as a father and a son: and some there are, whereof the one may be, although the other be not at the same time with it; as the former and the latter, knowledge and the thing to be known. Predestination therefore is referred unto this latter kind of relatives; which predestination yet, forsomuch as it is (as we have said) in the mind of him that predestineth: those things, whereto the predestinate are directed, namely grace, justification, good works and glorification, are in them which be predestinate: for these have no place, but in the saints. But in that we have put the effects of predestination, in the definition thereof; it is not to be marveled at: for this definition cannot be given, unless the correlatives (as they call them) be also expressed. Predestination is indeed defined, but of necessity there must be expressed and declared the ends, unto which men are by it directed. And therefore they are joined with foreknowledge; because God knoweth both the beginnings, and means, and ends of our salvation. This moreover is to be known, that when of the fathers (as sometimes it happeneth) predestination is called foreknowledge, that then it signifieth, not only knowledge, but also approbation: which (as we have declared) pertaineth unto purpose.

Wherefore we did what we could, to speak properly, to the end these things should not be confounded. Lastly is to be considered also, how in predestination, are knit together the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, which are his most chief proprieties. Purpose, which cometh of his goodness, is placed in the will of God. Foreknowledge declareth a wise preparation; for the will purposeth nothing, which is not before known. Lastly, when it is come to be put in execution, then is power present.

14. And now, because things contrary pertain to one and the self-same knowledge; and the one of them serveth much to the knowledge of the other; even as we have defined predestination, so also will we define reprobation. I said before, that I was of the same mind that the Schoolmen are; namely, that the reprobate are not predestinate: not for that I judged their reasons to be so firm, but because the scriptures use so to speak for the most part. This is their reason, because predestination directeth not only to the end, but also unto the means which lead to the end. But forasmuch as sins are the means, by which men are damned; they say that God cannot be named to be the cause of them. Undoubtedly, if we will speak uprightly and properly, God cannot be said to be the cause of sins, whom yet we can in no wise utterly exclude from the government and ordering of sins: for he is the cause of those actions, which to us are sins; although as they are of God, they are mere justice: for God punisheth sins by sins. Wherefore sins, as they are punishments, are laid upon men by God, as by a just judge. Besides, it is God which withdraweth his grace from men; which being withdrawn, it cannot be chosen, but that they must fall. And forasmuch as through his agitation or stirring up, all we both live and move; doubtless all the works which we do, must needs in a manner be done by his impulsions. Although thereof followeth not, that he should pour into us any new

naughtiness: for we have naughtiness abundantly enough of ourselves, both by reason of original sin; and also because the creature, if it be not holpen by God, of itself it declineth without measure and end, to worse and worse.

Furthermore God, and that undoubtedly by justice, ministereth unto the reprobate, and unto the wicked, occasions of sinning; and wonderfully bendeth the hearts of men, not only to good, but also (as Augustine saith) by his just judgment to evil. Yea, also he useth the malice of men, will they or just they, unto those ends, which he hath purposed unto himself. And the holy scriptures stick not to say, that God delivereth men into a reprobate sense, and maketh them blind, and seduceth them; and many other such things: and yet for all this, he cannot be truly called the cause of sins, seeing we have the true cause of sins sufficient in ourselves. So as that reason of the Schoolmen is not firm, neither cleaveth it to a very sure foundation. Howbeit, I therefore separate the reprobate from the predestinate; because the scriptures nowhere (that I know of) call men that shall be damned predestinate. Which sentence, though I saw no reason why, yet would I judge is to be followed; because of the authority of the word of God. Howbeit, I think that the holy scriptures so speak; for that (as we have before said) predestination hath a regard unto those ends, unto which we cannot by nature attain: such as are justification, good life, and glorification: by which God exalteth us far above all strength and power of nature. But the sins, for which we are damned, although they are not excluded from the government of God; namely, after that manner, as we have already declared; yet do they not pass the strength of our nature: for every man of himself is prone enough to sin.

15. Wherefore reprobation is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he hath before all eternity, constantly decreed without any injustice, not to

have mercy on those whom he hath not loved, but hath overhipped them; that by their just condemnation, he might declare his wrath towards sins, and also his glory. The former parts of this definition are already declared, when we defined predestination, even unto that part [without any injustice:] which part is therefore added, because God doth injury unto no man; although he bestow not his mercy upon some: for he is not bound unto any man by any law; neither is he compelled of duty, to have mercy upon any man. Wherefore God answereth in the Gospel; Is thine eye wicked, because I am good? Is it not lawful for me to do with mine own what I will? The self-same hath Paul taught by the power of the potter. And yet he affirmeth, that there is not therefore any injustice in God; for here is entreated of mercy, and not of justice. And unto Moses was answered in Exodus; I will have mercy, on whom I will have mercy, &c. I will not have mercy on them, &c. By those words is signified, that all men are of their own nature in misery: for mercy is bestowed upon none, but upon them that are in misery. Out of this misery God delivereth some; and those he is said to love: other some he overpasseth, and them he is said to hate; for that he hath not mercy on them, that by their just condemnation he might declare his anger and also his justice against sins. The damnation of these men is said to be just, because it is laid upon them for their sins. And yet we ought not hereby to infer, that sins fore-seen, are the cause why any man is reprobate: for they bring not to pass, that God hath purposed, that he will not have mercy; howbeit they are the cause of damnation, which followeth in the last time; but not of reprobation, which was from the beginning.

The last end of reprobation is the declaration of the mighty justice of God, as Paul hath taught; namely, that These vessels are prepared unto wrath: because God would show in them his power. And God answereth of

Pharaoh; Even unto this end have I raised thee up, that I might show in thee my power. A nearer end is damnation, which as it is just, so also is it allowed of God. And yet the nearest end are sins; for God commanded that the people should be made blind, that they should not understand, that they should not hear, Least peradventure (saith he) they may be converted, and I should heal them. For sins, although as they are sins, they are by God in his laws condemned; yet as they are just punishments, they are by him laid upon the ungodly for their ill deserts. But we must not stay in these nearer ends; we must go further, that we may at the length come to that end, which Paul hath set forth; namely, that The justice of God should be declared. And thus much hitherto as touching the first article.

16. Now let us come to the second, wherein must be sought the cause of predestination. Forsomuch as predestination is the purpose or will of God, and the same will is the first cause of all things, which is one and the self-same with the substance of God; it is not possible, that there should be any cause thereof. Howbeit, we do not therefore deny, but that sometimes may be showed some reason of the will of God: which although they may be called reasons, yet ought they not to be called causes, especially efficient causes. But that in the scriptures are sometimes assigned reasons of the will of God, may by many places be gathered. The Lord saith, that He therefore did lead about the children of Israel through the desert, rather than through shorter passages, through which he could have led them; because they should not suddenly meet with their enemies. Adam also was placed in paradise to husband it, and keep it. And God testified, that He would not then expel the Canaanites out of the land of Canaan; because they had not as yet filled the measure of their sins. Howbeit, although (as we have said) the scriptures use sometimes to bring reasons of the will of God; yet no man

ought to take upon him, to render a certain reason of that certain will of God, but that which he hath gathered out of the scriptures. For (as we are dull of understanding) so we might easily usurp our own dreams, instead of true reasons.

But that there are final causes of the predestination of God, we deny not: for they are expressly set down by Paul, and especially when he citeth that of Pharaoh; Even to this end have I stirred thee up, that I might show upon thee my power: but of the elect he saith, that God would in them show forth his glory. The material cause also, may after a sort be assigned. For men, which are predestinate; and those things which God hath decreed to give unto the elect by predestination, as are these; calling, justification, and glorification; may be called the matter, about which predestination is occupied. This moreover is to be noted, that the end may sometimes be taken as it is of us in mind and desire conceived; and then it hath the consideration of an efficient cause: for being so conceived in the mind, it forceth men to work. Sometimes also it is taken, as it is in the things; and as we attain unto it after our labors: and then properly it is called the end, because the work is then finished, and we are at quiet, as now having obtained the end of our purpose. But we therefore put this distinction, that if at any time we should be asked, Whether God do predestinate men for works or no? We should not rashly, either by affirming, or by denying, give hasty sentence: for the ambiguity is in this word [For] how it is to be understood. For if good works be taken, as they are in very deed, and are wrought; because God predestineth us to this end, that we should live uprightly, as we read in the epistle unto the Ephesians; to wit, that We are elected to be holy and immaculate: and, that God hath prepared good works, that we should walk in them; As touching this sentence or meaning,

the proposition is to be affirmed. But if that word [For] be referred unto the efficient cause, as though the good works, which God foresaw we should do, are as certain merits and causes, which should move God to predestinate us; this sense is by no means to be admitted.

It is possible indeed, that the effects of predestination may so be compared together, that one may be the cause of the other: but they cannot be causes of the purpose of God. For calling, which is the effect of predestination, is the cause that we are justified; justification also is the cause of good works; and good works, although they be not causes, yet are they means, whereby God bringeth us unto eternal life. Howbeit, none of all these is the cause, or the mean why we are chosen of God. As contrariwise, sins are indeed the causes why we are damned; but yet not why we are reprobate of God. For if they were the cause of reprobation, no man might be chosen. For the condition and estate of all men is alike; since we are all born in sin. And when at any time Augustine saith, that Men are justly reprobate for their sins; he understandeth, together with reprobation, the last effect thereof: namely damnation. But we may not so speak, if by reprobation, we understand the purpose of God not to have mercy; for that purpose is no less free, than the other purpose of showing mercy.

17. These things being now thus declared, we will assign reasons, why we deny that good works foreseen, are the causes of predestination. The first is, because the scriptures nowhere so teach: but of so weighty a matter we ought to affirm nothing without the holy scriptures. Howbeit I know, that certain have gone about to gather this sentence out of the second epistle to Timothy, where it is thus written; In a great house are vessels of gold, silver, and wood: and if any man shall cleanse himself from these, he shall be a vessel to honor, and fit for every good work. Hereby they conclude, that

certain are therefore destined to be vessels of honor; because they have cleansed themselves from the filthiness of sin, and from corrupt doctrine. And because they are here said, to have power to perform this; they say that it lieth in every man to be predestinate of God unto felicity. But these men make no good collection; for the meaning of Paul in that place is thus to be taken. He had said before; The foundation standeth firm, The Lord knoweth who are his. As if he should have said; Men may sometimes be deceived, for they oftentimes judge those to be godly, which are furthest off from godliness. In which words he reproveth Hymenaeus and Philetus; for a little before he had spoken of their perverse doctrine: for they taught, that the resurrection was done already. Wherefore Paul would not that men should be judged, as they appear to be at the first sight: for God hath in this world, as it were in a great house, vessels, some of gold, some of silver, some of wood, and some of clay: and he knoweth best which of these are to honor, and which are to dishonor. But we which know not, nor do understand the secretness of his will, can judge of them but only by the effects; that whosoever is clean from corrupt doctrine, and liveth godly, the same is a vessel unto honor.

Neither doth this place prove that men can cleanse themselves, or make themselves vessels of honor: for as Paul hath taught us, in the Epistle to the Romans; It is God only, which bringeth this to pass: for he, as it were a potter, hath power of one and the self-same mass or lump, to make one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor. Wherefore this place interpreteth the other. And therefore, we ought not to gather more of those words of Paul, than that such cleansing is a token, whereby we judge of the worthiness, or of the unworthiness of the vessels in the church. It is God, which knoweth truly what manner of one every man is, and his foundation

standeth firm; for it cannot be deceived: but we can judge of others, only by certain tokens and effects. And this is it, which Christ admonisheth; By their fruits ye shall know them. Neither do they rightly understand the Apostle, which by these words (If a man keep himself clean from these things) teach, that it lieth in our will, to make ourselves vessels of honor. For the strength of our free will is not proved by conditional propositions, so that we should thus infer: The holy scriptures teach, that if ye shall do this, or that; or if ye shall believe, ye shall have salvation; wherefore, we can of ourselves believe, or live godly. Such conclusions are weak: for God, in another place teacheth, that He will make us able to walk in his ways. Precepts therefore, and exhortations, and conditions, are to that end added; that we should understand what is required at our hands, and what manner of persons they shall be, which pertain unto God, and shall obtain eternal life.

Wherefore we ought not out of these places to gather, what our own power and strength is able to do. But it is easy to declare, why men that are purged of God, are notwithstanding said to purge themselves. For God worketh not in men as stocks and stones; for stones are moved without sense and will. But God, when he regenerateth men, so cleanseth and reneweth them, that they themselves both understand those things which they do, and also above all things desire and will the same, after they have once received a fleshy heart for their stony heart. So then, after they are once regenerate, they are made workers together with God; and of their own accord they bend themselves to holiness, and unto pureness of life. God by Moses commanded the Israelites to sanctify themselves: and yet in another place he manifestly testifieth, that it is he, which sanctifieth the people. And Paul unto the Corinthians saith, that Christ was made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and sanctification. God also commandeth us to

believe; and yet the scriptures else-where testify, that Faith is the gift of God.

18. By all these things therefore it is very manifest, how little this place maketh for our adversaries, which way soever they turn themselves. Besides all this, the scriptures do not only teach, that predestination is not of works foreseen, but also plain contrary. For Paul pronounceth of those twins; Before they were born, or had done either good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger: Also; Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated; that it should not be of works, but of him that calleth. Wherefore he denieth, that either the love or hatred of God cometh of works. But they are worthy to be laughed at, which cavil; that Paul indeed excluded works already done, but not those which are to be done. For they see not, that Paul in this place goeth about to remove all manner of difference from those two brethren; that we might fully understand, that they were altogether like as touching themselves. For when he declared, that they were born of one father and mother, that they were brought forth also both at one burden; his meaning tended to no other end, but unto this; by their equality to show, that the election of God is free, so that it lay in him to elect the one, and to reject the other. But if the difference were left only in works foreseen, then should Paul in vain have put so great an equality. Wherefore Paul speaketh generally; Not of works. In which words he comprehendeth, as well works to be done, as works already done. And that we might the more surely understand this, he addeth; But of him that calleth. Wherefore Paul sendeth us unto God, and not unto works.

And if a man diligently mark all those things which follow in that chapter, you shall see, that the apostle draweth those things, which he teacheth of predestination, to these principal points; namely unto power: for he saith;

Hath not the potter power? Unto purpose or good pleasure; for unto the Ephesians he useth both words. Unto will; for he saith, He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. Unto mercy or love; for he saith, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Also; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. Seeing Paul, what cause soever either here, or in any other place he giveth of predestination, reduceth the same to these four principal points; can we doubt of his meaning? Or shall we take upon us to give sentence otherwise? But as touching works, he speaketh not so much as one word, wheresoever he entreateth of this matter; but only to exclude them. Further, consider this, that there is nothing more against the scope and meaning of Paul, than to put works foreseen to be the causes of predestination: for by that means, works should be the causes of justification: but that doctrine the apostle doth by all manner of means oppugn.

And hereby I prove this reason to be firm, because the apostle maketh predestination the cause of calling, and calling the cause of justification. Wherefore if works be the causes of predestination, they shall also be causes of justification. For this is a firm rule among the Logicians; Whatsoever is the cause of any cause, is also cause of the effect. Further, no man can deny, but that good works proceed of predestination; for We are said to be predestinate, that we should be holy and blameless. And; God by predestination hath prepared good works, in which we should walk. And Paul himself confesseth, that He obtained mercy, to the end he should be faithful. Wherefore if works be the effects of predestination, how can we then say, that they are the causes thereof; and chiefly those kind of causes, which are called efficient causes? For that use of free will is nothing worth, which they so often brag of; as though we have it of ourselves, and not of

the mercy of God. For Paul saith, that It is God which worketh in us both to will and to perform. And God in Ezekiel saith; I will take away from them their stony heart, and will give them a heart of flesh. We cannot (saith Paul) think any good thing of ourselves, as of ourselves. And if we had in ourselves that good use, which they speak of, what should let, but that we might glory thereof? Undoubtedly the Lord saith; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him. And Jerome against the Pelagians, very well writeth, that they which are said to be drawn, are by that word signified, to have been before froward, resisting, and unwilling; but afterward God so worketh, that he changeth them. This self-same thing also, doth the nature of grace prove: for Paul saith; that The remnants might be saved, according to the free election of grace, which is to say, according to free election; for so is the genitive case after the Hebrew phrase to be resolved.

19. Further, in the definition of predestination, in the first place, we have put this word purpose; which seeing it signifieth nothing else (as we have taught out of the epistle unto the Ephesians) but the good pleasure of God, thereby it evidently appeareth, that we may not elsewhere seek the cause of predestination. Moreover, works cannot be the causes of our calling, and much less of our predestination: for predestination goeth before calling. And that works are not the causes of calling, it is declared by the epistle unto Timothy; God hath called us (saith Paul) with his holy calling, not by our works, but according to his purpose, and the grace which we have in Christ before the world was. Hereby it most manifestly appeareth, that works are not the causes of our calling. Yea neither also are works the causes of our salvation; which yet were far more likely: for by good works God bringeth us to felicity. But Paul to Titus saith, that God hath saved us, not by the works of righteousness, but according to his mercy. Further, what

needed Paul after this disputation to cry out; O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out? For if he would have followed these men's opinion, he might with one poor word have dispatched the whole matter, and have said; that some are predestinate, and othersome rejected, because of the works which God foresaw should be in both of them. Those men Augustine in mockage, called sharp witted men, which so trimly and so easily saw those things that Paul could not see.

But say they, The Apostle in this place assoileth this question. But it is absurd so to say, especially, seeing that he brought it in of purpose; and the solution thereof served very much unto that which he had in hand. And how (in God's name) can he seem not to have assoiled the question, when he reduced that even unto the highest cause; namely, unto the will of God, and therewithal sheweth, that we ought not to go any further? When God had appointed limits, at the foot of the mount Sina; if any man had gone beyond those limits, he was by the law punished. Wherefore let these men beware, with what boldness they presume to go further than Paul would they should. But they say, that the apostle here rebuketh the impudent. Be it so, but yet this rebuking is a most true solution of the question: for Paul by this reprehension prohibiteth us not to inquire anything beyond the mercy and will of God. If these men understand such a solution, as man's reason may resolve upon, I will easily grant, that the question is not so assoiled: but if they seek that solution, which faith ought to embrace and to rest upon, they are blind, if they see not the solution.

20. But let us see what moved these men to say, that works foreseen are the causes of predestination. Undoubtedly that was nothing else, but to satisfy man's judgment; which yet they have not attained unto. For they

have nothing to answer touching an infant, which being grafted into Christ, dieth in his infancy; for if they will have him to be saved, they must needs confess that he was predestinated. But forsomuch as in him followeth no good works, God doubtless could not foresee them; yea rather, this he foresaw; that he should by his freewill do nothing. But that is more absurd, which they object, that God foresaw what he would have done, if he had happened to live longer: for man's judgment will not so be satisfied. For reason will complain, that some men are overhipped, and rejected for those sins, which they have not done, and especially in that respect that they should have committed those sins, if they had lived. For civil judges punish not any man for those faults which they would have committed, if he had not been letted: and that God is nothing moved with those works which men would have done, Christ plainly declareth, when he entreated of Corosaim, and Bethsaida, and Capernaum; If (saith he) the things which have been done in thee, had been done in Tyre and in Sidon, they had doubtless repented, and those cities had been at this day remaining, Behold, God foresaw, that these nations would have repented, if they had seen and heard those things, which were granted and preached unto these cities. Seeing therefore that they perished, it is manifest, that God in predestinating followeth not those works which men would have done, if they had lived.

Neither yet ought any man to gather out of this saying of Christ, that they by themselves, even by the power of free-will, could have repented; for repentance is the gift of God. But the meaning of that place is, that unto these men God used not those means, whereby they might have been moved. These men suppose, that even by nature itself there is a difference in men, which the election of God followeth. Neither consider they, that all men are born the sons of wrath: so that as touching the mass or lump, from

whence they are taken, there cannot be put in them any difference at all: for whatsoever good cometh unto us, that same without all doubt cometh from God, and from grace. And that in the nature of men, is not to be put any difference, the apostle declareth: for when he would show, that one of the two brethren was taken, and the other rejected by the freewill of God; first he used an example of Isaac and Ismaël: but since in these two it might be objected, that there was some difference, for that the one was born of a free woman, and the other of a hand-maiden: afterward he brought two brethren that were twins, Jacob and Esau, which had not only one and the self-same parents; but also were brought forth both at one time, and in one and the selfsame birth. And as touching works, there was no difference at all between them: for as the apostle saith; Before they had done either good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger. Again; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. What need was there, that Paul should so diligently allege these things, but to make these two brethren therein equal in all points, as touching nature? Which had been to no purpose, if still there had remained so much difference in works foreseen. So then it followeth, that whatsoever difference is in men, the same dependeth only of the will of God: for otherwise we are all born under sin.

21. Further, if there should be anything of ourselves which might move God to predestinate us, that should chiefly be faith. For Augustine also, when he was yet young, and was not so well and thoroughly acquainted with this question, thought that God in predestination and reprobation, hath a respect unto faith, and unto infidelity: which opinion, both Ambrose and Chrysostom embraced before. But this in very deed cannot be attributed, no not unto faith; for faith also cometh of predestination. For it is not of ourselves, but is given of God; and that not rashly, but by his determinate

counsel: which may be easily proved by many places of the scriptures. For Paul unto the Ephesians writeth; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, least any man should boast. And again in the same epistle; Charity and faith from God the father, through Jesus Christ. And in the epistle unto the Romans; As God hath divided unto every man the measure of faith. And unto the Corinthians; I have obtained mercy, that I might be faithful. Unto the Philippians; Unto you it is given, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. In the Acts; God opened the heart of the woman that sold purple, that she might give heed unto those things which were spoken of Paul. And in the 13th chapter; They believed, as many as were ordained unto eternal life. Christ also saith in the Gospel; I confess unto thee, O father of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto infants: even so, O father, because it hath so pleased thee. And in another place; Unto them (saith he) I speak in parables, that when they hear, they should not hear; and when they see, they should not see: but unto you it is given to understand. And unto Peter he said; Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee. And there are many other testimonies in the holy scriptures, whereby is proved, that faith is given and distributed by God only; so as it cannot be the cause of predestination: and if faith cannot, works can much less.

22. Moreover, no man can deny, but that the predestination of God is eternal: for Paul to Timothy saith; that God hath elected us before the world was. And unto the Ephesians; Before the foundations of the world were laid. But our works are temporal, wherefore that which is eternal, cannot come of them. But they use to cavil, that those works, in whose respect we are predestinated, are so to be taken, as they are foreseen of God; and by

this means they cannot seem to be temporal. Be it so, take them in that manner; yet can it not be denied, but that they are after predestination: for they depend of it, and are the effects thereof, as we have before taught. Wherefore after these men's doctrine, that which cometh after, should be the efficient cause of that which went before; which, how absurd it is, every man may easily understand. Further, the efficient cause is, of his own nature, more worthy, and of more excellency than the effect; specially in respect it is such a cause. So then, if works be the causes of predestination, they are also more worthy, and of more excellency than predestination. Over this, predestination is sure, constant, and infallible; how then shall we appoint, that it dependeth upon works of free will, which are uncertain, and unconstant, and may be wrested to and fro, if a man consider them particularly? For men are alike prone unto this or that kind of sin, as occasions are offered: for otherwise, if we will speak generally, free will before regeneration can do nothing else but sin, by reason of the corruption that cometh by our first parents.

So as, according to the mind of these men, it must needs follow, that the predestination of God, which is certain, dependeth of the works of men, which are not only uncertain, but sins also. Neither can they say, that they mean as touching those works, which follow regeneration: for those (as we have taught) spring of grace and of predestination. Neither do these men consider that they, to satisfy man's reason, and to attribute a liberty (I know not what) to men, do rob God of his due power and liberty in election: which power and liberty yet the apostle setteth forth, and saith; that God hath no less power over men, than hath the potter over the vessels which he maketh. But after these men's opinion God cannot elect, but him only, whom he knoweth shall behave himself well: neither can he reject any man,

but whom he seeth shall be evil. But this is to go about to over-rule God, and to make him subject unto the laws of our reason. As for Erasmus, he in vain speaketh against this reason: for he saith, that It is not absurd, to take away from God that power, which he himself will not have attributed unto him; namely, to do anything unjustly.

For we say, that Paul hath in vain, yea rather falsely set forth this liberty of God, if he neither have it, nor will that it should be attributed unto him. But how Paul hath proved this liberty of God, that place which we have cited, most manifestly declareth. They also to no purpose object unto us the justice of God; for here is entreated only of his mercy. Neither can they deny, but that they, by this their opinion, do derogate much the love and good will of God towards men. For the holy scripture, when it would commend unto us the fatherly love of God, affirmeth, that He gave his son, and that unto the death, and at that time when we were yet sinners, enemies, and children of wrath. But they will have no man to be predestinated, which hath not good works foreseen in the mind of God. And so every man may say with himself; If I be predestinated, the cause thereof dependeth of myself. But another, which feeleth truly in his heart, that he is freely elected of God for Christ sake, when as he of himself was all manner of ways unworthy of so great love, will without all doubt be wonderfully inflamed to love God again.

23. It is also profitable unto us, that our salvation should not depend of our works. For we oftentimes waver, and in living uprightly are not constant. Doubtless, if we should put confidence in our own strength, we should utterly despair: but if we believe, that our salvation abideth in God, fixed and assured for Christ sake, we cannot but be of good comfort. Further, if predestination should come unto us by our works foreseen, the

beginning of our salvation should be of ourselves; against which opinion, the scriptures every-where cry out: for that were to raise up an idol in ourselves. Moreover, the justice of God should then have need of the external rule of our works. But Christ saith; Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. Neither is that consideration in God, which is in men, when they begin to favor a man, or to love a friend: for men are moved by excellent gifts, wherewith they see a man adorned; but God can find nothing good in us, which first proceedeth not from him. And Cyprian saith (as Augustine oftentimes citeth him) that we therefore cannot glory, for that we have nothing that is our own: and therefore Augustine concludeth, that we ought not to part stakes between God and us, to give one part to him, and to keep another unto ourselves, to obtain salvation: for all wholly is without doubt to be ascribed unto him. The Apostle, when he writeth of predestination, hath always this end before him, to confirm our confidence, and especially in afflictions; out of which he saith that God will deliver us. But if the reason of God's purpose should be referred unto our works, as unto causes, then could we by no means conceive any such confidence: for we oftentimes fall, and the righteousness of our works is so small, as it cannot stand before the judgment seat of God. And that the Apostle, for this cause chiefly made mention of predestination, we may understand by the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. For when he described the effects of justification, amongst other things he saith, that we by it have obtained the adoption of children, and that we are moved by the spirit of God, as the sons of God; and therefore with a valiant mind we suffer adversities: and for that cause every creature groaneth, and earnestly desireth, that we at the length be delivered; and the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us. And at the last he addeth; That unto them that love God,

all things work to good. And who they be, that love God, he straightway declareth; Which are called (saith he) according to purpose. These will Paul make secure, that they should not think, that they are hindered, when they are exercised with adversities: because they are foreknown, predestinated, called, and justified. And that he had a respect unto this security, those things declare, which follow; If God be on our side, who shall be against us? Who shall accuse against the elect of God? First by this method is gathered, that the adversaries err much, supposing that by this place they may infer, that predestination cometh of works foreseen: for Paul, before that gradation, wrote these words; To them that love God, all things work to good: as though foreknowledge and predestination, whereof he afterward maketh mention, should depend of that sentence.

And to this sense they cite that of the Proverbs of Solomon; I love them that love me. Neither consider they (as we have said) that Paul in this place, intendeth to declare, who they are, unto whom it is given to love God, and to whom all things work to good. And those (he saith) are they, which by predestination are chosen of God. And as touching Solomon, we also confess, that those which love God, are again loved of him. But this is now in question, whether the love of God, whereby he embraceth us, do spring or grow from our love? This doth John by express words declare in his epistle; He hath not (saith he) first loved us, because we have loved him. The second thing, that we gather of these words of Paul is, that the predestination of God (if it be of this force, to confirm us, touching the good-will and love of God towards us) cannot depend of our works: for our works are both weak, and of very small righteousness. Again, this is to be considered, that Paul concealed not those causes, which might have been assigned; for he expressly sets down, that the mercy and justice of God may

appear. But when he cometh to the efficient cause, he will have us so fully to stay ourselves on the will of God, that he compareth God to a potter, and us to clay: in which comparison he showeth, that there is nothing which we ought further to inquire.

I know that the adversaries say, that that comparison is brought only to repress the malapertness of the demander: not that the matter on both parts is so indeed, for that God electeth men by works foreseen. But if it so be, how then by this similitude shall the mouth of murmurers be stopped? For they will say, If the justice of God require this, that election be of works foreseen, what needed Paul to say; Before they had done good or evil, it was said, The elder shall serve the younger? Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated. Again, Not of works, but of him that calleth, that election might abide firm, according to the purpose? And why is this similitude of the potter brought, seeing the thing itself is far otherwise; and neither doth God as a potter, all things after his own lust, neither are we as clay utterly without difference? Doubtless by this their reason the malapert questioner is not repressed: nay rather, there is offered an occasion of reproach; for that the similitude, which is brought, serveth not to the purpose.

24. There is also another sentence of Paul unto the Ephesians, whereby this our saying is greatly confirmed; for when he had said, that We are predestinated according to the purpose of God, he addeth; By the power whereof he worketh all things, according to the counsel of his will. But if it were so, as these men imagine, God should not work all things according to his will, but according to the will of another. For, as we should order our works, so should he moderate his election; and that is to be led by another man's will, and not by his own. This self [same] thing testifieth Paul to the Corinthians, saying; God hath chosen the foolish, weak, and vile things of

this world, to confound the wise, mighty, and noble. Look brethren (saith he) upon your calling; Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble. And in the self-same epistle, when he had described the former estate of the elect, and had reckoned up a great many and grievous sins, at the length added; And these things were ye, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified. And unto the Ephesians; Ye were (saith he) once without God, without hope in the world. These things prove, that the calling and predestination of God depend not of our merits. But as Augustine writeth unto Simplicianus; God overhappeth many philosophers, men of sharp wit, and of notable learning. He hath also overhappened many, which if a man have a respect unto civil manners, were innocents, and of life good enough. Neither is this to be marveled at; for if God to this end predestinateth, to make manifest the riches of his mercy; that is sooner accomplished, if he bring to salvation those who both resist more; and by reason of their deserts of life, are further from him, than if he should elect those, whom man's reason may judge more fit.

Hereof it came, that Christ gathered the flock of his disciples out of sinners, Publicans, and base men: neither disdained he to call unto him, thieves and harlots. In all which men, what consideration (I beseech you) was there to be had unto merits? Paul also writeth unto the Corinthians; We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed an offense, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them, that are called, both Jews and Gentiles, Christ the power of God, and wisdom of God. We see also in this place, where hence the apostle fetcheth the difference, when he affirmeth, that some think well of Christ preached, and some ill; for all this he saith cometh wholly of calling: for he saith; But unto the called. As if he should have said; They which are not called, have Christ for an offense, and for

foolishness; but they which are called, do both follow him, and also embrace him for the power and wisdom of God. In the prophets also, when God promiseth that he will deliver his people, he saith not that he will do it for their works or merits sake; but I will do it (saith he) for my name sake. From this reason Paul departeth not; for he showeth, that God by predestination, will make open the riches of his glory, that all men might know how little the Jews had deserved this election of God; that the nations being overhipped, they alone should be counted for the people of God. Which thing Stephen expoundeth in the Acts of the apostles, when he saith; that They had ever resisted God, and had been always stiff-necked. What good works then did God see in them, to prefer that nation before all other nations? Ezekiel notably describeth, how God looked upon the people of the Jews at the beginning; namely, as upon a naked damsel, and on every side polluted, and shamefully berolled in blood; I passed by (saith the Lord) and when I saw thee in that case, I had compassion of thee.

25. Further, let us remember what is the scope of the apostle in the epistle to the Romans: for if we will judge uprightly of controversies, we must not cast our eye off from the scope. The endeavor of the apostle was, that he might by all manner of means commend the grace of Christ. And this purpose can nothing more hinder, than to affirm, that the predestination of God; that is, the head and fountain of grace, cometh of the works of men. And if it be counted a fault in Orators, if in their oration they perchance rehearse things which would much hinder the cause that they took in hand; how can we suspect that the holy Ghost persisteth not in that which he began, but speaketh things strange from that which he purposed? Neither can we make any other reason of the members, than of the head, which is Christ Jesus. Seeing therefore that no man can doubt, but that the son of

God did freely take upon him man's nature; (for if the question should be asked, why rather he, than any other man, took flesh of the virgin Mary? There can no other reason be given, but that it so pleased him. For as touching works, any other man, born of any other virgin, might have had them, no less than he which was born of Mary. For whosoever had had the Godhead, as Christ had; truly he should have done the self-same works which Christ did.) Seeing therefore that that humanity was taken of the son of God freely, and of the pure and mere mercy of God: even after the self-same manner, whosoever are the members of Christ, are chosen freely, and without any merits of works. Finally, all those reasons, which prove, that justification consisteth not of works; the same also prove, that predestination dependeth not of works.

Now resteth to declare, whether Christ and his death, may be said to be the cause of predestination. Here we answer, that Christ and his death is the principal and chief effect of predestination. For amongst those things, which are of God given unto the elect, is Christ himself, and the fruit of his death. For whatsoever is given unto us by this way, and by this conduit, as it were, is derived unto us from God. And forsomuch as it is certain, that the effects of predestination may so be compared together, as one may be the cause of the other; but unto none of them agreeth to be the beginning of predestination: therefore we deny, that Christ, as touching his humanity or death, is the cause of our predestination, although he be the beginning and cause of all good things, which come unto us by the purpose of God.

26. I am not ignorant, that there have been some, which have gone about to reconcile together the sentences of the fathers, with this most true doctrine, which we have now by many reasons proved. For they say, that the fathers, when they write that predestination is of works foreseen; by the

name of predestination, do not understand the work or action of God, whereby he electeth or predestinateth any man; but rather the end and certain means: and that as touching them, nothing can let, but that works may be causes. For it is without all doubt certain, that the last damnation cometh of works, as the cause: and good works spring of faith, as from their head or fountain. I see indeed, that the intent of these men is not to be discommended, which labor to apply the sentences of the fathers unto the truth, as much as is possible; but yet that which they avouch to be true, cannot I affirm. For there are certain sentences of the fathers so hard, that they can by no means be drawn to this meaning: for they, to defend the liberty of our will, will not have all things to depend of the predestination of God; and of purpose say, that all wholly is not of God, but somewhat also is required of us. And they expressly write, that God electeth some; for that he foresaw that they would believe. They have also here and there many other such like sayings; so that I by no means can see, how their sentences can agree with our doctrine in this point. Howbeit Augustine fully agreeth with it; Jerome also disagreeeth not from it, although oftentimes in many places, he agreeth with Origin and others: but against the Pelagians he highly commendeth the sentence of Augustine touching this matter, and exceedingly alloweth his writings against this heresy. Seeing therefore that Augustine oftentimes used this argument against the Pelagians, it must needs be, that the same very well pleased Jerome now being old. And Cyprian, as we have before said, manifestly writeth, that There is nothing ours: wherefore it followeth of necessity, that it is all of God. But howsoever it be, there is no need, that we should now dispute much as touching the fathers. As in all other things, which belong unto faith; so also in this question we must give sentence according to the scriptures, not

according to the fathers. And this self-same thing even the fathers themselves required at our hands, which I in alleging of arguments have performed to my power.

27. Amongst the latter writers, Pighius being forced by the vehemency of the scriptures, granteth unto us, that works are not causes of predestination. For he confesseth that it consisteth freely, and of the mere mercy of God, with a respect (saith he) to works I think; least he should seem to have striven so much in vain. But if predestination be free, and do depend of the mere will and mercy of God, as the scriptures testify; why durst this man, of his own head, imagine this new respect of works? For the holy scripture, and especially Paul, utterly excludeth works from this matter. But Pighius, the more to bewray that his lewd desire of contending, bringeth certain arguments, which make nothing at all to this matter; That which in the blessed virgin, the mother of God, happened (saith he) touching election, ought in others also to take place; But she was not predestinated freely, but because of her humility, for she sang, Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaiden; Wherefore the self-same thing ought to happen in others. I marvel how this man saw not, that there is great difference between ταπείνωσιν καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην: for ταπεινοφροσύνη, is a virtue, which the Latins call *Modestia*; that is, modesty, whereby men have a lowly moderate opinion of themselves: the opposite to which virtue, is pride, or arrogancy. But ταπείνωσις is a vileness and baseness, which cometh unto men, either by reason of poverty, or by reason of base blood; or for other like things.

Wherefore the blessed virgin rejoiced, and praised God; for that he had advanced her to so great an honor, whereas she otherwise was base, obscure, and unworthy. For she was not (as this man dreameth) a setter

forth of her own merits, and virtues; to say, that she was therefore elected of God, for that she had deserved it through her modesty. And if thou diligently consider the course of that song, thou shalt easily see, that she ascribeth all her good things unto God; Thy mercy (saith she) is from generation to generation: and she addeth; He hath remembered his mercy: afterward with mercy she joineth the promises; As he spake (saith she) unto Abraham our father. But why saw not this good fellow, that the image of our predestination is to be set rather in Christ, than in the virgin? But Augustine saith, that The humanity of Christ was predestinated, and taken altogether freely and utterly, without any respect of good works.

28. They object also unto us the words of the Lord to Samuel; for he, when he should anoint one of the sons of Isaiah to be king over Israel, and had first brought before him Eliab the eldest, the Lord said unto him; This is not he whom I have chosen, have no respect to the tallness of stature. For men see those things which appear outwardly, but I behold the hearts. Lo, (saith Pighius) this place teacheth, that God is moved by the perfection of the heart, and not by outward properties. But in that history is not entreated of the eternal predestination of God, whereby he hath elected us unto perpetual felicity; there it is entreated only of the exalting of a man unto a kingdom. Wherein God hath set forth unto us a notable example, that when we will commit any office or function unto a man, we have chiefly a respect unto the ability and skillfulness which is required to the execution of that office; according to which doctrine Paul also to Timothy setteth forth unto us, what things are to be required in him, which should be chosen an elder or a bishop. God himself also, in the Old Testament, hath at large described, of what conditions he ought to be, whom he would have to be appointed a king. Unto which sense Peter also seemeth to have had respect, who, when

two were set before him, of which the one was to be placed in the room of Judas, he called upon God the searcher of hearts; for that he only knew the mind and heart of him, whom he would have to be chosen. And yet ought we not to think, that God findeth in men that heart, which he hath a respect unto; he rather changeth and maketh meet those whom he will appoint unto any office; as we know he did in Saul, of whom we read, that he was so changed, that he became utterly another man. For whereas before he was but simple and rude, he was afterward able to prophesy amongst the prophets: which for that it was new and strange, gave an occasion of this proverb; What! Is Saul also among the prophets?

Pighius moreover alledgeth, that of this our doctrine will follow, that men will seek the causes of their damnation, not in themselves, but in God; which is both absurd and wicked. But let this man consider, how this may be inferred of our doctrine; for we teach, that every man is subject unto sin, and therefore deserveth damnation. Neither ever said we unto any man, that he hath not in himself a most just cause of his damnation; yea, we both are, and always have been persuaders of all men, that when they will take in hand anything, they take counsel nowhere else, but from the will of God revealed: that is, out of the holy scriptures, and not of the secrecy of God's predestination. And yet doth it not therefore follow, that by this form of teaching, there is no use of the doctrine of predestination: for unto it must we then chiefly have a respect, when we are tossed with adversities; and when, through the very force of afflictions, we feel that our faith is weakened in us. This taught Paul in the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and therefore he added; If God be on our side, who shall be against us? Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish? &c. So then this doctrine is not so to be left, as though no man

can apply it unto himself; it must rather diligently be kept, till opportunity shall serve to use it. Neither is it a point of arrogancy, but of the spiritual wisdom, for a man to use it to himself, when need requireth.

29. Moreover, Pighius falsely saith, that those things, which we speak, are against the goodness of God: as though it should seem unjust, that God should elect unto himself a certain few; and in the meantime overhip infinite others. For this might show (saith he) some cruelty in God; especially if We say that he is offended, before that anything is committed against him. But it is meet (saith he) that the purpose of God should be reasonable; and yet of his justice can no other reasons be given, but only the works of them which are predestinated: neither can the justice of God by any other means be defended. Those things bear indeed a goodly show, but they further not much to overthrow that, which we have proved. For first, to entreat of the goodness of God; there is no creature, which can seem to be void of it: for God perpetually bestoweth many good things, yea even upon the wicked; for He maketh his sun to arise upon the good and upon the evil, and raineth upon the just and upon the unjust. And although he do not equally distribute unto all men, yet he cannot therefore justly be accused: for Christ answereth in the Gospel; May I not do with mine own what I will? If Pighius think it unmeet, that out of many, few be chosen; he picks this quarrel, not against us, but against God: for the scriptures manifestly teach, that Many are called, but few are chosen: and that of many nations, only the people of the Jews was taken of the Lord to be his particular people; and that even in that people, although the number of them were such, as might be compared with the sand of the sea, yet a remnant only should be saved. Against those testimonies so manifest, how can Pighius contend? Do we not also see, that in things natural, things that be most

excellent, are always most rare? For there is great plenty of common stones; but of precious stones there is wonderful great scarcity: unprofitable herbs grow everywhere, whereas corn (for the most part) is dear. And why God will have it to be thus, he himself best knoweth; we may peradventure suppose, that he therefore doth it, that the gifts of God to men might be the more commended. For, we are so blockish, that we never wonder at those things which are customably done. But these are nothing but man's conjectures. But forasmuch as God hath not rendered a reason of his counsel, herein I think it not our parts to be too curious in seeking it.

This only will I add; that God is not only good and bountiful towards us, but also that in him cannot be found so much as one show or token of cruelty: for this is the nature of cruelty, to rejoice in the punishments of other men, and chiefly when innocents be afflicted. For to take pleasure, namely, for that thou seest justice exercised against the wicked, or to be sorry if thou seest them to live happily, can neither be ascribed unto envy, nor unto cruelty. For in the prophets, and especially in the Psalms, we see many such affects: which doubtless pertain unto *ζήλῳ*, that is, zeal; and not unto cruelty or envy. And although the purpose of God be reasonable, yea, even reason it self, yet are not the reasons to be sought for in those which are elected; for that they lie hidden in the most deep wisdom of God. Thither doth Paul call us back, when he crieth out; O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments? And how unsearchable are his ways? Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counselor? Paul by those words teacheth nothing else, but that God indeed, by reason of his manifold and infinite wisdom, wanteth not reasons, but that they are unto men unsearchable; for that they are not by him revealed. I wonder also that Pighius would

complain of violating the justice of God; for that Paul objecteth unto himself, and yet changeth not his mind. Neither is it any marvel; for as Paul himself testifieth, all this whole matter pertaineth unto mercy, and not unto justice. Wherein notwithstanding (as Augustine teacheth) we may very well defend, that God doth nothing unjustly: for whatsoever he giveth unto the elect, he giveth it of his own, and not of another man's; and whatsoever he requireth of the reprobate, he justly and by most good right, requireth it. These things had not Pighius objected unto us, if he had diligently weighed with himself the Antithesis, which Paul hath put between our works, and the purpose of God. For he saith; Not of works, but of him that calleth, that election might abide according to the purpose.

30. He thinketh also that it is absurd, that the predestination of God should be made so free; for by that means he supposeth, that there is laid a necessity upon men, and all consideration of blame is taken away. But this argument pertaineth to our fourth article, where we will entreat of this necessity. Howbeit, I marvel how this could come into his head, that the consideration of sin is taken away, if there be granted a necessity. As though (forsooth) any man can avoid original sin; and yet doth it not thereof follow, that such a sin is no sin. He addeth moreover, that we cannot avoid, but that we must make God an acceptor of persons. But if he had considered, that this fault is then committed, when as we are moved to distribute, or to give judgment by such circumstances and conditions, which make nothing at all to the cause, he would never say thus: for this cannot have place in God. For he found not those circumstances and conditions in men, but putteth in them even such as himself will; so as no man can object unto him, that as touching election, he hath not attributed unto his person, that which was

convenient or agreeable: for God is the author of all persons, and of all comeliness.

But he saith, the care and endeavor to live uprightly is taken away. As though we by this doctrine do make men worse, and do open a window to licentiousness and dissolute life. But how strange and false these things are, I suppose it is thereby manifest; for that we always teach, that predestination belongeth not only to the end, but also to the means. For we are predestinated, not only unto felicity, but also unto good works; namely, that we should walk in them, and be made like unto the image of the Son of God. The wicked regard not these things, and also without this doctrine, live wickedly: but the godly, for that they have confidence, that they are predestinated, labor by holy works to make their calling sure. And unto them by this doctrine, is opened a window unto modesty, unto patience in afflictions, unto gratitude, and unto a singular love towards God. But take away this doctrine, and there is made open, not a window, but an exceeding wide gate to pride, to ignorance of the gifts of God, to uncertainty, and doubting of salvation in adversities, and the weakening of our love towards God.

31. But these men say further, that this maketh very much against us; for that nothing can light under predestination, or reprobation, but that which God willeth: but that God should will sins, is to be counted for a most absurd, and a blasphemous doctrine. They say moreover, that God cannot justly punish, if we commit those things, which he himself both willeth and worketh. But this must we of necessity say, if we affirm, that not only our ends, but also our means to the ends depend of the purpose of God. To satisfy this doubt, first let them remember, that it cannot be denied, but that God after a sort willeth, or (as some other say) permitteth sin. But

forsomuch as that is done without any coaction of our mind, therefore no man, when he sinneth, can be excused. For he willingly, and of his own accord, committeth those sins, for which he ought to be condemned; and hath the true cause of them in himself: and therefore hath no need to seek it in God. Further, this is no good comparison, which these men make between good works and sins. For God so worketh in us good works, that he ministereth unto us his grace and spirit, whereby these works are wrought; for those are the grounds of good works: which grounds we have not of ourselves. But sins he so governeth, and after a sort willeth, that yet notwithstanding, the grounds of them, that is, the flesh, and our corrupt and naughty nature, are not in God, but in us. Wherefore, there is no need that they should be poured into us by any outward mover.

And God is said after a sort to will sins; either for that, when he can, he prohibiteth them not; or, for that by his wisdom he directeth them to certain ends; or for that he suffereth them not to burst forth, but when, and how, and to what uses he himself will; or finally, for that by them he will punish other sins. But these add, that God by no means willeth sin: for so it is written in Ezekiel; As truly as I live, saith the Lord, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live. But we answer, that the prophet in that place, entreateth not of the mighty and hidden will of God, and of his effectual will: for God by that will, worketh all things which he will both in heaven and in earth. But he entreateth of that will, which they call the will of the sign: for no man can by those signs and tokens, which are expressed in the law, gather that God willeth his death or condemnation. For the Lord commanded his law to be published unto all men, he hath unto all men set forth those things which should be profitable and healthful, lastly, he upon all men indifferently poureth great benefits; wherefor by this

will, which we call the will of the sign, he willeth not the death of a sinner: yea rather, he provoketh them to repentance. But as touching the other will, which they call the will of his good pleasure, if by it he would have no man perish, then doubtless no man could perish: and there is no will so perverse, as Augustine saith, which God (if he will) cannot make good. Then according to this will, he hath done all things whatsoever he would. This is a ready and plain interpretation, which if our adversaries admit not; but will needs contend, that the words of the prophet are to be understood of the mighty will of God, and of his will of good pleasure: then will we answer, that that sentence pertaineth not universally unto all sinners, but only to those which repent. And they are the elect and predestinated, unto whom, God as according to his purpose, he giveth faith and calling, so also giveth he repentance. And therefore, whether sense soever they follow, they shall never out of those words conclude, that God utterly and by no means willeth the death of sinners, or sin.

32. But they object certain words, out of the first chapter of the book of Wisdom, where it is written; God rejoiceth not in the destruction of the living. But if (say they) he by any manner of means willeth sin, or the punishment thereof, he cannot be said not to rejoice: for he rejoiceth in that which he will have to be done. First I answer, that that book is not in the canon, and therefore the authority thereof may be refused. But admit that that book were canonical, yet do those words make nothing against us: for he, whatsoever he was, that was the author of that book, meant nothing else, but to remove from God that naughtiness of nature, whereby wicked men take pleasure in evil things. And yet was it not his meaning, that God punisheth wicked facts against his will: for otherwise, whosoever be that author under the name of Solomon, he should be against the true Solomon.

For he in his Proverbs, under the person of wisdom thus writeth of the ungodly and unbelievers; I also laugh in your destruction. In which words is declared, that God with this laughing, that is, with a cheerful mind, administereth justice.

As touching the words of Ecclesiasticus, which are written in the fifteen chapter, that No man ought to say of God, αὐτός μέ ἐπλάνησε, that is, He hath deceived me: in which place the Latin translation hath, *Me implanavit*. Unless we will have that place to be manifestly repugnant with many other places of the scripture, in which God is said to have deceived the people by false prophets, and to have commanded that Ahab the king should be deceived, and to have made blind the heart of the people, least they should see; we must needs after this manner expound those words: that No man ought to lay the fault in God, as though he would excuse himself. Ahab, if he was deceived, justly deserved to be deceived; for that he contemned the true oracles of God, and delighted himself in false prophets. The infidelity also, and impiety of the people of Israel, caused the vengeance of God, and blindness to come upon them; so that when they were deceived, they could by no means be excused. Our adversaries also seem somewhat to be offended, for that we affirm, that men have in themselves the cause of sins; that is, a corrupt and naughty nature. For in that first chapter of the book of Wisdom, the generations of the world are said to be good, and not to have in them φάρμακον ὀλέθριον; that is, A deadly medicine. This is true indeed, so it be understood of the first constitution of things, and chiefly of the creation of man, which was created of God in a good estate: but afterward, through his fall, he spilled both himself and his posterity.

33. Pighius moreover cavileth against our doctrine, as though we stir up men to hate God. For Christ thus speaketh of Judas; Woe be unto that man,

it had been better for him never to have been born. He being rejected, and a reprobate, it must needs follow, that he hated God; seeing God first hated him. And forsomuch as the number of the reprobate is the greater number, every man (say they) might easily suspect, that he is one of that number; and so it should come to pass, that many should detest God. But we answer, that Christ said well, that It had been better for that man, that he had not been born. For every one of us, ought rather and more gladly either to have never been, or to be brought to nothing, than that by committing of sin, we should offend God. Wherefore Christ said truly and plainly, that It had been better for Judas that he had never been born. Howbeit simply, and as touching God, it had not been better: for by him, both the counsel of God, concerning our redemption was fulfilled; and also by the punishment which was laid upon him, both the justice and power of God appeared the more plainly.

And it is vain, that they say, that many fall into suspicion of their reprobation: for out of the holy scriptures, no man can gather any effectual arguments of his reprobation. And if God will sometimes reveal it by a certain secret judgment, it cannot be drawn to a common rule. In our time indeed it happened, that a certain man in Italy called Francis Spiera inwardly felt, that God had imposed this evil upon him: but this in my judgment was done to the terror of others. For he, after that he had, at the beginning, known the truth of the Gospel, and openly confessed it; being brought to Venice before the Popes legate, publicly abjured it. Afterward, being stricken with a grievous wound of conscience, he persuaded himself, that he had sinned against the holy Ghost; by means whereof, he was thrown into so great a desperation, that he would never afterward admit any consolation, though notable and godly men were about him, which exhorted

him to have a good hope in Christ, and his death. And he would say, that these things served well to be spoken unto others, but unto him they nothing at all prevailed: for that he knew most assuredly, that he had sinned against the holy Ghost, and that there was no remedy left to deliver him from damnation; and so remaining in this desperation, he died.

God would in this man, by a certain singular, and unaccustomed dispensation, fear away others from the like wickedness and impiety. Howbeit, this neither customably happeneth, as far as we can gather out of histories; neither also can any man, by the holy scriptures, see this desperation. And peradventure God did not this to Spiera, but the devil (whose bondslave he was) having now renounced godliness suggested this; to the end he might drive him to utter desperation. So then we must make a distinction (as we before admonished) that either we speak of them that are utterly without all feeling of piety, or else of the godly, and of them that are now called. If ye talk of strangers, they either nothing regard these counsels of God, or else they are already in despair of themselves: if we mean of the godly, they will not suffer themselves any long time to be tormented with this suspicion; for that they now see themselves called and faithful, and therefore are justified: all which things persuade them to have a confidence, and to hope that their names are entered in the roll of the elect.

34. Lastly, Pighius imagineth, that we speak things absurd; because we teach that men were first in a mass marred and corrupted with original sin, before that they were predestinated of God: as though we would justify the purpose of God, when yet notwithstanding we in the counsel of predestination, put condemnation and eternal infelicity, before sins and our corrupt nature; and so we justify that which is first, by that which cometh after. He addeth also, that by this means, as touching the purpose of God,

even by our own doctrine, the end is first appointed, and those things also which bring unto the end. Wherefore, forsomuch as original sin is one of the means, whereby we are condemned, it cannot, as we imagine, go before reprobation; when as it falleth and is comprehended under it as a mean unto eternal condemnation. But these things show, that this man understood not what we say. Neither Augustine nor we ever said, that original sin went before predestination, seeing predestination is before any time was; and Adam fell in time. Neither is it so absurd as he imagineth, that sins should fall under reprobation, not indeed as the cause thereof; but as the cause of condemnation and of eternal misery. And whereas he saith, that if it were so, it should follow; that God willeth sins. Now we have declared how this is to be answered. Neither can he deny, but that God useth sins, which are continually committed, to those ends which he himself hath appointed. And forsomuch as this is not done of him rashly, but by his determinate counsel; how can it be, that after a sort sins are not comprehended under reprobation?

Now if he contend that God after one sort willeth, and is not the cause of sins and good works; we also affirm the same. But yet in the meantime, let him cease to count it for a thing absurd, that as well the end, as the means either of predestination, or of reprobation, are comprehended under the purpose of God, though after a diverse manner. And as touching original sin, we also affirm, that it goeth not before predestination or reprobation; but of necessity followeth it: for that God would not produce men out of any other stock or matter, but out of the progeny of Adam; by means whereof, we are all born infected with the spot of corruption. And forsomuch as this was not hidden from God, therefore Augustine and we also with him say, that God from everlasting purposed to have mercy on

those whom he loved, and not to have mercy on others whom he loved not: so that if they, which want that mercy, which is bestowed upon others, do lead their life in original sin; and when they are come to age, and to the use of reason, do add unto it many other sins, then are they justly and worthily damned. And this may effectually be said, to repel those, which peradventure presume to lay the cause of their damnation, not upon their own faults, but upon God. Wherefore original sin goeth before the birth of all men, so that thou have a respect unto every particular man: it also goeth before the damnation of all the wicked, although it could not be before the eternal purpose of God, but only as touching foreknowledge.

35. These things being as we have declared them, as they are in no case absurd, even so may they well be perceived; if we depart not from the sense of the scriptures: which sense, how much in this place Pighius overpasseth, by means of his own fond invention, I will in few words touch. He maketh many degrees or acts in the mind of God, which he ordereth in themselves; not by distinction of time, but of nature: and therefore, such acts he calleth signs; and yet had he not that out of the holy scriptures, but borrowed it out of Scotus. In the first sign (saith he) God appointed to bring forth all men to eternal salvation, which they might have fruition of together with him, and that without any difference; and over them he would have Christ to be the head, whom he thinketh also should have come in the flesh, although the first man had not sinned. In the second sign, he saith, that God foresaw the fall of man, by reason whereof it was not now possible that men should come unto salvation, that is, unto the end, which God had purposed in himself, when he decreed in the beginning to create man. Howbeit, that the matter might go forward, he saith, that God did put in the third sign, remedies in Christ; namely, of grace, and of the spirit, and such like,

whereby might be holpen those which would receive them, and those forsaken which should refuse them. Lastly in the fourth sign, for that he foresaw that many would embrace these aids, and would use them well and effectually, he therefore predestinated them to salvation: but others, whom he saw would reject these benefits of God, he adjudged to utter destruction. This he speaketh concerning them that be of full age. But forsomuch as by this fond imagination, he could not satisfy as touching infants, that perish before they can have the use of free will, he patcheth thereunto another fable; namely, that they, after the judgment, shall be in this world happy, with a certain natural blessedness, wherein they shall continually praise God, and give thanks unto him, for that their estate so tolerable. So this man feigneth a doctrine, which he cannot prove by any one word of the scripture.

For how attributeth he unto God, that he in the first sign decreed those things, which should not have success; namely, that all men should enjoy felicity? It is the point of a wise man, I will not say of God, to decree or will those things, which shall take no effect. Let him also bring forth some oracles of God, to declare unto us, that the son of God should have taken upon him man's flesh, though man had not sinned: but he shall nowhere be able to show any such thing, seeing the holy scriptures everywhere testify unto us, that he was given for our redemption, and for the remission of sins: which also might have taught him, if he had considered, that original sin went before all the effects of predestination, creation only excepted. Seeing Christ was to this end predestinated and given unto us, that we might have a remedy of our falls; of all which falls original sin is the head and principal: and he had not taken upon him human flesh, if there had been no sin committed. He, without the scriptures also, imagineth, that it lieth in the

power of our free will, to receive the remedies being generally set forth; when as this is the most absolute gift of God. And that which he last of all bringeth; namely, of the natural felicity of children, is not only avouched besides the scripture, but also is plainly against it; which teacheth, that all perish in Adam, unless they be renewed by the mediator. But to perish, or to die, how repugnant it is with felicity, all men easily understand. And besides that, he hath not on his side one of all the fathers, which durst imagine any such fond devises. Neither can I be persuaded, that Pelagius himself, if he were alive again, would more diligently color his opinion, than this man hath painted it and set it forth.

36. That which we have hitherto proved touching predestination: namely, that it dependeth not of works foreseen; the self-same thing also affirm we of reprobation: for neither doth it also depend of sins foreseen; so that by reprobation thou understand not extreme damnation, but that most deep eternal purpose of God, of not having mercy. For Paul writeth alike of Esau and Jacob; Before they had done any good or evil, it was said; The elder shall serve the younger; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated, that it should not be of works, but of him that calleth. And Pighius laboreth in vain, to have this sentence of Paul understood of one of them only; seeing the apostle joined them both together, under one and the self-same condition. Which he more manifestly afterward declareth, saying; He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. Further, if sin were the true cause of reprobation, then should none be elected; seeing God foreknoweth, that all men are defiled with it. The very which thing Augustine proveth unto Simplicianus.

37. But now we will entreat of the third article, to see what are the effects of predestination, and of reprobation: and we will be the briefer, for that

those things which shall be spoken, have much light of that is already spoken. The first effect therefore of predestination is Christ himself; for the elect can have none of the gifts of God, unless by our Savior it be given unto them. Then also let there be put those effects, which Paul describeth in the 8th chapter to the Romans, when he saith; Whom he foreknew, those also hath he predestinated; whom he hath predestinated, those also hath he called; and whom he hath called, those he hath justified; and whom he hath justified, those hath he glorified. Whereby it is evident, that calling also, and justification, and glorification, are the effects of predestination; whereunto also may be added, conformity to the image of the son of God, seeing that Paul reckoneth it up as an effect of predestination. Let good works also be added, seeing that God is said to have prepared them that we should walk in them. The followeth the certainty or confirmation of our salvation. Lastly, is the declaration of the riches of the glory of God, which end Paul manifestly mentioneth in the 9th chapter to the Romans: and to the Ephesians he writeth; That we might be to the praise of his grace and glory.

But as touching reprobation, if it be compared unto the first man; God from everlasting decreed to produce him, that by free will and certain grace given unto him, he might have stood, if he would: and God could have given unto him greater grace, so that he could not have fallen, but he would not. But whether Adam were of the number of the reprobate, or of the predestinate, cannot be gathered out of the holy scriptures; although all the fathers, in a manner, consent that he was saved, and therefore pertained to the number of the predestinate. But other men, which were reprobated, were offered unto God in a mass of perdition, and utterly corrupted: for God decreed to produce them, not elsewhere, but out of the seed of Adam. And forsomuch as by his free purpose, he would not bestow his mercy on many,

which is utterly to refuse, thereof followed rejection; whereby they were left in their native sin. Further, forsomuch as God suffereth not his creatures to be idle, they also are perpetually pricked forward to work: and for that they were not healed, they do all things according to their corrupt nature; which although they seem sometime to be beautiful works, yet before God they are sins. Moreover, according as their wicked facts deserve, God many times punisheth in them sins by other sins; as unto the Romans; Many are said to have been delivered up into a reprobate mind, for that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.

But yet as touching the sin of the first man, this is to be considered, that sin could not be said to have been the punishment of another sin; for if it were the first sin, it had not any other sin before it: and that God utterly willed not that sin, it cannot be said, for against his will, how could it be committed? And he saw that he would fall, if he were not confirmed with his spirit, and with a more plentiful grace: he helped him not, neither put he to his hand to keep him from falling. Moreover, the devil, if God had otherwise willed, durst not have tempted him. Furthermore, he had appointed by him, to declare his goodness and severity. He gave the occasion, when he set a law, which he knew should not be kept; and also in giving him a wife which should entice him; and finally, the occasion itself, which as a subject or matter, sustained the privation of uprightness, could not without the power and might of God, have been produced. Wherefore it is evident, that God after a sort willed that sin, and was some way the author of it, although that it were not a punishment of sin going before. But contrariwise, he is said not to have willed it, and not to have been the author of it; for that he prohibited it, punished it, and did not absolutely will it, but for another end: neither suggested he of himself, nor inspired the lewdness:

but the will of Adam, not being letted by a more mighty grace, of his own accord declined from uprightness. There is also brought out of Isaiah an effect of reprobation; namely, that he will make blind and gross the heart of the people, that they should not understand. And God oftentimes, either by himself, or by evil angels, sendeth cogitations, and offereth occasions, which if we were upright, might be taken in the best part: but forsomuch as we are not renewed, we are by them driven unto evil; afterward justly and worthily followeth damnation for sins: and finally, the declaration of the power and justice of God, is the last effect of reprobation, and all these things follow reprobation; although God, as we have before declared, is not all alike the cause of all these things.

38. But because all the benefits of God, which are given unto the predestinate, are referred unto grace, as to their head and fountain: therefore let us see whether that principal effect of God's predestination, be as some have imagined, set forth of God common to all men: for if it were so, then should all men be predestinated, and it should lie in their own power, or in their own hands (as the saying is) to be predestinated, so that they would receive grace when it is offered. We in no wise say, that grace is common unto all men, but is given unto some; and unto others, according to the pleasure of God, it is not given. And to confirm this matter, we allege these places of the scripture. In the 6th of John it is said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father shall draw him. And I wonder that the adversaries should say, that all men are drawn of God, but all men will not come. As if a man should say, No man can challenge to himself learning or good arts, which is not endued with reason and wit: and yet doth it not thereof follow, that though all men have reason and wit all men should attain good arts, seeing that besides those principles, study and will are required. So say

they, All men are drawn of God; but besides the drawing of God, there is required that we be willing and assent; for otherwise we are not brought to Christ. But doubtless it cannot be, that in all those propositions, which are spoken with an exception, that exception should belong to all men. For Christ said to Pilate; Thou shouldest not have power against me, unless it were given thee from above. Shall we therefore take upon us to say; that unto all men was given power against Christ? And when as it is written; That No man shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be born again by water and the spirit; shall we therefore infer, that all men are born again of water and the spirit. And when the Lord saith; Ye shall not have life in you, unless ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, shall we take it, that all men eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Lord? And if this ought not so to be, why will these men, when we say; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him, thereof infer, that all men are drawn unto the father?

Verily, if a man consider the course of the text, he shall see that this sense cannot stand. After that he had made mention of the eating of his flesh, and of the drinking of his blood: the Jews were by reason thereof offended, and the disciples went their way: upon occasion whereof Christ said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him: which he ought in no case to have said, if he had meant to reprove only them of infidelity. He should not doubtless have made mention of the father, as though he drew them not, if he gave that gift to all men. And Augustine, when he interpreteth this place, saith; Whie he draweth this man, and draweth not that other man, do not thou judge, if thou wilt not err. In which words he declareth, that all men are not drawn of God. And in the self-same chapter it is written; All that my father giveth me shall come unto me. Wherefore, if all men were drawn,

they should all come unto Christ. And in the same place it is written; Everyone which hath heard of my father, and hath learned, cometh unto me. Seeing then many come not unto Christ, thereby is declared, that many neither have heard nor learned. And in the 10th chapter, when Christ had said, that He is the shepherd, and hath his sheep: amongst other things he saith; These whom my father gave me, no man can take out of my hands. But we see, that many fall from salvation, and therefore we ought to think that those are not given of the father unto Christ.

39. But here also the adversaries cavil, that Although no man can take them away, yet nevertheless men of their own accord may go away. As if a man had servants, being himself a lord of great might, he might doubtless say; No man can take away these servants from me, and yet they of their own accord may go from him. But how vain this their cavillation is, the words which follow declare. For Christ addeth; The father which gave them unto me, is greater than all: by which words he declareth that therefore those, whom he had received of the father, could not be taken away from him; for that he is most mighty. Wherefore if they cannot by them be taken away which are in Christ; neither also are they able to withdraw themselves: not that they are compelled by force, but by the way of persuasion it is of necessity that they abide. The very which thing the Lord also spake, touching the temptation of the latter times; namely, that If it were possible the elect should be deceived. In the self-same 6th chapter of John, Christ said; that No man cometh unto him, but he unto whom it is given of the father: which place hath one and the self-same sense with that other sentence, wherein he said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him. And John Baptist, as it is written in the 3rd chapter of John, when he heard of his disciples, that Christ baptized many, answered; that No man

can receive anything, unless it be given him from heaven. And in the self-same chapter; The spirit breatheth where it will. Which although it be spoken of the wind, yet notwithstanding it is applied unto the holy Ghost, which regenerateth: for to declare the force of the holy Ghost, the similitude is taken from the nature of the wind.

But this is more manifestly set forth in Matthew, when it is said; No man knoweth the father, but the son, and he to whom the son will reveal him. Wherein we are taught, that the revealing of Christ is not given unto all men. Which thing Christ in the same Evangelist declared, when turning him unto the father, he said; I give thee thanks O king of heaven and of earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent men, and hast revealed them unto babes. There also is declared, that the revealing of true doctrine is not common unto all men. But if thou wilt say, that therefore it is not revealed unto the wise men, for that they will not receive it: the words following do not render this cause; but rather declare, that the will of God hath so decreed: for it followeth; For so it hath pleased thee. And again, when the Apostles inquired why he spake in parables to the people, he answered; Unto you it is given to know mysteries, but unto them it is not given. And he said, that he so spake unto them, that they seeing should not see, and hearing should not understand. And he cited a prophesy out of the 6th of Isaiah, wherein was commanded, that the people should be made blind, and that their heart should be made gross; least peradventure they should be converted, and God should heal them. Moreover, the apostle citeth out of the book of Exodus, God thus speaking; I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will show compassion on whom I will show compassion. Also that which is written of Pharaoh; To this end have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee. And he saith also, that Some

vessels are made to honor, and some to dishonor. Which words most evidently declare, that grace is not set forth common unto all men.

Peter also in the Acts of the Apostles, said unto Simon Magus; Repent, if peradventure God forgive unto thee this thought. But they say that in this place Peter doubted not, but that grace is common unto all men: but he was uncertain whether Simon would receive it, and earnestly repent. But this subtle shift nothing helpeth them; for, as the apostle teacheth us unto Timothy, Even repentance also is the gift of God. For he admonisheth a bishop, to hold fast sound doctrine, and to reprove them that resist, if peradventure God give unto them to repent. Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to return into the way, unless it be given them of God. Moreover, some sin against the holy Ghost; Who are not pardoned, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. So as it is manifest, that unto these men, grace is no more offered nor common. And in the Acts of the Apostles, God is said to have opened the heart of the woman that sold silks, to give heed unto those things which Paul spake: which is spoken, as a certain thing peculiarly given to that woman. And this place maketh that plain, which is written in the Apocalypse; Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any man open unto me, &c. For we are said to open, in as much as God worketh that in us; for he maketh us to open, and it is he which giveth unto us to work our salvation, as it is said unto the Philippians. And in the Gospel it is many times written, that Many are called, but few are chosen. Paul also declareth the liberty of the Spirit in distributing his gifts, when he saith unto the Corinthians; that One and the self-same Spirit distributeth unto all men as pleaseth him. Which sentence, although it be meant of graces and free gifts, as they term them; yet may it

no less be transferred unto the grace, whereby we are renewed unto salvation, seeing God is alike free in the one and the other.

40. Lastly, whilst these men thus make grace common unto all men, they convert it into nature: which in no wise agreeth with the doctrine of the holy scriptures. And how much they are deceived hereby, it may easily be proved; for that they seek of these things to infer, that it lieth in every man's power to receive grace, when it is offered unto them. Which in no case agreeth with the holy scriptures; for Paul saith, that We are not able to think anything of ourselves, and that all our sufficiency is of God. And unto the Philippians he writeth, that God worketh in us, both to will and to perform, according to his good will. And unto the Corinthians, when he had said that he had labored much, he added; Not I, but the grace of God which is in me. To the Romans he writeth; It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Which could not be true, if it lie in our will to receive grace when it is offered. Touching which place, Augustine to Simplicianus, in his first book and second question saith, that The meaning of those words is not, as though it were sufficient for us to will, unless God aid us with his grace: for by that means he might contrariwise have said, It is not of God that hath mercy, but of man that willeth. But the sense is, as it is written unto the Philippians; that It is God which worketh in us to will and to perform; and it is true, that we in vain, will, unless God have mercy, and help. But who will say, that God in vain hath mercy, if we will not? In Ezekiel the prophet, it is said; that God himself would change our hearts, and instead of stony hearts, give us fleshy hearts. And David in the psalm singeth; Incline my heart, O God unto thy testimonies; to declare, that it pertaineth unto God to bow our wills. Which he in another place meant, when he said; A clean heart create in me, O God. And in the book of

Wisdom it is written, that No man can have a chaste heart, but he unto whom God shall give it. And Christ most manifestly taught, that An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruits. Wherefore, so long as men are not regenerate, they cannot bring forth so good fruit, that they should assent unto grace when it knocketh. So that first it is necessary, that they be changed from the same, and that of evil plants they be made good. As in the generation of the flesh, no man which is procreated, helpeth anything thereto: even so is it in regeneration, for that there also we are born again through Christ and in Christ.

Moreover, if we should give place unto the opinion of these men, all boasting should not be excluded; for every man might boast of that his own act, whereby he received grace when it was offered. Furthermore, seeing that this apprehension, according to our mind is done by faith, but (as they think) by charity, what will they do? Will they deny that faith and charity are the gifts of God? Augustine also reasoneth, that As in Christ the divine nature took human nature freely, not waiting for the consent thereof; so they, which are justified, are not justified by their own will or assent. The same father also noteth, that Eternal life is in the scriptures sometimes called by the name of a reward; for that good works go before it. But grace (saith he) and righteousness, are never in the holy scriptures called by the name of a reward; for that before it, goeth no good work acceptable unto God. And unto the Romans Paul writeth; I know that in me, that is in my flesh dwelleth no good: where, by flesh, he understandeth whatsoever is in a man not yet regenerate. And dare they notwithstanding attribute unto man, being yet in the flesh, that is, not yet regenerate, so much good, that he is able to apply salvation unto himself?

And unto the Corinthians; What hast thou (saith he) which thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why boastest thou, as though thou hadst not received? Neither will we suffer these men to run unto creation; for here we speak not of the soul, or of the powers thereof, that is of will or understanding, which we had of God by creation: but of that action or work, which these men seek to pick out of free will, to the receiving of grace. And forsomuch as they say, that they have this of themselves; they manifestly speak against the apostle. For the Corinthians might have answered; Thou demandest of us, what hath separated us, what we have that we have not received? Behold, we now show unto thee, that act and assent, whereby we freely, and by our own power receive the grace, which thou preachest unto us; this doth separate us from others: and so Paul had in vain in such sort reproved them. Moreover, if grace were set forth as common to all men, as these men teach, what should we pray unto God for the conversion of infidels? Doubtless we so do, for that we believe it lieth in the hand of God to open their hearts, if he will.

41. Neither must we think, as these men fain, that God giveth to every man so much grace as is sufficient to move them: for if that did suffice, they should doubtless be moved. For if there were set before a man, a thing of huge weight; and he being willing to move it, had in himself so much strength as were sufficient, that is, as might overcome the weight, which is to be moved; then without doubt there would follow motion. So if God (as they say) would in very deed move the hearts of the wicked, and would give so much strength, that is, so much grace, as should suffice; yea rather so much as should exceed the hardness of the wicked heart, nothing could let, but that it should be bowed, not in deed by compulsion, but by most effectual persuasion. Augustine unto Simplicianus, in his first book and

second question saith, that There are two sorts of calling, one common, whereby men are called, but not by one and the self-same manner, whereby they are apt to be moved and converted: others be so called, as they are apt to be moved. Neither must we think (saith he) that God could not so have called Esau, as he might be moved, and as he might be made apt: for all men are not after one and the self-same manner allured and moved unto God. Verily forsomuch as he is omnipotent, he might by his impulsione take away that natural hardness. But say they, if he would, he might: and yet will not God always do that he can do. Let it be so; we say even the self-same, that God overhilleth some, and will not have mercy on them, and therefore giveth not unto all men, so much as might be sufficient unto their salvation. And against those whom he overhilleth, he attaineth the end that he willeth; as it is written of Pharaoh; To this purpose have I raised thee up, to declare in thee my power, and that my name might be spread abroad throughout the whole earth.

Christ knew very well (as he himself testified) that Tyre, Sidon, and Sodoma would have been moved to repentance, if he had applied to them the miracles and doctrine which he granted to the Jews. Wherefore, forsomuch as he gave not those things unto them, they wanted that which sufficed unto salvation. The Lord also said unto the Apostles; I have chosen you, but ye have not chosen me. But by the opinion of the adversaries, that universal grace being granted, no man should be chosen of God, forsomuch as he should be after one and the self-same sort unto all men; yea rather, we should choose God, in receiving his grace when it is offered: and we should be formers of the election of God, and should not be formed of him. I have planted (saith Paul) Apollo hath watered, but God hath given the increase, that is, life and spirit. But if those things should be granted to be common

unto all men, he should rather have said; Ye have taken unto yourselves, the spirit, life, and grace. The self-same apostle said, that God had begun in the Philippians a good work, and also would perform the same against the day of the Lord. Which words plainly declare, that all whole is to be ascribed unto God; namely, to begin and to perform. And unto the Ephesians; He worketh all things, according to the counsel of his will, not (saith he) according to the counsel of another man's will: which doubtless he should have said, if every man had in his power to take salvation, or not to take it. Again, unto the Galatians; When it seemed good unto him, which separated me from my mother's womb. If it were (as these men affirm) Paul should have said; When it seemed good unto me. For, as touching God, they affirm that grace is always ready, and offered unto all men. Wherefore by their judgment, conversion should then come, when it should please us.

42. These arguments I think to be sufficient at this time, though many more might be brought. Only now resteth to overthrow those reasons, which seem to make against us. But before we enter into that matter, this we say, that we in no wise deny, but that God by outward calling; namely, by his prophets, apostles, preachers, and scriptures, calleth all men. For this man is no more excluded from the promises or threatening's than that man; but these things are alike set forth unto all men, although all men are not predestinated to attain unto the fruit of them. This is diligently to be noted, if we will readily answer to those things which are objected. And when they lay against us (which thing they very often do) that the promises are common and universally proposed; it is needful to be restrained unto these or those men, and that God dallieth not in them, but dealeth in good earnest. First, as touching universality, I will bring other propositions no less general. All flesh shall see the salvation of God; All shall be taught of God;

All shall know me, from the least to the greatest; I will pour of my spirit upon all flesh. Shall we say, that these things are true as touching all men? No doubtless, unless Origins fable should be renewed, that all men shall at the last be saved.

They will answer, that these propositions ought to be restrained unto the believers, unto them that are willing, and unto them that respect the grace of God. And we also say, that they are to be restrained: but we fetch our restraint further off, and ascend unto the election of God, and unto reprobation. And whether resolution (I beseech you) is the perfecter; and whether restraint is of more equity? And yet do we not say, that God dallieth in these universal promises; because forsomuch as the predestinate and the reprobate lead their life together, and are not known who they be, it is meet, that there should be preaching unto all men, least that for the reprobate, the elect should be defrauded, which by the preaching of God's word shall take profit. And by this universal preaching, God bringeth that end to effect, which he himself willeth. For the godly, when they see that the reprobate are left in their own sense, and believe not, do understand, that it is grace, and not nature; and in them perceive what should also have happened unto themselves, without the mercy of God, of whose gift conversion is, and not of the power of man. And the ungodly are made inexcusable, when as they have not performed so much as those outward works, which they might have done; as it is declared to the Romans in the first and second chapters.

43. First the adversaries imagine, that they are setters forth of the mercy of God, for that they grant it common unto all men. But if we consider the matter more inwardly, we attribute much more unto mercy than they do: for we affirm, that all whole dependeth of it; which is of them denied, whilst

they will have it to lie in our power to receive the grace of God. And if we say, that mercy is not distributed alike unto all men, we cannot therefore be reproved; forsomuch as the scriptures manifestly testify the same. But these men, when they say, that it lieth in our will to receive grace, though they extenuate the same, yet is it in very deed proved to be a great matter: for what should it profit, to have grace universally set forth unto all men, unless a man would by his own proper will apply it to himself? Let them cease then to adorn this their opinion, with the title of the mercy of God. They bring also another argument; that Forsomuch as God provideth for all men things competent unto bodily life, it is not very likely that he will fail them, as touching the preparation of eternal salvation; which should not be, unless unto every man were set forth, so much of the grace of God, as is sufficient.

But for this cause, these men are reproved by a similitude. For even as God giveth unto every mortal man corporal life, without any their assent; even so must they needs conclude of spiritual life, which by all means they refuse to grant. We confess indeed, that God, through his mercy, causeth the sun to arise upon the good and upon the evil; and we also confess, that both the predestinate and the reprobate are partakers of some of the benefits of God. And even as in this life, the commodities of the body and of life, are not alike given unto all men: so also predestination unto eternal felicity is not common unto all men. Some are born leprous, blind, deaf, foolish, most poor, and utterly unapt unto all manner of natural felicity; neither attain they unto it at any time: so as the comparison which they bring maketh very much against themselves. But (say they) God hath created all men to his own image, and therefore hath appointed all men unto blessedness: wherefor we ought not to say, that some are predestinate, and some are reprobate. That men are made to the image of God, and capable of

blessedness, that we grant: but after the fall, nature was corrupted, and the image of God much blemished: so as men cannot of themselves attain unto felicity, but have need to be delivered from misery. But that God hath now decreed to deliver all men from misery, and through Christ to have them blessed, the scriptures teach not: wherefore we do not without just cause say, that he hath decreed to deliver some, and to leave other some, and that justly: the causes of which justice, yet are not to be sought by our own works, seeing they are known to God only through his hidden and unspeakable wisdom.

44. They object this out of John; He gave unto them power to be made the sons of God. As though they could thereof infer, that every man may be made the son of God, if he will. But they give no heed unto those things which follow: for it is added; Unto those which have believed in him, which are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. These things, if they be rightly pieced, declare that this dignity and privilege is given unto the believers, and unto the regenerate: for, to have power given to be the sons of God, signifieth nothing else. Wherefore, this dignity is put as an effect of regeneration, and of faith, and not as the beginning thereof, as these men dream. They grant also, that Christ died for us all; and thereof they infer, that his benefit is common unto all men. Which we also will easily grant, if only the worthiness of the death of Christ be considered: for as touching it, it might be sufficient for all the sinners of the world. But although in itself it be sufficient; yet it neither had, nor hath, nor shall have effect in all men. Which the School-men also confess, when they affirm, that Christ hath redeemed all men sufficiently, but not effectually: for thereunto it is necessary, that the death of Christ be healthful unto us, that we take hold of it; which cannot otherwise be done,

but by faith: which faith we have before abundantly declared to be the gift of God, and not to be given unto all men.

This also is objected unto us, that the Apostle compared Adam with Christ, and said unto the Romans; that Even as in Adam we all die, so in Christ we are all quickened. Wherefore by this means, they say, that the grace of Christ ought universally to be open unto all men. But if they will so take this comparison, they shall be compelled to grant, that all by Christ shall be brought unto felicity, as by Adam all are thrown headlong into sin and into death. But seeing the thing it self declareth the contrary, they may easily perceive, that this similitude is not to be taken as touching all the parts thereof; especially seeing none fall of their own consent into original sin. And these men will, that grace be not admitted, but through a man's own consent. Then if they admit this difference, how dare they affirm, that the matter is on each side alike? The scope of the Apostle in this comparison, is to be considered; and besides the scope, nothing is to be inferred. And in that comparison, Paul meant nothing else, but that Christ is to those which are regenerated, the beginning of life and of blessedness: as Adam is unto them, that are derived of him, the cause of death and of sin. Now, whatsoever is afterward beside this scope gathered touching the equality of multitude, or of the manner, the same is *Per accidens*, that is, By chance, and pertaineth not unto the scope and substance of the similitude.

45. They object also the sentence unto Timothy; God will have all men to be saved. For this sentence Pighius continually repeateth, as though it were invincible: when yet Augustine oftentimes hath taught, that it may in such sort be expounded, that it bringeth no weight at all to prove those men's fond invention. First we take it to be spoken of all estates and kinds of men; namely, that God will have some of all kinds of men to be saved: which

interpretation agreeth excellently well with the purpose of the Apostle. He had commanded that prayers and supplications should be made for all men, and especially for kings, and those which have public authority, that under them we may live a quiet life, in all godliness and chastity. And therefore to declare that no estate or kind of men is excluded, he added; God will have all men saved. As if he should have said, No man is letted by that vocation and degree, wherein he is placed, so that it be not repugnant unto the word of God, but that he may come unto salvation: and therefore we ought to pray for all kind of men. But hereof we cannot infer, that God endueth every man particularly with grace, or predestinath every man to salvation. Even in like manner as in the time of the flood, all living creatures are said to have been saved in the ark, with Noah; whereas there were but only some of every kind gathered together in it: or we may understand it thus; that God will have all men to be saved; for that as many as are saved, are saved by his will. As if a man should say of one that teacheth Rhetoric in a city, that he teacheth all men: by which kind of speech is not signified, that all the citizens are hearers of Rhetoric; but that as many as learn, are taught of him. And this also is like, if a man pointing to the gate of a house, should say, that All men enter in this way; we must not thereby understand, that all men enter into that house, but that as many as do enter, do enter in by that gate only.

Further, there are some which interpret these words of the apostle, of the will of the sign, or of the antecedent; that all men are invited, for that preaching is indifferently set forth to all men. Neither is there any, in a manner, which inwardly feeleth not some prick whereby he is oftentimes stirred up to live well. So that if we respect this will of God, we easily grant that he will have all men to be saved. But they will not have it to be

understood of the hidden and effectual will, which they call consequent: and after this manner may those kinds of speech be understood; God lighteneth every man which cometh into this world; Come unto me all ye which labor, and are laden. For all men are provoked by the oracles of God, and all men are inwardly moved by some provoking. All these interpretations are doubtless very likely, and also apt: and yet is there another besides these, ready and plain. The holy scriptures set forth two societies of men: the one of the godly, and the other of the ungodly, and of both societies have patched together universal propositions, which ought of the wary reader to be drawn to their kind. The prophets say, and Christ citeth the same; All men shall be taught of God. And; All men shall know me, from the least to the greatest. Again; When I shall be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself. These universal propositions, unless they be understood of the godly, which are elected, are not true: as are these also; I will pour of my spirit upon all flesh. And; All flesh shall come in my sight, and shall worship in Jerusalem. Again; All flesh shall see the salvation of God. Again also; God lifteth up all them that fall. Now, who seeth not, that these things are to be understood only of the saints? Contrariwise, to the fellowship of the ungodly pertain these sentences; No man receiveth his testimony, and yet many believed; Ye shall be hated of all men. Again; All men seek the things that are their own. And again; All men have declined, and are altogether made unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one. When as yet holy men, and they that are now regenerate, are acceptable unto God, and do endeavor themselves to exhibit unto him some obedience of the law. But these universal sayings, ought not to be extended beyond their own society.

This distinction had Augustine a regard unto, in his book *De civitate Dei*, where he declareth and proveth, that there have ever been two cities; namely, one that city of God, and another the city of the devil. Wherefore in these general propositions, we must always have a consideration unto what order or fellowship of men they pertain. Which if we in this present place do, then shall we apply unto the saints, and unto the elect this sentence, which we have now in hand; namely, that God will have all men to be saved, and by that means all manner of doubt is taken away. Otherwise, that God effectually willeth not the salvation of all men, very many infants declare, which perish without Christ; and many also which are born fools, and deaf, and had never in their life time the right and just use of reason. And if oftentimes happeneth, that some have lived long time, honestly and faithfully enough, and yet suddenly at the last do fall, and being taken out of the world do perish eternally. And contrariwise, others, which have perpetually led their life in wickedness, being at the end of their life endued with sudden faith and repentance, are saved: when yet notwithstanding, those first might have been taken away, that maliciousness might not have changed their minds. Who will in these examples say, that God alike effectually willeth the salvation of all men?

46. They object also a sentence of Christ; How often would I have gathered together thy children, as a hen gathereth together her chickens, and thou wouldest not? But here also is meant of the antecedent will of the sign, whereby God by his prophets, preachers, apostles and scriptures, many times invited the Jews to fly unto him by repentance: which yet they refused to do. But yet God, by his effectual will, which they call consequent, perpetually drew to him, those that were his: neither was there ever any age, wherein he gathered not together as many of the Hebrews as he had

predestinated. Therefore Augustine said; Those which I would, I have gathered together, although thou wouldest not? They think also, that this maketh on their side, which is written in the beginning of the epistle to the Romans, concerning the Gentiles; namely, that they were inexcusable: which they say could not have been said, unless unto every man were given so much grace and help, as might suffice unto salvation. But this is to be known, that the apostle in that place entreateth only of knowledge; namely that the Gentiles could not excuse their sins, for that they had not a law given unto them of God, as had the Jews: neither for that God had not in such sort opened himself unto them, as he manifested himself unto the people of the Jews; Ye know God (saith he) by his creatures, and by the light of nature; ye wanted not the knowledge of right and of wrong; therefore, ye are inexcusable. Wherefore we must not think, that this sentence extendeth further, than for the which Paul spake it. And if also thou weigh the matter better, thou shalt see, that the Ethnics and ungodly men, against whom the apostle writeth, thought not that they wanted strength to perform those things which they knew to be upright: forsomuch as they ascribed all things unto free-will. So as the apostle very well concludeth against them, as if he should have said; Do ye think that ye have strength enough, so that ye judge that ye have no need of Christ? But forsomuch as I have proved, that ye wanted not knowledge, and have notwithstanding lived wickedly, I do therefore infer, that ye are inexcusable. Furthermore, infirmity and want of ableness excuseth not; seeing that we have it not in ourselves by creation, and by our first institution; but by the fall and sin, which was brought in into our whole kind, by the first man.

The Ethnics also were inexcusable, for that they performed not that in civil justice, which lay in them to do. Wherefore nothing can be inferred of

this place, which can prove the sentence of the adversaries. They think that this also maketh with them, which is spoken in the self-same epistle to the Romans; Is God the God of Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also. They labor of this place to infer, that God giveth unto all men sufficient aid, for that he is the God of all men. But they should consider, that Paul there reproveth the Jews, for that they thought that the benevolence and grace of God was so bound unto them, that the Gentiles were utterly excluded: so then he declared, that God hath not only elected some of the Jews, but also hath his elect amongst the Gentiles. Neither followeth in therefore of necessity, that unto all the Gentiles should be given grace, which might suffice unto salvation; seeing that neither all the Jews were partakers of such grace. And we speak this, not as though we deny God to be the God of all men; for we know that even the wicked also, will they or nill they, are subject unto him; neither can they avoid his providence; whom although he bring not to eternal salvation, yet at the least way, he punisheth them for their evil deserts. But he is peculiarly said, to be the God of them, unto whom he hath given to acknowledge him for their God; and having acknowledged him, to worship him.

47. But that place seemeth to be of more difficulty, which is written unto Timothy, where God is called the savior of all men, and especially of the faithful. In which words, this word σωτήρ, that is Savior, is to be taken, not as though God giveth unto all men eternal salvation, but as it signifieth, that he preserveth and defendeth all men from many evils, which otherwise the devil practiceth against them. For so great is his rage against mankind, that if he were not restrained of God, he would destroy all things: he would suffer no common-wealth nor church, but would bring to naught, both goods, and all things whatsoever pertain to man's life. So therefore God is

the savior of all men, in that he driveth away so great evils from men. But as touching eternal salvation, that is to be understood of the elect only: and therefore it is added; And especially of the faithful. For seeing they are predestinated, they, above all other, attain unto this benefit. They wrest that also out of the prophet Isaiah, which also Paul hath a little after, in the same Epistle; All day long have I stretched out my hands unto a people that believeth not, but speaketh against me. Out of which place they can gather nothing else, but that which hath oftentimes been said; namely, that all men universally are invited of God; that the prophets were sent indifferently unto all men; that the scriptures are set forth to all men. But this makes nothing to the grace of efficacy, whereof we speak; we grant also that he standeth at the door and knocketh, and will enter in, if any man will let him in. But this they should add, that there is no man, who can of himself open; but it is necessary that it be first given unto him of the merry goodness of him that knocketh. And to commend also the mercy of God, they bring a sentence of Isaiah; Though a mother can forget her children, yet will not I forget thee. Which sentence doubtless, very little or nothing at all pertaineth to this matter, whereof is now entreated. Whoever denied, but that God is constant of faith, and standeth to his promises and covenants? This doth God in that place promises of himself; namely, that he will not forget his promise. And we also everywhere hitherto have taught, that the predestination of God is most certain: wherefor, whether this place of Isaiah be understood of predestination, or of the covenants and promises; yet doth it not thereof follow, that it is to be understood of all men. Pighius also cannot abide that, which both Augustine and we say; namely, that The reprobate do serve the purpose of God, to advance and set forth the power of God's severity; and saith further, that God hath no need of this cruel dealing, to make his name

famous. Which thing he laboreth to prove by a certain sentence taken out of the book of Ecclesiasticus. But that is thus to be interpreted; that None of us ought to think, that God hath need of the works of men: for his felicity is perfect and absolute, without the aid and help of any creature. But that the justice of God is made manifest by the unfaithfulness, and wicked facts of men, while that God taketh vengeance on them: who dare deny, when as Paul teacheth that most evidently and plainly? He citeth also out of the self-same book of Ecclesiasticus; God hath mercy on all men, because of repentance. But the solution of this objection evidently appeareth, by that which hath been spoken; namely, that these words are to be understood of the universality of the elect. For by the winking at sins, it is so far off that the wicked do aspire unto repentance, that they rather wax every day worse and worse; they fall headlong into more grievous sins. But it pertaineth to the predestinate only, to return again into the right way, after that God hath borne some-while with them.

48. And touching answering to objections, here will I finish, and consequently end the third article. Howbeit, this we will in the meantime put you in mind of; that the reprobate may sometimes in some degree do good works: and that the predestinate on the other side, may fall into sins most grievous. Of the first part, Saul may be unto us an example and firm testimony; for he was at the beginning moderate, having a modest opinion of himself, as the scripture saith. Solomon also at the later end of his age fell grievously; yea, he fell away from God, when yet at the beginning he was most holy; and had in his prayers, when he was consecrated, required those things, which highly pleased God: wherefore he was also heard. Likewise Ahab repented, which repentance God talking with Helias, commended. And also Joash the king, as long as Joiada the priest lived,

behaved himself well. Ezekiel also teacheth the self-same thing, when he writeth; If a righteous man depart from his righteousness and live wickedly, I will forget all his righteousness. Yea, and experience itself testifieth, that there are many which have lived indifferent honestly; and yet do at the length, in the last time of their life perish. Wherefore it is manifest, that in the reprobate, good works sometimes have place, which yet come not from a sincere and a perfect faith, but from a faith, that endureth but for a time; and therefore they cannot simply be said to be good, neither do they in very deed please God, but only have a show of goodness, and may as touching outward discipline be praised.

And that the predestinate do sometimes most grievously sin, David is a witness, who committed adultery and man-slaughter. Peter also is a witness, who abjured his savior. Likewise Moses and Aaron are witnesses, who as the Scripture testifieth, committed no light sin. We daily also see, that they, which are peradventure in the number of the predestinated, do fall into horrible crimes: and therefore we may affirm, that good works do sometimes serve unto predestination, and sometimes also to reprobation. Predestination by them bringeth the elect to eternal life; and as touching reprobation, they are sometimes reasons, why the fall is made the grievouser. For they which fall away from God, forsomuch as they were by him adorned with good works; as their sin is more grievous, so also is their punishment more sharp. Sins in like manner serve both to reprobation and to predestination; for they that are reprobate, are by them brought to eternal destruction; they which are predestinate, do by them the more set forth the glory of God, when they are delivered from them. And thereby also is ministered unto them occasion more and more to know themselves, and to acknowledge the benefits that are given unto them of God; and so do give

thanks for them, and do call upon him for help. And yet are not these things so to be taken, that because God, by his most singular wisdom, useth these things most rightly to our salvation, we should therefore sin: we must follow the holy scripture, which commandeth, that Evil things are not to be done, that good may come thereof.

49. Now let us at the length come to the fourth article, in which we purpose to entreat of three things in especial; First, whether by the predestination or reprobation of God, any necessity be laid upon us; Secondly, if there be any necessity, whether the same do hinder free will; Lastly, whether by the foreknowledge or predestination of God be taken away his justice, whereby he is said in the Scriptures to render to every man according to his work. These things being thoroughly declared, I trust the article proposed shall be fully satisfied. Touching the first part, this we said first, that necessity is defined to be that which cannot be otherwise. But the principles or grounds of necessity, are sometimes inward, and sometimes outward. Things which of their own nature are of necessity, and of an inward principle; either they are absolutely necessary, as God: and whatsoever things, if they be changed, include contradiction (as they speak;) As, that four is not an even number, or that four and three are not seven, and this is called a Geometrical necessity; for that it suffereth no variety. Other things indeed are of necessity of an inward ground, but yet not absolutely and simply, unless they follow the accustomed course of nature. Fire is said of necessity to burn that which is apt to be burnt, and the sun also of necessity perpetually moveth; but these are not simply necessary: for God is able to let them, and to cause these physical and natural things sometimes to cease from their proper operation. As it is manifest of the three children put into the oven of fire, which were not

burnt, although the flame were most great. The sun also staid from his course, whilst Joshua pursued after his enemies. And in the time of Helias, it is most likely, that there were vapors drawn out of the earth, and out of the sea; and yet for all that, for the space of three years, came not down out of the clouds, dew, nor rain. This also is manifest of Hezekiah, that his disease was by nature to the death. And these things shall suffice touching inward necessity.

That necessity also, which cometh outwardly, is of two sorts: the one violent, when things are compelled to abide or to work contrary to their nature; the other is by supposition: by occasion whereof the School-men have said, that there is a necessity of the consequence and another of the consequent. By which distinction, they meant nothing else, but that the connection is sometimes necessary, although that which is inferred, be not of itself necessary. The Logicians also have thus distinguished them; that they call the one a compounded sense, and the other a divided sense: as if thou wilt say, that it is not possible that white should be black; that will be granted, if these two things be taken conjunctively and together; namely, that one and the self-same thing, should be both white and black, which is by no means possible: but if they be taken apart, then it may be said not to be impossible; for that which is now white may be changed and made black. Wherefore the School-men think, that the whole difficulty of this controversy consisteth in the necessity of the consequence, and of the consequent in the compounded sense. But we, for the more perspicuity, will add another distinction; that there is one necessity of certainty or infallibility, and another of coaction.

50. Now let us more narrowly search out, how those distinctions of necessity may be applied unto this present purpose. First I say, that our

actions have not necessity by an inward principle; for that is will, which of her own nature, that is, (as God hath made it) is mutable and flexible unto either part: howbeit they have necessity by supposition. For that as soon as thou respectest the foreknowledge and predestination of God, it followeth of necessity, that it shall so come to pass, as it is of God foreknown and predestinated. Our will indeed hath an aptness, that it may be bowed to either part alike; but the action thereof, namely the conversion, it shall not have, but to that part which God hath foreknown: wherefore the necessity falleth upon the connection and conjunction of the predestination of God with our works. Which they meant by the compounded sense, and by the necessity of the consequence. For our works, if they be considered apart, and that we only have a respect unto their highest original, that is, unto the will, are of necessity. Here also is confessed necessity of certainty, or of infallibleness: for that God can neither be changed nor deceived. Neither do we plainly grant, that predestination bringeth necessity of coercion: for coercion and violence is against the nature of will. For if it should unwillingly do anything, it should not then be called will, but rather a nill (if a man may so term it) which were to overthrow it. I know that the School-men strive among themselves, whether God foreknoweth those things, which he foreknoweth, necessarily, or contingently. But in this contention, I will not intermeddle myself, for that there is not such matter set forth in the scriptures; it is sufficient unto me, to prove that God is clear from all manner of change and alteration. For the contingency and newness is in the things; but God always and perpetually abideth one and the self-same.

But that there is such a necessity, namely of the consequence, or of the compounded sense, or of infallibleness found in the holy scriptures, we will

allege certain places, which evidently prove the same. Least any should think it but a feigned invention, Christ said; It must needs be, that he should be delivered unto the Jews, to be mocked. This necessity can be of no other thing inferred, but of the definite counsel of God: which Peter teacheth in his sermon in the acts of the apostles. Christ also said; that It must needs be that the scriptures should be fulfilled. In John it is written; The scripture cannot be broken, that is, it is not possible, but that it must needs be fulfilled. Unto the Hebrews; It is impossible, that they which once being illuminated, &c. In which place is entreated of sin against the holy Ghost, that it is impossible, that they which are guilty of it should escape; for that God hath altogether decreed, forever to forsake those, which have so sinned. Christ also said of the temptations of the latter times; that The elect also, if it were possible, should be deceived, Again; Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass away. In which words is signified, that all those things, which God hath spoken either in the scriptures, or in his eternal determination, cannot by any means be made frustrate. He answereth also unto his parents; Did ye not know that it behooveth me to work those things, which pertain to my father? Unto Timothy Paul writeth; The foundation standeth firm, God knoweth who are his. And in John; Whom the father hath given unto me, no man can take out of my hand. Lastly; All things whatsoever he would he hath done both in heaven and in earth. Wherefore of all these things is gathered, how evidently this necessity of certainty and infallibleness is set forth in the holy scriptures; neither is it (as some think) a devise of man.

51. And these things which we have spoken of foreknowledge, pertain also to providence: for although in this universality of things, many things are said to be done by chance; yet notwithstanding, because that there is

nothing, be it never so small, but it is subject unto the providence of God, therefore also hath it necessity, which we call, necessity of certainty; and others, of consequence. But if, forsomuch as things may be called partly necessary, and partly also contingent, or free, as we have declared, thou wilt ask whether condition is most agreeable unto them? I answer, that that is most agreeable, which is natural and inward. Forsomuch therefore as the necessity, whereof we now entreat, cometh outwardly, and is only by supposition; therefore things ought in no wise to be esteemed according to it, but according to those principles, or grounds, which are understood of us: and so our works, which proceed from will, shall be said to be free; and those things, which are so produced in nature (that also their contrary may come to pass) are counted contingent. Howbeit, that necessity of certainty, or of consequence, which we affirm, is never to be denied; neither must we pluck away our works, either from nature, or from foreknowledge, or from the providence of God. And as touching the will of God, we must think, that in very deed it governeth and moderateth all things, which thing is of all men commonly granted. For although men perceive and feel, that they by will do decree and choose those things which they are minded to do: yet if they be godly men, they will always say; This or that will I do, if God permit. But if they be yet without the religion of Christ (as were the Ethnics) yet notwithstanding, they always make mention of fate or destiny, of the three sisters called *Parcae*, or of chance, which is oftentimes read in the poets. Who (as we have said before) if by the word [Fate] or such like, they understood the connection of causes, over which God himself is the ruler, and moderateth and governeth it, then is there no hurt in that opinion; although, by reason of the abuse of the word, it is better utterly to abstain from it. There are some also, which dream of a certain fatal, mighty, and

strong necessity, affixed unto the stars, and unto natural causes, which God himself cannot change: which is erroneous, wicked, and far from the wise men of old time; who expressly declare, that by Fate they understood the will and government of God. The verses of Cleanthes the Stoick, which he wrote touching this matter, Seneca in his 18th book of epistles hath turned into Latin, whose meaning in English is thus;

*Lead me, O sovereign sire, and Lord of lofty sky,
Where pleaseth thee: for I obey to follow speedily.
Lo, pressed I am without delay, though loath thou makest me,
Yet groaning forward shall I go, and evil while I be.
What, being good, I might have done, to do I shall be fain:
The willing persons fates do lead, unwilling they constrain.*

Although in these verses be avouched fate or destiny, yet is the government thereof put in the hands of God: for he calleth upon the most high father, and desireth to be led of him; whose will notwithstanding, he affirmeth to be both certain and infallible. The self-same thing seemeth Homer in his *Odyssea* to have meant in these verses, which are thus in English;

*Such is the mind in earthly men, and so themselves they bend,
As moves the sire of men, and gods: that daily do ascend.*

And when we speak of foreknowledge, we exclude not will: for, as we at the beginning admonished, God cannot foreknow that anything shall come to pass, unless he willeth that it shall come to pass. For there can nothing be, but that which God willeth to be; and that which God willeth, he also bringeth to pass for us: for as Paul saith; He worketh in us both to will and to perform.

52. But this will joined to foreknowledge, neither inverteth nor destroyeth natures; but so worketh in them, as is agreeing with them: and therefore, forsomuch as the nature and propriety of the will of man is to work freely and by election, the foreknowledge and will of God taketh not away this faculty or power from it; although his predestination be the cause of all good actions, which are done of the elect, and in the elect. Which thing is not only proved by testimonies of the scriptures, but also the consent of the church in their prayers affirmeth the same. For thus it prayeth, O God from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, &c. And sins, although after a sort they are subject unto the will of God yet are they not in such sort produced of it, as are good actions: howbeit, this ought to be for certain, that they also are not done utterly without any will of God. For permission, which some do acknowledge, differeth not from will: for God permitteth that which he will not let. Neither ought it to be said, that he doth unwillingly permit, but willingly; as Augustine saith. Wherefore in either kind of works, the will and foreknowledge of God, in such sort useth itself, that it overthroweth not the faculty or power of man's will. In the predestinate it provideth, that nothing be of them committed, which may overthrow their everlasting salvation. And from the reprobate it taketh away no natural power, which pertaineth to their substance or nature; neither compelleth it them against their will to attempt anything: but it bestoweth not upon them so much mercy, nor so much grace, as it doth upon the elect, and as should be needful to save them. But a great many here at stumble, for that they think with themselves; If God have foreknown, that we shall meet together tomorrow, then must it needs be that our will was utterly determined to this part: otherwise that could not be foreknown.

But we answer, as we have already signified, that that determination is in such sort with God, as is agreeing with the propriety or nature of the will. But unto it is proper so to will one part, that of his nature, it can also will the other part. Wherefore we confess, that if we have a respect unto God, it is appointed and decreed what we shall do; for his knowledge is not in vain called foreknowledge: for he hath not an opinion of things, so that his knowledge can be changed, but hath a certain and sure knowledge. And there can be no knowledge, unless (as we have said) it be certain and firm. But this definition and certainty of his, we both have said, and do say, inverteth not the nature of things, neither taketh away liberty from our nature. Which is proved by this reason; God did foreknow that many things are possible, which in very deed shall never be: and although they shall never be, yet the foreknowledge of God taketh not away from them, but that they are possible. Which we will declare by an example of the scripture; Christ, when he was taken, said; I could have asked of my father, and he would have given me eleven legions of angels, which should defend me from these soldiers. Wherefore Christ affirmeth, that it was possible for him to ask, and that unto him might be granted so many legions of angels: which yet was neither done, nor was by any means to be done. And yet notwithstanding, God foreknew that it might have been done: and although it should never come to pass, yet was it not hindered by foreknowledge, but that it was possible. Wherefore, as the foreknowledge of God letteth not possibility; so likewise it taketh not away contingency and liberty.

53. This necessity of infallibleness, is not only declared and proved by the holy scriptures, and by reasons (as we have now showed) but also is acknowledged of the fathers. Origin against Celsus, in his second book against the argument of Celsus, which he objected against the Christians,

saying; Your Christ at his last supper foretold (as ye say) that he should be betrayed of one of his disciples: if he were God, as ye counted he was, could not he let the doing thereof? Origin here wondereth, and answereth, that this objection is very ridiculous: for, forsomuch as he foretold that that should come to pass, if he had letted it, then had he not spoken the truth: and therefore he added, that it was of necessity; neither could it otherwise be, but that the same should come to pass which was foretold. Howbeit, because that this foretelling changed not the will of Judas, therefore he is worthily accused, neither ought the blame to be laid upon Christ which foretold it. Origin in that place acknowledgeth the one and the other; namely the necessity of certainty, and the nature of will not letted. Ambrose also interpreting these words of Paul; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated, referreth the sentence of the apostle to works foreseen, and yet addeth, that it could not otherwise have come to pass, but as God foresaw that it should come to pass. Chrysostom also expounding that which is written unto the Corinthians; It behooveth that heresies should be, confesseth, that this necessity is a necessity of foretelling, which is nothing prejudicial unto the power of our will and choice. Neither is this necessity taken away, by certain places in the scriptures, which otherwise at the first sight seem to affirm a change to be in the mind of God; as is that of Isaiah, when he threatened to Hezekiah the king, present death: which prophesy nevertheless God seemed to change, when he prolonged his life fifteen years. And to the city of Nineveh it was foretold, that it should be destroyed within forty days; which nevertheless came not to pass.

Those things in very deed make nothing against the truth before taught; for God foretold unto Hezekiah his death, which was even at hand, according to the causes of the disease whereof he was then sick, and therein

was made no lie. But as touching foreknowledge, as God foreknew, that the king should be in danger of that most deadly disease; even so foreknew he that his life should be prolonged fifteen years. And as he foreknew, that the sins of the Ninevites deserved present destruction; even so likewise foreknew he, that of his mercy he would give unto them to repent, and to be saved. By the very which rule is to be expounded that place of Jeremiah, in the 18th chapter, wherein God saith, that He also would change his mind, or repent him of the plague, which he had threatened unto any city, nation or kingdom, if they would repent. But what shall we say of Paul, who writeth to the Corinthians, that He chastised his body, and brought it into bondage, that he might not be a reprobate? What meant he to change that firm purpose of God? Verily Paul meant not, that he was able to invert the order of the predestination or reprobation of God; and therefore he said not, Lest I become a reprobate; but, Lest I be reprov'd: for he minded by all industry and carefulness to be obedient to the predestination of God. For they which are predestinated unto eternal life, study to mortify the flesh. And he said that he would not become reprov'd, that is, he would not be found and accused, to lead his life otherwise than he preached: which kind of vice all men disallow, detest, and condemn. Wherefore in that place, was not entreated of the reprobation of God; but of that kind of crime, which they are guilty of, whosoever give good monitions, and in the meantime, they themselves lead their life most wickedly. Although if a man will needs refer these things to the judgment of God, he might well grant the same as touching present justice or injustice; but not according to firm purpose, whereof we at this present entreat.

54. Cicero, a man otherwise full of wit, and of good literature very well deserving, was exceedingly deceived in this question; as it is evident by his

second book *De divinatione*. Which thing Augustine declareth in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, the ninth and tenth chapters. For he thought it impossible, that the foreknowledge of things to come should not overthrow the faculty or power of man's will: therefore he took away all manner of predestination or foretelling. Which opinion, how much repugnant it is to our religion, all men understand; seeing it is staid upon the oracles of the prophets, as upon sure foundations. And it is written, that God did never anything, which was of any weight, but he first revealed it unto the prophets. He showed unto Noah the destruction that should come by the flood, long time before it came to pass. Unto Abraham he foreshowed the burning of Sodoma; and unto him he signified the oppression and deliverance of his posterity in Egypt. And in a manner unto the self-same prophets he gave charge to foretell the captivity of Babylon, and the return from thence. He also commanded all the prophets to prophesy, that Christ should come. And therefore unto us so constant is the authority of prophetesies, that to deny it, is utterly to overthrow all religion. Wherefore Augustine not without just cause said; that Those men, which were called *Genethliaci*, which avouched the fatal necessities of the stars, were more tolerable than Cicero; for they gave some place unto God. But if he be denied to foreknow things to come; thereby also is he denied to be God. David saith; The foolish man said in his heart, There is no God. Which saying he sheweth to be the opinion of the wicked; for that they, when they commit wicked facts, think that God seeth them not, and that he will never punish them. And Cicero hath given us occasion to suspect, that he was after a sort infected with this impiety; for that in his book *De natura deorum*, he bringeth in Cotta, and the high priest thus reasoning together; that Cotta desired much, that he might have undoubtedly proved unto him,

that there are gods. Howbeit, because he saw that it was a thing odious, hateful, and in a manner infamous, to deny that there is a God; therefore towards the end of the book, he gave sentence on Balbus side, who defended that there are gods: but yet he so gave sentence, that he said unto Velleius, that the opinion of Cotta seemed unto him more probable. Verily a godly man, and one confirmed in religion, would never say that that sentence is likely to be true, wherein the divinity is called into doubt. But these are the disputations of over reason, whereof Paul abundantly wrote in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans.

But afterward Cicero himself in his book *De divinatione*, under his own person, denieth God to have the foreknowledge of things to come; and maketh answer to his brother Quintus, who in the whole course of the first book, had confirmed propheties and oracles. But why denieth he foreknowledge? He was therefore driven unto it; for that he saw that he must needs grant an order of causes, and of effects, which is immovable and constant: for otherwise, things to come could not be foretold. Now, if such an order be granted, he supposeth that nothing remaineth in our hands and power. But as in God, we must affirm to be a most singular will, joined with a most singular power; even so unto him must be attributed the knowledge of all things: yet let us not therefore be afraid, but that we may do the things which we do, by our own will and choice. The Stoics, which did appoint fate or destiny, seem also to have been somewhat moved with Ciceros reason: for they did place the motions of the will of man, not to be under fate or the connection of causes. Not that they utterly made free the will of man, but only they affirmed, that in it lay, at the choice thereof, to meddle or not to meddle with some things: which if it meddle with, straightway it should be wrapped in the necessity of fate. By an example the thing may be

made manifest; They say that it lay in Oedipus to company with a woman, or to abstain: but if he once company, he could not choose but commit incest; of which incest children should be begotten, which should pollute themselves with murdering of their brother, and should overthrow their father's kingdom. The ancients philosophers, as Democritus and Empedocles, affirm, that The will also is subject to fate or to the connection of causes. But Chrysippus the Stoic hereunto rather inclined to exempt man's will, as Oenomaris the Cynic by report of Eusebius Caesariensis *De praeparatione evangelica* saith, that Democritus made men bond-men, and Chrysippus half bond-men.

55. But leaving these, let us return unto Cicero, who said; If there be foreknowledge, then things should in such sort come to pass, as they were foreknown; neither can the event foreseen be avoided: so that the liberty of man is utterly lost. Laws, admonitions, rewards, punishments, and such like things, are in vain: wherefore he purposeth a choice, that a man should choose, whether he would rather admit foreknowledge, or liberty of the will; for that they could not consist both together, as far as he judged. And because he was a man having to do in civil matters, and dealt in laws and judgments; he rather rejected the foreknowledge of God, than he would loose the liberty of the will of man. And for this cause Augustine saith of him; Those which will be free, he maketh sacrilegers, so that for defense of their liberty, they spoil God of his foreknowledge. Ciceros reason was; If the will be free, there can be no sure connection of causes. For if it were sure, it might not be broken by our will: and if there be no sure connection, then foreknowledge cannot stand; and therefore he affirmeth, that God also foreknoweth not what things shall come to pass. For if he should foreknow them, then should there be a sure and firm order of causes; which being

granted, there should nothing remain in the power of our will. But we ought to hold both these, because we have experience of the one by sense. For every man may perceive in himself, how he worketh by counsels and deliberation, and chooseth that which pleaseth him. But the other, that is, the foreknowledge of God, we hold by faith; which knowledge is of no less force than the apprehension both of sense and reason. And so we deny unto Cicero that consequence. There is a certain and constant order of causes, which God foreknew; therefore there is nothing in our will. And for this the argument is denied, because our wills also are to be placed amongst the causes of things, yea and have not amongst them the unworthiest place. Wherefore, even as God can foreknow what shall come to pass of other causes: in like sort is he able plainly to see what our wills will choose. And as in foreseeing other causes, and their effects, he in no wise destroyeth nor changeth the nature of them: so likewise he hath left the wills of men untouched.

This also moved Cicero, that then nothing should happen by chance: but forsomuch as very many things happen by chance and fortune, it is manifest, that there can be no sure order and foreknowledge of causes. In this sort reasoned he. But we answer, that Those things, which are said to come by chance, are so called things coming by chance, as they are referred to our understanding, which being but weak by reason of his dullness, it seeth not the course or connection of causes: but if they be referred unto the mind of God, from which nothing is hidden, they cannot be said to come by chance or rashly. The infirmity of the mind of man hath made place for fortune or chance, which we will declare by an example; If a master should send his servant to the market, and command him to be there by six of the clock, and should also command his bailiff apart, to do the self-same thing,

doubtless both the bailiff and the servant shall meet together; which to either of them shall happen by chance, for that they knew not of their masters commandment; but the master himself, who knoweth the matter, will not judge this to come by chance. Which thing also by this may appear; Suppose that I knew that there were treasure hidden in a place, and I should command one to dig in that place, when he should find the treasure, he would cry, Good fortune; but I which knew the matter, would attribute nothing unto fortune. Even so God, forsomuch as he knoweth the course and connection of all causes, never findeth any. Therefore let us submit all things unto the providence of God; and amongst all other things, our wills, which we must affirm to have that power, which God would (who tempereth the power and nature of all things.)

There is a certain cause, (as saith Augustine) which so worketh, that it is by no means wrought; and such a cause is God. And there is another cause, which so worketh, that it also is wrought of another; of which kind is our will, which so willeth and worketh, as it is wrought of God. Wherefore we ought neither to assent unto Cicero, nor to the Stoics; for as we ought to withdraw nothing from the foreknowledge of God, so least of all are our wills to be exempted from it, for they pertain to the better part of the world. For what should he have a care of? Or what should he foreknow, if he should not have a care of men? Our wills (as saith Augustine) are able to do so much, as God would and foreknew they should be able to do: and therefore, whatsoever they are able to do, they most certainly are able to do; and whatsoever they shall do, they shall without all doubt do it: for that he, whose foreknowledge cannot be deceived, foreknew that they should be both able, and also do it. And in the tenth chapter of the fifth book before cited, he distinguished, as we did, the two sorts of necessity; one, whereby

we are compelled to suffer those things which we would not, as is the necessity of death, whereunto, will we or nill we, we must give place; the other necessity he saith, is that, according to which anything is said to be necessary, that is to say, that which shall undoubtedly come to pass. And as touching this, there is no need that we should be afraid concerning our will; for by it the will is not diminished. The former indeed is repugnant unto it; for it is not possible that it should will anything unwillingly: but this latter is nothing at all against the nature of the will. The life and foreknowledge of God, although they are necessarily attributed unto him, yet they nothing hurt his nature nor will: he neither can be deceived nor die; and yet suffereth he not anything which he willeth not. So also we say, that when we will anything, by will, we necessarily will it: and yet do we not think, that hereby our choice is violated.

56. And how the foreknowledge of God hurteth not our will, Augustine in his third book *De libero arbitrio*, in the second and third chapters very well declareth. And first he saith, that By this question are exceedingly set a work a great many of wicked men, which either would if will were at liberty, that God should have no providence nor care of things mortal; that they might with the more licentiousness give themselves unto lusts, in denying the judgments both of God and of man, and to the uttermost of their power avoiding the same; or if it cannot be avoided, but that it must needs be granted, that God foreseeeth and understandeth the things which are done of us; yet at the least they would obtain this, that his providence should so compel the wills of men, that they may be excused from blame of their wicked facts. But how these men's devises are frustrate, he easily declareth, in setting forth, how the knowledge of God may stand with will, and that a free will. He demandeth of him, with whom he reasoneth,

Whether he knew that he should have tomorrow a will upright or corrupt? He maketh answer, that he could not tell; Doest thou think (saith Augustine) that God knoweth this? The other confesseth, that he thinketh God knoweth this. Wherefore (saith Augustine) forso much as God foreknoweth this, he also foreknoweth what he will do with thee, that is, whether he will glorify thee at the end of thy life: which if he foreknow, and cannot be deceived, then of necessity will he glorify thee. But in the meantime tell thou me, shalt thou be glorified against thy will, or with thy will? Verily (saith he) not against my will; for I most earnestly desire the same. And hereby is concluded, that that which God will of necessity do in us, hindereth not the will. He sheweth also, that this shall be more plain, if we consider foreknowledge, as though it were our own. Suppose that I foreknow, that a certain man shall come to me tomorrow, shall this my foreknowledge take his will from him, but that if he come, he cometh of his own choice? Doubtless that cannot be said: for he willingly cometh, neither shall my foreknowledge diminish anything of his choice.

And as our memory compelleth not things past, to be past; so foreknowledge compelleth not those things which shall come to pass, to come to pass. And this likewise may another way be declared; If a man saw Plato disputing with Socrates, or the sun or the moon eclipsed, the sight of the seer causeth not, that they which dispute together, should necessarily or unwillingly dispute; neither doth cause, that the sun or moon do eclipse by chance, seeing those eclipses of the heavenly lights have their necessary causes: wherefore, he which doth see both, maketh not, by the reason of his sight, that which is contingent, necessary; neither maketh he that which is necessary, contingent. Neither ought we to imagine, that the foreknowledge of God obtaineth his certainty of the necessity of things; for so great is the

perspicuity of the mind of God, that it can also most certainly understand things contingent. Neither is this reason anything hindered, by that which we before often admonished; namely, that the foreknowledge of God hath always will joined with it, seeing nothing can be foreknown of God to be, which he himself willeth not to be. But yet this will, whereby God worketh all in all, applieth itself to the natures of things; for in meat it nourisheth, in the sun it lighteneth, in the vine it bringeth forth wine, and in the will of man it causeth, that they of their own accord, and freely, will those things, which they will. Paul, as we read in the Acts, cited that sentence of Aratus; In him we live, we move, and have our being: whereof it followeth, that the will of man hath his motions of God. But if a man say, that it receiveth of God such motions, as it self before willeth; then shall he speak things absurd: for then should our will measure and govern the influences of God, which is furthest from the truth. But rather let us say, that it receiveth of God such impulsions and motions, as he will give; and let us in the meantime mark, that God so worketh in our will, that it gladly, willingly, and of its own accord, receiveth the motions, which God putteth into us.

57. But how it cometh to pass, that God most certainly foreseeeth things to come, when yet the wills of men, and many natural causes are doubtful, and work contingently; it may thus be declared. It is true indeed, that those, which consider things only in their causes, are oftentimes deceived. For all causes do not necessarily bring forth their effects; for sometimes they are letted, and otherwise inclined than they were supposed. Wherefore men are not deceived, when they judge of effects lying hidden in their causes. But the foreknowledge of God, not only knoweth what things shall come to pass in their causes; but also thoroughly seeth them, as if they were already brought forth, and by their causes made perfect. And hereof it cometh, that

we may of the foreknowledge of God infer necessity of certainty and infallibleness; and so can we not do of the nighest causes. For when we say, that God foreknew that this or that should be tomorrow; we rightly add, that therefore it shall of necessity be. Necessity is not applied unto a thing known, but as it is foreknown of God as present and already brough forth; which maketh not only to perspicuity, but also to necessity: for everything, whilst it is, is of necessity: neither must we afterward grant, that the thing is of necessity, for that it is not taken in such sort as it was foreknown of God.

Hitherto have we defended the power of man's will, which yet we would not have taken generally; but only as touching foreknowledge and predestination. For although thereby (as it is proved) be not letted free will, yet doth it not otherwise want impediments or lets; for we are born in sins, and will we or nill we, we are wrapped in original sin; neither can we by any means wind ourselves out of sin. And before regeneration, what manner of power soever we give unto the will of man, in things indifferent and civil; this first we ought to think, that, which way soever it turn itself, of necessity it sinneth; neither can it do anything, which is in very deed acceptable unto God; neither yet can it give unto civil works, the success which it purposeth. Wherefore Augustine worthily wrote in his Enchiridion, that the first man by sinning, lost the liberty of freewill. This moreover is to be considered, that the wills and motions of the mind, and actions, even of men not yet regenerated, are directed of God; and so directed, that by his providence they are brought to the end, by him prefixed and determined: yea also when we are regenerated, although after a sort we obtain liberty through Christ, yet the same is not full, but only begun. For the first motions, which stir up unto sin, creep upon us against our wills; which motions we have showed to be sins.

And Ambrose plainly confesseth, that Our hearts are not in our own power; neither is there any of the believers, which often falleth not, when as nevertheless he would fain stand. Whereupon we ought all to pray; Forgive us our trespasses. And unto the Galatians Paul said; The spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, so that ye do not those things which ye would. And in his epistle to the Romans it is written; The evil which I hate, that I do. Again; I feel a law in my members striving against the law of my mind, and leading me away captive into the law of sin: which words cannot be understood, but only of man regenerated. For he had said; In my mind I serve the law of God, but in flesh the law of sin: which in no wise can be referred to a man not yet justified. We grant indeed, that God could, if he would, give unto men so much aid, that they should not sin at all; but that hitherto hath he not done, neither hath he undertaken at any time to do it. Wherefore, our will is subject yet to some servitude, which as we desire to remain certain and undoubted; so on the other side we affirm, that by the foreknowledge and predestination of God the will is not letted.

58. Hitherto in this article it is seen, what necessity cometh of the foreknowledge and predestination of God; namely such a necessity, as is not absolute, but by supposition, which we call necessity of consequence, of infallibleness, and of certainty; but not of coaction. And seeing it is so, it is now evident, that no injustice is committed of God, when he condemneth sinners, and glorifieth the righteous. For unto every man is rendered according unto his works; so that no man can say, that his sins are not his own works, seeing he is not compelled to commit them, but exceedingly alloweth and willeth them. Neither are laws, admonitions, promises, and punishments in vain; as it was objected: for they are of so much force, as

God hath decreed they shall be of force; as Augustine writes in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, in the chapter before cited. For God's will is to use them unto the salvation of many; and although they profit not some, yet they want not their end: for they help forward to the condemnation of the wicked. Prayers also are not made unprofitable; for by them we obtain those things, which God hath decreed to give unto us by them. Wherefore, this is an excellent saying of Gregory, in his dialogs; that By prayers cannot be obtained but those things only, which God hath predestinated to give. And how by predestination, or foreknowledge, or propheties, sins are not excused, we are taught by very many testimonies of the holy scriptures. Christ foretold that Judas should betray him; verily that foretelling neither took away from Judas his wickedness, nor yet poured it into him. He followed the enticements of covetousness, he betrayed not the Lord to obey his prophesy. Christ also was by the will of God slain, for he said in the garden; Let this cup pass away from me if it be possible, but not my will be done, but thine. And of himself he said before hand; I will give my life for my sheep.

Yea, Herod and Pilate are in the Acts of the apostles said to have agreed together, to do those things, which the counsel of God had decreed. Are either the Jews, or those princes, by reason of this, to be acquitted from sin; when as they condemned and slue an innocent man? Who will say so? Shall any man also acquit of villainy the brethren of Joseph, when they sold their brother; although God would by that means that Joseph should come into Egypt? Neither shall the cruelty of the king of Babylon be excused, although the justice of God decreed to have the Jews in such sort punished. He which is killed, is said to be delivered by God into the hands of his enemy. And God is also said to deliver a city, when it is won by assault.

And Job said, that those things, which were by violence and robbery taken away from him by the Chaldeans and Sabaeans, were taken away by God; The Lord (saith he) gave, and the Lord hath taken away. Wherefore of that counsel of God, whereby he useth sins to their appointed ends, cannot be inferred any just excuses of sins: for wicked works are judged and condemned, by reason of the lewd and corrupt heart, from whence they are derived. Wherefore let no man be offended with the doctrine of predestination, seeing rather by it we are led to acknowledge the benefits of God, and to give thanks unto him only. And let us also learn, not to attribute more unto our own strength than we ought: let us have also an assured persuasion of the good will of God towards us, whereby he would elect his, before the foundations of the world were laid. Let us moreover be confirmed in adversities, knowing assuredly, that whatsoever calamity happeneth, it is done by the counsel and will of God: and that finally by the moderation of predestination it shall turn to good, and to eternal salvation.

Whether God would kill or destroy any man.

59. But there ariseth a doubt, whether God would kill or destroy any man: for it is written, that The sons of Helie hard not their fathers words, because the Lord would slay them. In the 18th and 33rd chapters (for both the chapters are of one argument, although Jerome showed some difference between them, yet so small, as it maketh in a manner no matter) Ezekiel, under the person of God saith; As truly as I live, I will not the death of a sinner, but that he convert and live. And in Isaiah 28th chapter, it is read; I, saith the Lord, will do a strange work; namely, to punish you: whereupon it is gathered, that it is far from the nature of God to lay punishments upon us for sins. Wherefore it is every-where pronounced of the church, that the property of God is to forgive, and to be merciful. And in the first chapter of

Wisdom (if yet we shall allow of that book) it is written; God made not death, nor delighteth in the destruction of the living. Furthermore, the name of the very same God is called in the holy scriptures Jehovah; which soundeth nothing else, than Being, or, To be. Wherefore Augustine in his book *De vera religione*, the twelfth chapter saith; that The nature of God is To be; forsomuch as all things have from thence even that being that they have. But death bringeth to pass, that things cease to be; so that it seemeth not to proceed from God. And in Genesis it is written, that God made man a living soul, whereupon it followeth, that he did not so make him, that he would destroy him; but rather that he should live. And in the 29th chapter of Jeremiah it is said; My thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and not of affliction, saith the Lord. Nevertheless, we understand here, that he would destroy the sons of Helie. And Jeremiah in the lamentations saith, that God minded to overthrow the wall of Zion. And in Zechariah it is said; Even as God thought to punish you, what time as your fathers provoked him to wrath: so now have I determined to do well unto you. And there is a place extant in the 14th chapter of Isaiah, wherein by manifest words it is declared, that God consulted and decreed with himself utterly to destroy the Babylonians and Assyrians. And very many testimonies, for the confirmation of this matter, might be gathered out of the holy scriptures: but because we meet with them every-where, I will pass them over.

60. As touching the discourse which we have in hand; first we must determine of some certain thing; secondly, we must encounter the testimonies and reasons, which may seem to be against the definition set down. First of all, the nature of death is to be distinguished: because there is one of the soul, and another of the body. As touching that of the body, it would be superfluous to say anything; seeing by the sense we perceive the

same to be nothing else, but a departure of the soul from the flesh. Wherefore, on the other side we affirm, that the death of the soul doth then happen, when we for sin sake are separated from God. Unto these things, this also is to be added, that the death of the body doth depend of the death of the soul; for unless that had gone before, this should not follow: whereupon Paul most truly wrote; that By sin came death into the world. Only Christ is here to be excepted, who only died without sin: albeit that neither he, in very deed, died altogether without sin, seeing that he bare our sins on his body upon the cross. But the procurer of death (as Augustine saith in his fourth book *De civitate Dei*, the 12th chapter) was the devil: for he was therefore of John called A murderer even from the beginning, because he persuaded the first men unto sin. Even as Christ therefore is the mediator of life, so is the devil, of death. And it is written, that Sin entered into the world by one man, because that same one, that is, the first man, was corrupted by the devil. Therefore saith Augustine; God made not death absolutely and by itself, but for a just recompense imposed the same upon sinners. For in very deed it is one thing to produce a thing absolutely, and by itself; and another thing justly to lay it upon us; for all things that are done of God by themselves, are in very deed good: for God saw all things that he had made, and they were very good.

Those things also which are laid upon us for a reward of sins, although in their own nature they be evil, that is to say, against our nature; yet so far forth as they have the nature of justice, they ought to be counted for good things. For the plain declaration whereof, Augustine useth a very apt similitude; When a judge condemneth a man to execution, he is not properly said to have done the execution, seeing the guilty man procured the same to himself. Wherefore there is a certain will of God absolute, and

another (as Augustine calleth it) recompensing, To whether of those belongeth the present place, wherein it is said, that God would destroy the sons of Helie? Whether shall we understand it of the absolute will, or of the recompensing will? Doubtless of the recompensing; because of the absolute will it must not be understood. Therefore (saith Augustine) it is most just, that when our soul shall of his own will depart from God, it should be separated from his body, whether it will or no. In like manner, there would be a difference put between the conditions of sinners; for there be some of them which sorrow that they have sinned, and whom it repenteth of their sins committed: these men, as they belong to the election, even so do they exercise the faith wherewith they are adorned.

61. Of this kind of sinners speaketh God, when he saith in Ezekiel; I will not the death of a sinner. And this will of God is so firm and steadfast, as he confirmeth the same with an oath; As truly as I live (saith he) I will not the death of a sinner. But others do so stick in their wickedness, as they are never led with any repentance; forsomuch as they belong to the number of the reprobates: these men assuredly God would have to die. And for a truth, after that they have fulfilled the measure of their grievous sins, it is requisite that they should die; that one day at the length they may make an end of their sinning. Therefore, whereas the prophet saith under the person of God, that He will not the death of a sinner, it must not be understood universally, as touching all; but of some certain. We might also add with many divines that there is a certain will of God, which they call effectual; and also another of the sign: for there are given to all men one with another certain signs of salvation; such as are outward vocation, which doth chiefly consist of the word of God, of preaching, and of the administration of the sacraments. Another will there is of God secret, which is called effectual;

and belongeth not unto all men together: for if it comprehended all men, no doubt but all men should be saved. For such is the strength and power of God, as of him the scriptures pronounce; He hath done all things whatsoever he would. So that the prophet Ezekiel meant, that our punishments must not be ascribed to God; but rather to the sins of our own selves.

And when he addeth, that God would, that men should convert and live; that must not so be understood, as though we may obtain eternal life by the merit of repentance; seeing we obtain that by faith, which only procureth to us the mercy of God, through Christ. And no less is repentance than our faith to be reckoned among the gifts of God. And undoubtedly, as touching repentance, Paul speaketh unto Timothy; If peradventure God shall give them repentance: but of faith it is written to the Philippians; God hath not only given it unto you, that you should believe, but also to suffer for his sake. And unto the Ephesians; By faith ye are saved, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Verily we have these things by the liberality of God, not of our own strength; because we are not sufficient of ourselves, as of ourselves, to further anything unto our salvation; For it is God that worketh in us both to will and to perform: wherefor not some part of our salvation, but the whole dependeth of God. But and if thou shalt demand, why God bestoweth these his gifts rather on this man, than on that? It is a thing unsearchable. This ought to satisfy us, to confess, that whatsoever he doth, he doth it rightly and justly.

62. But whereas Isaiah saith; that God doth a strange work, when he bringeth just punishments upon the wicked; it is no hard matter to make it agree with the sentence that we have set down, seeing that God, of his own accord, and without just cause inferreth no evil: for he is provoked by our

sins, and he recompenseth our wickedness with a just damnation. Nevertheless, in that place a strange work seems unto me to signify a work unaccustomed, not seen, nor heard of before: as if God should say; I will bring upon you, not an ordinary and daily punishment, but a notable and wonderful punishment. He that shall after this manner understand the words of the prophet, in my judgment he shall vary from the natural sense thereof. And whereas it is written in the first chapter of the book of Wisdom, that God made not death, nor delighteth in the destruction of the living, it is (as I think) plainly enough to be understood by those things, which are already spoken. For we may understand, that God made not death, because we by our sins have drawn it unto us: but yet we must not therefore affirm, that the same is no manner of way derived from God. Neither must Made or Ordained be urged vehemently in that place, otherwise it might be again objected against them out of the 11th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, that Death and life, good and evil, poverty and riches are of God. And whereas it is added, that God rejoiceth not at the destruction of the living; that is true as touching the predestinate, seeing of them he suffereth none to perish: when otherwise of the reprobate it is said in the first chapter of the Proverbs; I also will rejoyce in your destruction: for God is not led unwillingly or violently, but willingly and gladly to destroy the ungodly. Moreover, truth it is, that man at the beginning was created a living soul: and God for that cause may seem not to be the author of death, because he created man, that he might live; who afterward by his own fault, procured death unto himself.

But yet hereunto I add, that man could not have life, without the special benefit of God; for he giveth it at his will and pleasure to whom he thinketh good. And undoubtedly that is true, which he himself speaketh in Jeremiah; that His thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and not of affliction. First,

because that death, and her retainers are (as it hath been said) drawn to us by our own selves. Further, it must not be lightly weighed, which is afterward written in the prophet unto the house of Israel, that is, unto the elect, and them that are predestinate to salvation: for unto them God intendeth nothing but for their salvation. As touching the name of Jehovah, by which God is specially named; because all things have of him even the very being which they have; and that therefore death, seeing it bringeth a man to nothing, cannot seem to have his cause of God, it is to be understood, that death is ordained for men as a punishment of sin, and is laid upon them that deserve it. Neither do we deny, but that God of himself is life; seeing the essence of all things dependeth of him, as of the fountain. Which nevertheless is not so, but that he can withdraw the same, so often as he thinks good; for whatsoever he doth, he doth it voluntarily, and of his own accord: not as doth the sun, the stars, the moon, the fire, and other natural things, which work naturally, and of a certain necessity. Therefore David wisely said; When thou openest thy hand, all things shall be filled with goodness, which if thou pluck back again, and once doest close, all things shall straightway be destroyed. Howbeit, he closeth not his hand, except he be provoked by our ill deserts.

CHAP. II. Of the calling of God, and of his Grace.

The calling of God is directed unto that end that we should believe the same; and further, that we should be saved by the benefit thereof. Seeing therefore that our salvation and faith be those good things, which the calling of God hath respect unto, this nature they have, that faith serveth for another end; namely, for our salvation: two manner of ends indeed, but yet it may seem to be one, seeing without doubt the one tendeth unto the other. But the form of the calling is not always one and the same; for sometimes it is done only by inspiration of the Spirit, and sometimes by the words of God outwardly propounded unto us, either by writing, or by word of mouth. And those words of God, whereby we be called, do consist partly in promises, and partly in doctrine; unto the which also threatening's are otherwhile added. Likewise we know, that some have been called by compulsion, as the holy history in the Acts of the apostles declareth of Paul. We also read, that this hath sundry times been brought to pass by benefits, yea, and the gifts of healing bestowed upon the apostles seem to have an eye unto that. Sometimes God calleth his children by adversities; of which

way the children of Israel had very many times experience. And it must be remembered, that this calling sometimes is understood as concerning salvation, seeing God doth therefore call us unto him, that we may be saved. There is also a certain other private calling for the taking of some certain charge in hand, be it of priesthood, kingdom, government of household, and other such like. Which two callings be not all one, because they may be severed; for so was Saul called unto the kingdom, but not unto salvation; and Judas, albeit he were joined to the apostleship, yet was he not partaker of the salvation by Christ.

Again, calling is of two sorts; one is called effectual, and the other not effectual: not effectual, is when some men are thought, by the reason of outward signs and tokens to be called, and to appertain unto God, and to the church, and yet in very deed the success is not so: and hereof it is spoken in the 20th and 24th chapters of Matthew; Many be called, but few be chosen. But that is said to be effectual, which by no means wanteth the due end of salvation; of the which Paul speaketh in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, when he saith; All things work for the best to them which are called according to the purpose of God: for those which he knew before, he also predestinated, to be made conformable to the image of his son, that he might be the first born among many brethren; whom he predestinated, them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. Thou seest by these words of Paul, that they which be called, are predestinated, and that the very same shall be glorified. Wherefore an apparent controversy in the scriptures is decided: for when it is said, that some be called and not chosen, there it is spoken of calling without effect. Again, when those that be called are said to be justified, and glorified, there the speech is of effectual calling: this effectual

calling Paul nameth according to the purpose. But this purpose of God is referred unto predestination and foreknowledge.

This also must be added, that calling goeth before faith, which thing appeareth out of the tenth chapter to the Romans, when the apostle saith; How shall they call upon him, whom they have not believed? How shall they believe him, of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach, unless they be sent? Behold, in this method of resolution thou seest, that faith doth two ways depend upon calling; First, because they that should preach, and be messengers, ought to be called and appointed to declare the word of God; and then they, while they preach, do call the people of God; whose faith, as thou seest, doth depend upon the calling of God. And if so be calling be before faith, it is also before all merits; because our good works, by the which we deserve anything, do flow from faith, even as it is said in the fifth chapter to the Galatians; Faith which worketh by love. Seeing therefore that faith goeth before works and merits, and calling before faith, it appeareth that our calling is not given for any merits of ours, but only for the free mercy of God.

2. But now if thou shalt be demanded, what time that calling is made? Thou must answer, that unto God there be no laws prefixed, that he, by his most prudent government, calleth into his vineyard some at the first hour, some at the second, some at the third; and again, he calleth some a little before the evening time. For, albeit that in respect of his foreknowledge or predestination, all men were called together at the beginning; yet nevertheless, the declaration or execution of calling, is done by God, according as it furthereth his glory, and the honor or commodity of his church. And so great is the honor of the divine calling, that the church took

thereof her name, and is called in Greek, ἀπό τοῦ καλεῖν; the which undoubtedly signifieth, no other, but a company of them that be called. Wherefore it remaineth, that when we be called, we should with all diligence obey the caller; weighing thoroughly with ourselves, that we be called for our profit: for God calleth us not, but for our good. Wherefore Christ saith, Come unto me all ye that labor, and be heavy laden, and I will refresh you. For being far from God, we are vexed with thought and carefulness of living. Moreover being laden with a multitude of grievous mischiefs, we are pressed down.

Furthermore, we must mark what manner of benefit of God this is, and how singular and excellent, the which he imparteth not unto all men; for he passing over so many, whose nature is all one with ours, hath taken unto him, or separated us. Wherefore if we embrace not the benefit that is offered unto us, and that is denied unto others, we shall deserve no small punishment, yea rather, as it is written in the second chapter to the Romans; We shall heap up unto ourselves wrath in the day of wrath. Neither ought there or may there be any lawful excuse pretended, for not obeying God when we be called; although in show the same were a godly excuse, which is sufficiently showed in the eighth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, touching him that being called of the Lord, alleged for himself, that he should go to bury his father. No doubt, but that seemed to tend unto godliness: but Christ said unto him; Let the dead bury the dead; as if he had said; When thou art called by me, set aside all duties, and follow me. And such is the power of God's calling, as without that, all our endeavors are made void, and are not allowed by God: as in the same chapter we most plainly see, that he pleased not Christ, which in a manner offered himself of his own accord to follow him; but because he wanted that calling, he did not

set forward himself to follow Christ with an upright mind: wherefore he was put to a repulse.

3. Paul, when he disputed of calling, thought it not sufficient, to put us in remembrance that we are brought to obedience; but would also admonish us besides, what manner of people we were before; namely, the servants of sin. This was the state of us all, before we were converted unto Christ: for the calling of God findeth none either holy or just. Neither was it sufficient to say, that we are now the servants of righteousness; but he added; From the heart. They which are truly regenerate in Christ, and grafted in him, work those things, which they understand to be acceptable unto God, not by compulsion or hypocrisy, but of their own accord. Wherefore Paul, when he maketh mention hereof, giveth thanks unto God, for that he understood the same thing to be the chiefest and singular benefit of God, and lieth not in our power, as many men feign it to do: and therefore he addeth in the passive signification; Ye were delivered. By which words he meaneth nothing else, but that which Christ meant, when he said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him. But what manner of drawing this is, and how hard it is to be expressed, he that diligently weigheth the words of Christ, shall easily perceive; It is written (saith he) in the prophets, They shall be all taught of God. Which sentence Christ doth yet more plainly expound, saying; He which shall hear of my father, and shall learn, cometh unto me. By which words he sheweth, that an outward calling is not sufficient, unless there be added by God a full persuasion inwardly, and in the mind: for after that God hath once inclined and framed our mind, then at the last we come unto Christ.

And Augustine in his first book to Boniface, against the two epistles of the Pelagians writeth, that The Lord said; Unless my father shall draw him,

and said not; Unless my father shall lead him: as though we ourselves, as of ourselves, could will anything, or else give assent unto him that calleth us: for he which is willing, is not drawn, but led; not that the father draweth any, but those that be willing. For it is not possible that we should believe, unless we be willing. But God worketh wonderfully in our hearts, so that of unwilling persons he maketh us willing. And the same Augustine upon John, expounding this place, compareth the believer with a young sheep, whom the shepherd, by holding forth a green bow, draweth after him; not indeed by violence, but of his own accord, and with a desire: for the sheep hath inwardly an appetite, which stirreth him up to follow the bow. In which comparison, this we ought to note; that it is the property of a sheep so to do: for another beast will not follow, although thou shouldest allure it with green bows. So ought we by regeneration to be renewed, and to be made the sheep of Christ, before we can follow him: for otherwise we despise all green bows and callings.

Augustine addeth moreover, that this drawing is with a certain oblectation and pleasure; so that it is true which the poet saith; *Trahit sua quemque voluptas*; that is, Every man is drawn by his own pleasure. And we are led by the bonds, not of the body, but of that heart; and we are stirred up by a holy pleasure. But the definition of pleasure sufficiently teacheth, that first the changing of our corrupt nature is necessary; for pleasure is nothing else, but an affection or motion stirred up in us of things agreeable unto our nature; as contrariwise, grief or sorrow cometh of things that are repugnant unto our nature. And now, to the end we may take some pleasure by the admonitions of God, and by heavenly preachings; it is necessary, that they be agreeable to our nature, which nature being corrupt, that thing can by no means be brought to pass. For Paul saith unto the Corinthians; The carnal

man understandeth not those things, which are of the spirit of God, for they seem foolish unto him, and therefore he refuseth them as things contrary unto himself.

4. What is then to be done, that the same things may be pleasant unto us? Are the commandments of God to be altered, and bended to our lusts? No undoubtedly: our nature ought rather to be changed, and regenerated by God. And that thing doth God bring to pass in us, when he, through faith, indueth us with his righteousness, and so draweth us unto Christ. And therefore Paul, when he had used these verbs of the active signification, Obey and exhibit, or give your members, &c: useth afterward the passive signification, when he saith; Ye are delivered, ye are made free from sin, ye are made the servants of righteousness. By which words is signified, that insomuch as we live uprightly, and follow God, it is from without us, and cometh not from ourselves. By the form of doctrine he meaneth the Gospel; for it is no simple doctrine, as is philosophy or law; but such a doctrine, as offereth Christ unto us, and his spirit, and grace: whereby is ministered strength unto us, to perform those things which are commanded. And although this drawing be the work of God, yet ought preachers and pastors to serve therein as ministers of God. And when we call that drawing a motion, the end of such motion, both from whence it cometh, and whereunto it tendeth, is declared by Paul, when he thus writeth; Ye were the servants of sin: by which words he showeth, from whence we are drawn. But when he addeth, that we are delivered to the intent we should be obedient unto the Gospel; he showeth the end of our mutation: for therefore are we regenerate, and brought to Christ, that we should be obedient unto his word. Neither did Paul think it sufficient, in such sort to set forth his change; but he would also declare the manner of the change. For when he

saith, that We obey from the heart, he sufficiently teacheth that this motion is not violent, or by compulsion, but willing, and of our own accord.

5. But here ariseth a doubt as concerning our nature, Whether (as it is now fallen and corrupt) it can resist the grace of God, and his spirit that is present? I think we must determine, that there be sundry degrees of divine help or grace; for sometimes there is so great power and plentifulness thereof, as it altogether boweth man's heart, and not only counselleth, but thoroughly persuadeth: and when the matter standeth in that sort, we cannot depart from the right, but we become ready to do that which God moveth us to do. Wherefore it was said unto Paul; It is hard for thee to spurn against the prick. And yet we must not think, in such dealing, that any violence or compulsion is inferred to the will of man; for it is changed by a sweet motion and conversion. The party in very deed is willing, but yet so willing, as his willingness is provoked of God: for it is the same will, that would, but God with this effectual and most mighty persuasion causeth that it would. But sometime that vehemency of God, and of the spirit is more remiss, and yet, if we would join thereto our endeavor, and apply our good will, we would not resist it; but rather would follow the warnings and inspirations of him: and seeing we do not this, we are said to resist him, and many times we fall. Yet must not this be understood as touching the first regeneration, but concerning them which being born again, are endued with grace and spirit. For the will of the ungodly is so corrupt and vitiate, that except it be renewed, it cannot give place to the inspirations of God, and warnings of the holy Ghost: and the same in the first change of man's conversion, only suffereth; and before the renewing, it continually (as much as lieth therein) resisteth the spirit of God.

But the first parents, while they were perfect, if by the help of grace (how remiss soever the same were) they had adjoined their endeavor, they might perfectly have obeyed the commandments of God. Howbeit we, although we be renewed (grace being somewhat remiss as it is) albeit we forgo nothing of our endeavor, we shall not be able constantly and perfectly to obey the commandments of God: but yet we may be able to contain ourselves within the bounds of imperfect obedience; which thing because we do not, therefore we oftentimes sin and grievously fall. But why God giveth not his grace always after one order and continuance but sometimes worketh in them more strongly, and sometimes more remissely, two reasons may be assigned. First, lest we should think the grace of God to be a natural effect, which remaineth always after one sort: therefore God would for just cause differ in the degree and efficacy of his help, whereby we might understand, that it is governed by his will, and not as we ourselves lust. Moreover, it oftentimes happeneth, that our negligence and slothfulness deserveth that variety.

6. And when as the scripture declareth God to be faithful, it sheweth that he can by no corruption of ours be made a liar. Wherefore, if he have called us by a just and effectual calling, no doubt but he will perform the work that he hath begun, that on the day of the Lord, whether the same be the time of our death, or the last time of inquisition, when as sentence shall be given upon all mortal men, we shall be reserved unblameable by him, although we have oftentimes fallen in this life, which is our own infirmity. Touching this faith of God, it is written unto the Romans; What if some of them have not believed, shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid. Paul, in the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, seemeth to reason on this wise; Now have ye obtained grace by Christ, and

by him ye have obtained many gifts; wherefor ye shall have that which remaineth, that ye may be unblameable in the day of the Lord. Neither was the same written in any other sense by the same apostle in the epistle to the Romans; The calling and gifts of God are without repentance. Wherefore let us also use this kind of argument, if (as it happeneth) at any time our mind do quail; We be called to salvation, we have given credit to him that calleth, we have obtained remission of sins, and have gotten no mean gifts; wherefore we shall be saved, and God will not cast away the works of his own hands. Thou demandest touching thy calling, how I am able to determine, whether it be an effectual calling or no; and of the faith, wherewith thou art endued, whether it be a temporal faith? I say that The spirit of Christ doth bear witness with our spirit, that we be the sons of God: which token of the elect Paul taught the church in his epistle to the Romans.

Secondly, these things may be known by the effects, and (as the Schoolmen say) *à posteriore*, that is, by that which followeth after. Good works do make our calling and election certain; for Peter in his latter epistle, and first chapter, after he had spoken largely of works, he added; Wherefore brethren, endeavor yourselves rather to make your calling and election sure. But if thou shalt again demand; Seeing the spirit of our neighbor is not well known unto us, can there be any other way for us to judge of him, than by works? Assuredly Christ left no other means, whereby we should judge of our neighbors: for he said; By their fruits ye shall know them: and charity ought to persuade every man, that when thou shalt see thy brother to be conversant in the church, to lead an unblamed life, and to maintain the right professed faith; of such a man hope thou well. And Paul was in good hope of the Corinthians, partly of charity, whereby he embraced them; and partly for their works sake, and gifts of the holy Ghost, the which appeared to be

many in their church: partly he was led by the Spirit, whereby he was warned, that in that place there was much people which pertained unto God.

Of Grace.

7. This place putteth us in mind to speak somewhat of grace. Nouns, which (as the Logicians say) be put abstractly as substantives, are usually declared by their concretes, or adjectives; the significations of which are more readier to the sense. Wherefore let us first see, what is signified among the Latins by this word *Gratiosus*, that is, Gracious. He is said among all men to be gracious, whom all men favor, and unto whom good will is commonly borne: even so, in the holy scriptures, men are said to be gracious, which have found grace with God; for so the scripture useth to speak of them, whom God doth favor, and unto whom he extendeth his love. Howbeit, as concerning this, there is a great difference between God and men: for men favor none, but him, in whom they find things, whereby they may be allured and drawn to love. Wherefore it behooveth, that he which will be loved of men, have in himself the causes of love and good will. But contrariwise God findeth nothing in men worthy to be beloved, whereby he might be induced to love them: for he himself first loved us, and through that love he hath bestowed upon us whatsoever we have that may please him. Wherefore the name of grace, in the holy scripture, is understood two ways. First and chiefly doubtless it signifieth the good will of God towards men, and the frank and free favor that he beareth unto the elect. Secondly, forsomuch as God doth indue his elect with excellent gifts; grace doth sometimes signify even those gifts, which are freely bestowed upon us by God.

This two manner of significations of grace, being well known, doth plainly show, with how great a diversity our adversaries and we affirm one

and the same sentence. For both of us say, that a man is justified by grace: but this is the difference, that they, under the name of grace understand those gifts, which are bestowed upon them that be justified; namely, the habits or grounded dispositions, which be poured into them: moreover, good works, and such other things as God worketh in the elect. But we (forsomuch as we see, that so long as we are in this life, these gifts through our corruption are imperfect) deny that we can be justified by them, or that God's judgment can by any means be satisfied by them; wherefor we understand, that to be justified by grace, is to be justified by the only, mere, and sincere good will of God, which he beareth unto us of his own only mercy. We say also, that we be justified by the grace of Christ, which his father beareth him: for seeing he is most gracious before him, he bringeth to pass, that the father also loveth us in him, as his members and brethren by faith.

8. But the School-men feign to themselves, that grace is a habit poured into the soul, whereby the soul may the easilier be stirred up, and be the readier to do good works; which devise of theirs they are not able any way to confirm by the holy scriptures. And they seem to have taken it from the philosophers, who teach in their Ethics, that Faculties and powers are strengthened by the habit of the mind, whereby they be able to perform that, which before they could not: or if they could, yet might they not do it, without great difficulty. The very same thing do these men judge of the soul, that seeing it cannot by nature itself find the means to be acceptable unto God, and to do the works which may please him; it behooveth to have a heavenly and spiritual habit, to bring these things to pass: and while they thus addict themselves to their philosophy, they stray from the common and allowed sense. For when we say, that a soldier is in favor with the king or

emperor; we say not, that there is favor or grace in the soldier, but rather in the king or emperor, which with favor maketh much of the soldier: even so here, if we shall speak rightly, we will not say, that grace is given or poured into us; but rather that we be received unto grace by God, when as we were his enemies before.

But that the error of the School-men may the better be found out, let us show what their definition is: for they define grace to be a habit poured in by God, like unto his goodness and charity, whereby he that hath it, is made acceptable unto God, and doth works that be meritorious and well pleasing to him. When they say, that the habit is poured in by God, they separate the same from natural virtues: further, whereas they make the same to be like unto the goodness and charity of God, they think, that they allege a reason, why those which be endued with this habit, be accepted of God; namely, because of that similitude. And seeing they be not able to prove out of the scriptures, that grace is a thing created, they endeavor to affirm the same by reasons: for Thomas saith, that The good will of God is not idle; for that God is said to love, when he bestoweth any good things. Wherefore he saith, that the well willing of God unto any man, or the favoring of any, is to give them or pour into them such a habit, as we have already described. But this argument is most feeble; for we grant, that the good will of God lieth not idle, but doth bestow benefits upon us, and those very manifold. But how follows this argument; God bestoweth many gifts upon us, therefore he createth or poureth in such a habit.

Moreover, it is no small error, that they would have us to be made acceptable unto God by this habit or creature. For it had been a necessary thing, that he having bestowed this benefit upon us, we should first have loved him; for the love of God goeth before all his gifts. Indeed the virtues,

which do follow, have some reason why they be given, yet can they not have the power to allure God to love us; for we had him our favorable God, even before he bestowed these things upon us. And another reason of theirs is this; If those men (say they) which be converted unto Christ, have the spirit of God, which they had not before, of necessity there went some change between. But in God there is no change, wherefor it behooveth to appoint the same to be in us; namely, that we should have the habit of grace, which before we had not. But this reason also stands to none effect, because God doth defer his help, as to him seemeth good, and moveth the hearts of men at a time appointed, when as he moved them not before. Which thing nevertheless we doubt not to be done without any change of him; for we know that he created the world, which before had not been; and yet do we not therefore say, that God is changed.

9. Now there remaineth, that we confirm by she scriptures, that the grace of God signifieth his own voluntary or free good will; secondly, the benefits or gifts which are bestowed upon the saints; thirdly, that the grace of Christ is that, which carrieth authority with the father, and for which we are beloved of the father. Of the first, Paul saith unto the Ephesians; that We were chosen of God before the foundations of the world were laid, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace. In which place we see the cause of our election to be, that the good will and grace of God should be commended unto us. And in the latter epistle to Timothy he saith; Who hath called us by his holy calling, not through works, but according to his purpose and grace. And Peter exhorteth, that we should hope in that grace, which is offered us: and it is not lawful to hope in a creature. And as touching Christ, Paul saith unto the Ephesians; that God hath made us acceptable in the beloved, that is in Christ, whom he

loveth most, and as his only dearling. And in the epistle to the Romans, he calleth Grace everlasting life. Wherefore let this be the true definition of grace, and that which is most agreeable unto the scriptures; It is the good will of God, that cometh voluntarily of his own accord, whereby he holdeth us dear in Jesus Christ, and forgiveth us our sins, giveth us the holy Ghost, a perfect life, and everlasting felicity. By which definition thou understandest, not only what we may call grace, but also by whom we have the same; and in like manner what the chief effects of the same are.

10. Now let us see by what means God worketh so excellent good things in us. First he offereth the promises of these things, secondly by his inspiration he openeth the heart, that those promises may be admitted: which unless he should do, those good things would never find place in us; for man's heart is stubborn, and resisteth spiritual things; and therefore there is need of continual ministry in the church. For it is the duty of pastors, to lay before the people the promises of God, and not only to urge the same with words, but also to seal the same by sacraments, which are certain visible words. But first of all their part is to remove two impediments, which chiefly lead men away from the promises of God. For on the one part, men think they cannot attain to the promises of God, because they be unworthy of them: here ought a faithful minister diligently to persuade and teach, that these things are freely bestowed by God, not thorough works, or for any worthiness of the receivers. On the other part, men are wont to doubt, whether themselves, by the election of God, be excluded from these promises or no: here must they teach, that it is the part of faithful people to receive the promises of God generally, as they be taught us in the holy scriptures, by the spirit of God; and that they ought not to be very inquisitive of the secret will of God. For undoubtedly, he would

have revealed and declared who be the chosen and reprobate, if he had known that the same should be profitable to salvation.

Wherefore, seeing the scriptures reject none particularly from the promises, every man ought so to hearken unto them, as if they should particularly pertain to himself. And certainly, together with faith, there will be a persuasion of the spirit, given unto the believers; so as they shall not be in any doubt, but that they verily pertain unto the elect. By this means the ministry of the church doth service unto God, and worketh with him for our salvation: not that the goodness and power of God cannot without it, both offer his promises unto us, and also incline our minds to receive the same. For the grace of God is not necessarily bound either to the ministry, or to the sacraments, or else to the outward word. But we now speak of the usual means, whereby God doth lead men unto salvation. And when as we have once admitted the promises of God, we which before were dead in sin, begin forthwith to revive again; and being so restored unto life, in some part we obey the law of God: undoubtedly not in perfect wise, but only by an entrance into obedience. Further, against our enemies, the flesh, and the devil, we have the present help of God; and in afflictions, a wonderful comfort: and we have the strengths and faculties of the mind and body restored. And to speak at one word, the grace of God, which we have described, is the well-spring of all good things.

11. But this one thing we seem to have affirmed, which as yet is not proved by the scriptures; namely, that God doth not only by his mere grace and good will offer the promises, which we have now spoken of; but that he also by his spirit bendeth our heart to receive them. The first part was allowed even of the Pelagians; to wit, that there is required a grace of doctrine and illustration. But the other thing, namely, that the heart should

either receive, or refuse the promises offered, they thought did stand in free will. But the scripture teacheth far otherwise: for Ezekiel saith in the 11th chapter; that God would give to his faithful a new heart, and a new spirit, and that he would take away from them their stony heart, and would give them a fleshy heart. These things do teach most manifestly, that there must be a change made in our minds. Wherefore, when as we read either in Augustine, or in other of the fathers, that grace doth first come, which our will doth accompany, as a handmaiden; that must not so be understood, as if our will followeth of her own power, being only stirred up and admonished by grace. Unless the will should be changed, it would never follow: wherefore, it is first required, that the will be changed, then that it should obey.

Chrysostom also must be heard with discretion, who in his sermon *De inventione crucis*, saith, that Neither the grace of God can do anything without our will, nor our will without grace: for it is not generally true, that grace can do nothing without our will, unless ye so understand will, to be that, about which grace worketh: but that grace must expect the consent of the will, that is not true; for grace changeth the will before the same be able to give any consent. Wherefore David prayeth; A clean heart create in me, O God. And Solomon; Incline, Lord, the heart of this people to execute thy commandments. And David again; Incline my heart unto thy testimonies. The Pelagians taught, that the beginning of good works cometh from us, that is to say, from free will: and that grace doth help forward unto the easier and readier performance of them.

12. But the latter Divines and Sophisters, least they should seem altogether to agree with Pelagius, have thus decreed; that Grace doth indeed come first, but that it is our part, either to receive it, or to deny it. But this

hath no more truth in it, than had that opinion of Pelagius: for how have we wherewithal to admit the same grace? If this were true, salvation should come from ourselves. But Paul saith; What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not received? And against these Augustine citeth the words of Paul; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; but in God that showeth mercy. If the sentence (saith he) of these men were true, the apostle with like reason might have said; It is not in God that showeth mercy, but in him that willeth and runneth. For, as these men teach, the work seems to be distributed, so as the one part is ascribed unto God, and the other is left unto us; and so, that the grace of God is not sufficient, unless that we also put to our help; and that we do will, and run. But far otherwise the apostle; It is neither (saith he) of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. And in another place he saith of himself; I have labored more than all, yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me: by which words he renounceth all in himself, and ascribeth it wholly to the grace of God.

And Augustine addeth, We pray for our enemies, which as yet be evil, and will not obey God, and do refuse his promises. Which thing when we do, what desire we, but that God will change their wills? Which unless it were in God's power to do, it should be craved of him in vain. And in another place, Paul saith; Not that we be fit to think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves. But and if we be not able so much as to think a thought, certainly much less can we will; for will followeth cogitation and knowledge. Neither do I speak these things, as though the will being changed by God, should become idle, and do nothing: for being restored, it must work together with grace; according to that which Barnard speaketh of free will, that the same

which is begun by the one, be performed by both. For then we are not only mere men or naked, but are made also the sons of God, and have added unto us the motion of the holy Ghost. And Paul saith unto Timothy, that The man of God taught in the holy scriptures is now apt and meet unto all good things.

13. But men are wont to say, and commonly to boast, that the grace of God is laid forth to all men; wherefore if the same be not embraced, the fault is in ourselves, for that every man may attain to it if he will. This cloud we must rid away by some short discourse. Indeed we may grant, that after this sort, grace is set abroad unto all men; because the general promises of God are offered and preached indifferently to all men. Neither do the preachers, which publish those promises, stick anything about the secret will of God, or else think this with themselves; Peradventure this man is not predestinate; or, I shall further nothing by my travel: they imagine no such thing, but they propound the word of God to all men generally. By this means the grace and calling of God may be said to be common unto all men. Howbeit, when as any man receiveth the promises of God offered, he doth it not by his own power or will; for of necessity his heart must be opened: which thing Luke in the Acts testifieth of the woman that sold purple. For all men are not effectually called, and according to the purpose of God. But these men seem to feign to themselves a grace, as it were some garment hanging in the air, which every man may put on that will. But these be the devises of man's wisdom, the holy scriptures speak otherwise.

They be wont also to distinguish grace on this wise; that there is grace working, and a grace that worketh together: from which distinction Augustine differeth not; for the same seemeth to be taken out of the words of the apostle; It is God that worketh in us both to will and to perform.

Wherefore working grace is that, which at the beginning healeth the will and changeth it; then afterward it bringeth to pass that the same being, being changed and healed, it doth rightly: and first indeed it is called a working grace; afterward a grace working together. And this is all one grace, and not two graces; but the distinction is taken from the effects of the same. For first the will, when it is healed, it concurreth with grace passively: for the same is said to be changed; and we are said to be regenerated: but afterward, it behaveth itself both actively and passively: for when it is urged forward by God, it also willeth and chooseth. And in this sense that is true which is written to the Hebrews; Take heed that ye fall not away from the grace of God: for being regenerate, we ought not to sit idle, but to work and live according to the grace which doth accompany us.

But those do exceedingly err, which judge that the very will itself can will good things: and that by grace and the spirit is only wrought to will effectually, and that those things, which are willed, may be obtained. This (as I have already showed) is contrary unto the scriptures. They demand further, whether we deserve anything by that first grace? Indeed our adversaries affirm, that we do; howbeit it we deny the same, and altogether reject the consideration of merit: and for how just causes we do the same, it shall be more fit to declare elsewhere. We confess doubtless, that God is wont of his liberality and mercy to grant benefits after benefits; but we grant not for all this, that each first gift of God can deserve other latter gifts. And so much those places be understood in the gospel; To him that hath shall be given: And; Go to good servant, because thou hast been faithful in few things, I will set thee over many things.

14. Besides this, they divide grace, into grace preventing, and grace after following: which division Augustine seemeth to allow, by the words of

David in the 59th Psalm; His mercy shall prevent me, and his mercy shall follow me. Howbeit, this distinction must be so admitted, as it is meant of one and the same grace, and the diversity consisteth in the effects. For there be many and sundry gifts, with the which the mercy of God doth garnish us: for first our will is healed, and the same being healed, it beginneth to will well; afterward, those things that it willeth well, it beginneth to execute; finally, it continueth in doing well; and last of all, it is crowned. Wherefore grace preventeth our will, in healing of it; the very same followeth, in bringing to pass, that those things which be right, may please. It preventeth, that we may will; it followeth, in driving us to perform those things that we will: it preventeth, by moving us to good works; it followeth, by giving of perseverance: it preventeth by giving perseverance; it followeth after, by crowning of the same. And even as it is one and the same light of the sun, which nourisheth and prepareth the earth to receive seed, and that maketh the same to grow, when it is committed to the earth, and being grown up cherisheth them, that they may bear fruit: even so it is all one grace of God, which both cometh before the will, and also which followeth after. Also Augustine saith, Grace preventeth, that we may be healed; it followeth after, that we may be quickened; it preventeth, that we may be called; it followeth, that we may be glorified.

Wherefore, they judge amiss, which think, that grace preventing is a certain common motion, wherewith God knocketh at the hearts of men, inviting them to live well: as though it were in man's hand, either to come or refuse, when grace inviteth. No less do they err, which jangle in the Schools, that it is one grace which is freely given, and another that maketh men acceptable. For all grace must be freely given; for otherwise (as Paul saith) Grace should be no grace. And whereas by grace that maketh

acceptable, they mean (as I have taught) a habit; they judge wickedly, in affirming that men are by such gifts, made acceptable unto God: for with him we are received into grace, by his only mercy, and for Christ his sake. And it is not meet to attribute that unto other creatures, which belongeth unto Christ, and unto the goodness of God only. Besides this, we are first acceptable unto God, by his own free election, before that any such gifts be granted unto us. I grant indeed, that there be many free gifts, by which the godly cannot be discerned from the ungodly; such are the gifts of tongues, prophesying, the gifts of healing, and other such like; which things do no less happen unto the evil, than unto the good. On the other side, faith, hope, and charity, belong only to the saints.

Also natural gifts, as pregnancy of wit, strength of body, and such like, are sometimes called graces. And on this wise the Pelagians craftily confessed, that to lead a good life, men had need of grace: but by grace they meant free will, reason, and will. We deny not, but that these things are freely granted by God; howbeit, we deny them to be graces, which happen unto the elect, through the redemption of Christ. And when the church had confuted the error of Pelagius, it spake not of this kind of grace; but of that grace, wherewith we be regenerated and justified, without the which no man is accepted of God, or can live well. Sometime the will of man is compared with a horse, and grace with him that sitteth thereupon; which comparison, in respect of many properties, I mislike not: but this must specially be considered, that in what sort soever we understand grace; we must always assure ourselves, that the same is given freely, and not through works. Neither doth it by any means make a man acceptable, but so far forth, as it is taken for the good will of God. And thus much have we spoken concerning grace.

How grace and works are unto eternal life.

15. Now let us especially consider in what sort grace and works are as touching eternal life. And so much as may be gathered, either out of the holy scriptures, or out of those things, which Augustine hath left in writing, as touching that matter, we will plainly declare; so that it shall be made manifest, how much our adversaries disagree from us in this point. As touching the first, if by grace we understand the favor and mercy of God, then is it the only cause through Jesus Christ, why we obtain eternal life. For our works can by no means be the causes of our felicity; howbeit, they are certain means, whereby God bringeth us unto felicity. As the way is not the cause of the end thereof, nor the running place the cause of the goal or mark; and yet by them men are led both unto the end of the way, and unto the mark: so God, by good works bringeth us unto eternal life, when as yet the only cause thereof, is the election of God, as Paul most manifestly teacheth in his epistle to the Romans; Whom he hath predestinated (saith he) those also hath he called; whom he hath called, those also hath he justified; and whom he hath justified, those also hath he glorified. This declareth, that all these things do so come from the grace of God, that they consequently follow the one the other: and God, which giveth the one, will also freely and liberally give the other.

Wherefore the whole respect of merit ought to be utterly taken away; for that which properly meriteth anything, must of necessity have in it a free offering; neither ought it to be due for any other cause. Wherefore, forsomuch as we owe of duty unto God, all things that we have; undoubtedly, whatsoever we do, it can merit nothing. Moreover, those things, whereby we will merit anything ought, to be our own; but good works are not our own, but are of God. Besides this also, all imperfection

and uncleanness must of necessity be removed away, otherwise our works are defiled; neither can they be levelled to the rule which is prescribed by God. Wherefore we ought rather to crave pardon, than once to think upon price or reward. Further, between merit and reward there ought to be some proportion; but there can be no proportion between our works and eternal felicity: wherefore they cannot properly be called merits. Moreover, God would that there should be taken from us all matter of glorying; which thing were not possible, if by our works we should deserve eternal life. And forsomuch as Paul describeth eternal life, by the name of grace; undoubtedly it cannot be of works. Let this suffice as touching the first.

16. Now will I briefly declare what Augustine hath written, as touching this place. In his *Enchiridion* to Laurence, the 107th chapter; A stipend (saith he) is paid in warfare as a debt, and not given as a gift: therefore Paul saith; The stipend of sin is death: to declare, that death is rendered unto sin, not without desert, but as due: but grace, unless it be free, it is not grace. Wherefore as touching the good works of man, forsomuch as they are the gifts of God, unto which eternal life is rendered, grace is recompensed for grace. The same Augustine, in his book *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, the 9th chapter; In the Gospel of John (saith he) it is written, that We all have received of his fullness and grace for grace, every man as God hath divided unto him the measure of faith. For every man hath received a proper gift from God, one thus, and another thus. Wherefore when eternal life is rendered, grace is rendered for grace. But so is it not of death, because that is rendered as due unto the warfare of the devil. Therefore, whereas the apostle might have said, and that rightly; The stipend of righteousness is eternal life, he would rather say; But the grace of God is eternal life: that thereby we might understand, that God bringeth us unto eternal life, not for

our own merits, but for his mercy. Wherefore it is written in the 103rd Psalm; Which crowneth thee in mercy and compassions: because It is he that worketh in us, both to will and also to perform.

The apostle had said before; Work your salvation with fear and trembling: afterward, least we should attribute this thing unto ourselves, he saith, that God worketh these things in us, and that not for our merits, but according to his own good pleasure. And in the same book the eighth chapter, he saith, that There is no small ambiguity, how eternal life is rendered unto good works. For the scripture saith; that Every man shall have according to his works. And yet on the other side, Paul calleth grace eternal life. But the property of grace is to be rendered freely. Paul also saith; Unto him which worketh not, the reward is not imputed according to det, but according to grace. And he saith moreover, that Grace, if it be of works, is not grace. Again; that The remnants through the election of grace shall be saved. Again unto the Ephesians; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves. Again, Not of works, least any man should glory.

This doubt (saith Augustine,) cannot otherwise be dissolved, unless we grant that an upright and holy life is grace: for so either saying may take place; for eternal life is rendered unto works. But because works are freely given us of God, therefore also is eternal life called grace. And in his book *De correctione & gratia*, the 13th chapter, he saith, that James writeth, that judgment shall be without mercy unto him which showeth not mercy. By which words (saith he) appeareth, that they which live well, shall in the last judgment be judged with mercy; and they which have lived wickedly, shall be judged without mercy. And if that in judgment we have need of mercy, then is it not now done for merits. And in the same sense he alledgeth the mother of the *Machabeis*, who (as it is written in the second book and

seventh chapter) thus speaketh unto her son; That I may in that mercy receive thee with thy brethren: in which place she calleth the day of judgment, mercy. And undoubtedly, when we shall come before the judgment seat of God, who shall boast that he hath a chaste heart? Or who shall boast that he hath a clean heart? Wherefore mercy is there needful also, whereby he may be made blessed, unto whom the Lord hath not imputed sin.

17. The same father, in his 105th epistle to Sistus, when the apostle had said; The stipend of sin is death, who would not judge, that he should most aptly and consequently have added; But the stipend of righteousness is eternal life? And it is true, because even as to the merit of sin, death is rendered for a stipend; so also unto the merit of righteousness eternal life is rendered as a stipend. But the blessed apostle most vigilantly warring against pride, when he had said, that the stipend of sin is death, lest man's righteousness should advance itself, said not contrariwise, that the stipend of righteousness is eternal life; But the grace of God (saith he) is eternal life. But it is not sufficient to think that these things are spoken for humility and moderation sake: for the matter is so in very deed. For our works receive not eternal life for a just and deserved stipend; and therefore he saith, that man's righteousness is pride, and which in name only is called righteousness. But that ought to be true righteousness, unto which eternal life is due; which righteousness if it be not of thee, then is it from above, descending from the father of lights. Wherefore O man, if thou shalt receive eternal life, it is indeed the stipend of righteousness, but unto thee it is grace, unto whom also, even righteousness is grace; for it should be rendered unto thee as a debt, if the righteousness unto whom it is due were of thyself. By all these things it is gathered, that with Augustine eternal life

is therefore called grace, because the works, which go before it are given freely.

Further, he confesseth, that in the last judgment, when God shall reward these things, we shall have need of mercy and compassion: and that also we have always need of mercy, that our sins should not be imputed unto us. Lastly, that eternal life, although that it may be the stipend of righteousness, being taken by itself; yet unto us it is grace, partly because it is not of ourselves, and partly also because it is imperfect. Hilarius in like manner writeth upon the 50th Psalm; My hope is in the mercy of God forever and ever, world without end. For the works of righteousness are not sufficient unto the merit of perfect blessedness; unless in this will of righteousness, the mercy of God impute not the faults of human changings and motions. Also Jerome upon Isaiah, the 46th chapter; If we should consider our own merits, we must needs despair. Our adversaries and we contend not, whether by the grace of God good works are given to the regenerate: although even in this also we do not utterly agree with them. For they think, that it lieth in our power to receive good works, when they are offered: but we say, that it is needful for our will to be changed by the grace and spirit of God; otherwise, as touching this point, we cannot embrace the gifts of God.

18. But there is another thing, about which there is at this day a more weighty controversy. They which defend merits, do think, that the good works which are given of God unto men, are sufficient unto eternal life: which thing we utterly deny. And that maketh very much on our side, which a little before we alleged out of Augustine; that in the last judgment we shall need the mercy of God, not only because good works were given of him freely; but because also, that when the just judge shall sit in his throne, no man can boast that he hath a chaste heart, or that he is clean from sin.

Wherefore it is needful, that sins (as saith David) be not imputed unto him, which shall come unto felicity. Wherefore, seeing we have need of mercy, it is manifest, that our good works are not sufficient. The same Augustine writeth in another place, that the perfection of the saints herein consisteth; to acknowledge how much they want still of perfection. And that sentence of Paul; I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, he so expoundeth, as he thinketh, that the apostle saith not, that he is utterly without sin; but that he, leaning unto faith, and unto hope, did wholly appoint with himself, that it should come to pass in the last hour of his death, which was then even at hand, that whatsoever sin and wickedness had crept into him, the same should, by the mercy of God through Christ, be wholly forgiven him, even as he had forgiven unto others their offenses.

And it is so far off, that Augustine thought Paul to be without sin, that he interpreteth this place unto the Philippians; (Yea also, I think all things to be but loss for the excellent knowledge sake of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loss, and judge them to be dung) of works done after he came to Christianity. For when as before, having made mention of works done, when he was yet of the Jewish religion, he said; But the things that were vantage, the same I counted loss for Christ his sake, those words which are afterward added, he addeth by the way of correction, showing, that not only works of Jewish religion, but also all other were to be counted for losses and things unclean. For he considered, that in all things there is found some fault and defect. And that sins are mingled with our good works, the scriptures most manifestly teach, when they say; that No man can be justified in the sight of God. And the godly do make their prayer, to be delivered from that straight examination of justice; Enter not (say they) into judgment with thy servant, O Lord. And John

saith; If a man say he hath no sin, he deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him. And Solomon saith in the book of Kings; There is not a man on earth so just that he sinneth not.

Which words Augustine diligently weighing, applieth them to the form of the present time; least any man should refer that sentence of Solomon unto those things, which we have committed before regeneration. We ought all to pray, that our trespasses may be forgiven us, as they that in this life may rather thirst after righteousness, than can attain to a perfect and absolute righteousness. For that precept of the Lord, where in we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength, shall then at the last be performed, when we shall come to that place, where we shall see God face to face as he is, as Augustine writeth in his book *De spiritu & litera*, towards the end. In which place also he demandeth, why this commandment was given, if it cannot be performed in this life? He answereth, that therefore God commanded it, because we should know, what by faith we ought to desire, whereunto our hope should be levelled; and what we ought continually to go about in all our actions. And he thinketh him to have much profited in this life, which can at the length see how far he is off from that which is perfect.

19. The same Augustine in his second book *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, chapters 16, 17, and 18, writing many things as touching this matter, saith, that In the scripture, men are sometimes called perfect; not because they are utterly without sin, but for that in innocence of life they have much profited; and because they continually bend their study and endeavor to obtain perfection; and also because God forgiveth them their faults: and that which they want of righteousness, he imputeth unto them of the fullness of Christ's righteousness. Neither denieth he, but that God

requireth of men, that they should utterly be without sin: for there could be no sin, unless there were a law, which, when we sin, we transgress. Further, he demandeth why God gave that law, which he right well saw could by no means be performed? And he answereth, that it was therefore done, that he might condemn them according to their deserts, which contemned the same, and by contempt did transgress it: but that he might hear the prayers of them, which applied themselves to it, and more and more to help them daily to accomplish the same. And to this purpose he bringeth that sentence, which is written; namely, that God correcteth and chastiseth those, whom he loveth, yet not with fury or revenge, but with a fatherly correction: but no man that is chastised or afflicted is without sin; for this thing only suffered our savior, namely, to suffer most grievous punishments without any fault of his.

Wherefore seeing all men, whom God loveth, are corrected with adversities, it followeth of necessity, that they are all subject to sin. Which thing Paul unto the Galatians most assuredly affirmeth of the godly; for he saith, that in them the flesh so repugneth against the spirit, that they cannot do those things which they would. And in the 7th chapter to the Romans he writeth; that He himself did the evil which he hated. By all these things may easily be gathered, that a man, though he be never so holy; yet so long as he here liveth, hath always somewhat in him that hath need to be forgiven of God. Which thing also Augustine testifieth, towards the end of his book *De spiritu & litera*. And hereby is most evidently gathered, that our good works are not sufficient unto eternal life. But our adversaries crake and boast, that the regenerate are not vile in the sight of God: but we say, that we before God are miserable; for unless it were so, God could not use mercy towards us. Which mercy yet Augustine writeth, that we have altogether need of, if

we desire to be crowned: for mercy is an affection whereby we are moved toward the miserable; wherefore if eternal life be given unto us of mercy, then must we needs be altogether miserable before God. But if they understand, that the regenerate are not vile in the sight of God; because God beautifieth them with many gifts and ornaments, we grant to that: yet those gifts, whatsoever, or how great soever they be, ought not to seem of so great force, that they should be sufficient unto eternal life. And that cometh not through defaults of the gifts, but through our own default, which in all things obey them not: for we still carry about in our flesh much of old Adam, and of natural corruption.

20. Moreover our adversaries put a difference between the good works of men regenerate: for they say, that those are partly of ourselves, and partly of God. Those (say they) as they are of us, can merit nothing; but as they are of God, they do merit, and are causes of eternal life: and by this distinction, they think that the matter is made plain. But we grant not so much unto them; for if we diligently and thoroughly consider any work, we shall of necessity grant, that it cometh of the grace of God; and that we must not leave unto ourselves any praise thereof, though it be never so small. But because God useth us to work, who, so long as we live here, are not thoroughly cleansed; thereof it cometh, that our works are always imperfect. Moreover, if they were the causes and merits of eternal life, we might with security put confidence in them. But the holy scriptures do not suffer that: for Paul in the epistle to the Romans saith; I judge that the sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed in us. In this place Paul considereth of good works, so far forth as they are of God: for we have it not of ourselves to suffer adversities for Christ his sake; for it is God that worketh in us that suffering. And yet,

though it be never so great, Paul saith, that It is not to be compared unto the glory to come. But these men appoint in it a merit (as they use to speak) *De condigno*, that is, of worthiness.

Thirdly, the adversaries contend, that good works are the cause of eternal life *Sine qua non*, that is, without which it cannot be obtained: which saying, how ridiculous it is, young infants (whom we know are saved without works) can testify. For although they, by reason of age, can do nothing that is good; yet do they obtain eternal life: wherefore this cause is not of so great weight, as without it no man can be saved. And in those that are of full age (to speak properly) good works cannot have the nature of a cause: for in them, those are nothing else, but a beginning of eternal life. Wherefore, seeing they are a certain part of eternal life, they cannot be counted causes thereof. Neither meant I any other thing else, when before I said, that good works are means, and as it were certain steps, whereby God leadeth us unto eternal life. I grant indeed, that among the fathers is oftentimes found the name of merit: which word I would to God they had more seldom, and with greater consideration used; for that word hath engendered most foul errors. Although the fathers themselves in many places mitigate and qualify that word by expositions, to the end we should understand, that they meant not the just and proper nature of merit: for they always admonish, that eternal life is given freely, and that the saints are crowned by the mercy and compassion of God, and that we ought not to trust unto merits, because they cannot consist before the judgment seat of God, and other such like. Which sentences, if our adversaries would earnestly weigh and ponder, they would not so malapertly and stubbornly defend those merits, which they call *Ex condigno*. But (as I have said) it is

the safest way, utterly to abstain from this word; especially, seeing it is never used throughout the whole scriptures.

But they use to object a place out of the 13th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews; *Talibus hostijs promeretur Deus*, which after the Latins is thus Englished; With such sacrifices is God woon, as by merit. But in the Greek, in the place of this word *Promeretur*; that is, is Woon or Merited, is written this word εὐαρεστεῖται, which signifieth, Is delighted, or Accepteth them. They object also a place out of the 16th chapter of Ecclesiasticus; *Omnis misericordia facret locum vmcuique secundum meritum operum suorum*, which (according to the Latins) is thus Englished; All mercy shall make place unto everyone, according to the merit of his works. But first, that book is not in the canons; further, the place is not well cited: for in Greek it is thus written; πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσῃ τόπον, ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὐρήσῃ; that is, All mercy shall make place, everyone shall find according to his deeds: in which words is no mention at all of merit.

Now let us examine that which before we said, that Augustine writeth; namely, that the apostle might truly have said, that eternal life is the stipend of righteousness; but he would not. Here I say, that arguments ought to be taken of that, which we are taught in the scriptures; not of that, which otherwise might have been taught in the scriptures. Wherefore, it is a weak argument, if any should thus say; The apostle might have said, that eternal life is the stipend of righteousness, therefore righteousness deserveth eternal life: because the argument must be taken of the words of Paul. For if it were lawful to reason after this manner, the sound arguments, which lean unto the word of God, should be weakened: for there might always be objected, although the scripture be so, yet it might have been otherwise said; and by that means we should have nothing certain. And although I have declared

what Augustine meant by these words, yet I cannot therefore be easily persuaded to think, that the apostle could otherwise have written than he wrote. For if the other kind of speech should have given occasion of haughtiness and pride, then could it not edify; it behooved him also to follow the sayings of the holy Ghost. And although that sentence might peradventure be spoken of righteousness taken by itself, yet can it by no means be spoken of us, and of our righteousness. Wherefore, seeing that sentence could neither edify, nor make anything to the purpose; I see not how Paul could so have written: howbeit in this matter I will not contend with Augustine more than is meet.

CHAP. III. Of faith, and the certainty thereof; the vices of Fear and Security, the nature of our Adoption, Hope, and Union with Christ.

Now it shall be convenient to declare what faith is. Faith therefore is an assent, and that a firm assent unto the words of God; obtained, not by reason or natural demonstration, but by the authority of the speaker, and by the power of the holy Ghost. And this definition disagreeeth not from that, which Paul taught in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews. By this we may see, about what things faith is occupied; namely, about the word of God. And it is evident, what the chief and principal ground is, unto which all things pertaining to God are referred: and that is; The Lord hath said. But the authority of the speaker cannot be of so much effect with us, as it ought to be; unless the persuasion of the holy Ghost be thereunto adjoined. In Greek it is called πίστις, which word is derived of πέπεισμαι; for we are not accustomed to believe, unless it be in that thing whereof we be full persuaded. Basil, as touching faith, when he expoundeth this place of the psalm; I have loved, and therefore have I spoken, writeth thus; Do not contend to see those things, which are laid up far off; neither make those things doubtful, which are hoped for. In which words he sheweth, that two

principal things are to be avoided; the one is, that we be not with too much curiosity stirred up, to seek out the proof of things, which we ought to believe, which proof, so long as we live here cannot be had; the other is, that although they be obscure, yet we should not doubt of the truth of them. And the same writer, entreating of the confession of faith, saith on this wise; It is a manifest falling away from faith, and a point of pride, either to refuse any of those things that be written, or to bring in anything that is not written: forsomuch as our Lord Jesus Christ said; My sheep hear my voice: and before that he said; But a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, because they have not known his voice.

The apostle also hath by another human example, straitly forbidden, either to add, or to diminish anything in the holy scriptures, when he saith; And yet no man dissanulleth the testament of man, when it is confirmed, neither addeth anything thereunto. In which place a man may perceive, how warilie this writer affirmeth, that as touching faith, nothing ought either to be added, or diminished in the holy scriptures. Which thing maketh chiefly against them, that obtrude inventions and traditions of men, as of necessity to be believed. Further, the same writer plainly setteth forth the certainty of faith, when he declareth the property thereof in his Morals, the eighty Sum, and 22nd chapter, where he saith; What is the property of faith? He answereth; and inseparable certainty of the truth of the words of God, which is not attained to by any kind of reasoning, or brought in through any natural necessity; nor being framed to any piety, can ever be shaken off. And he addeth, that it is the duty of one that believeth, in such a certainty, to be affected to the power of the words spoken; and not to presume, either to disannul, or to add anything. For if it be so, that Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, as the apostle saith; And faith cometh of hearing; and hearing by the

word of God: then, whatsoever is not of faith, being not contained in the scripture inspired by the spirit of God, the same is sin.

This father, together with us, confirmeth the certainty of faith, and showeth whereupon the same dependeth, when he calleth it inseparable: because, when we believe, we do not examine by our own reason, what is possible, or not possible to be done. And he seemeth to allude to those words which Paul speaketh of the faith of Abraham; that He wavered not through unbelief: where he used this verb διακρίνεσθαι. Wherefore let certainty be the contrary thing unto doubting; which happeneth through inquisitiveness or examination of man's reason. Moreover, that which he in another sentence had spoken, he plainly repeateth again; namely, that Those things which are without the scriptures are not to be believed. And this place of Paul; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, he useth in his natural and proper sense, as we also use it: which thing our adversaries cannot abide. Faith differeth from opinion; for opinion, although it make us lean unto one part, yet it doth the same both with reason, and also not without fear of the truth of the other part. And suspicion doth yet engender a weaker assent than opinion doth, because it is both destitute of reason, and also it leaveth men doubtful of the truth of the other part. It is true indeed, that science engendereth a firm assent; but that is brought to pass by adding of demonstrations.

Forsomuch as we now see plainly, as well what faith is, as also how it differeth from opinion, science, and suspicion; let us see how many ways faith is taken. For there is one kind of faith that is mighty, perfect, and of efficacy, whereby we are justified; but there is another, which is void and without fruit, and the same being vain, and during but for a time, bringeth not justification. Which thing is manifest by the parable of the Gospel,

where it is said, that The seed, that is to say, the word of God, falleth sometimes upon good ground, and sometimes upon stony ground, upon thorns, and by the high way side, where it is lost, and bringeth forth no fruit. Again, that faith which is good and profitable, is not in all men alike: for it hath degrees, according to the greater or less infirmity of the flesh. Wherefore Paul saith; Even as God hath divided unto every man the measure of faith. And in the self-same parable, The seed falling into the good ground, bringeth not forth fruit in all parts alike: for in some places it bringeth forth thirty-fold, in othersome place sixty-fold, and in other some a hundred-fold.

2. In the example of Abraham, which the apostle took in hand to entreat of in the fourth chapter to the Romans, is very aptly described both the nature and property of faith. For Faith is the gift of God, whereby we firmly assent to his promises, striving against the flesh, and against human wisdom. That it is the gift of God, Paul to the Ephesians testifieth by express words, when he saith; that By faith we are saved, and that not of ourselves; for (saith he) it is the gift of God. And even as the philosophers supposed, that the strength and ability of men is not sufficient to do all things perfectly and absolutely; and therefore held, that we have need of habits, or grounded dispositions, that in sudden cases we might be ready to do well, so as we should need no long deliberation, and the thing which we do, we might do it both easily and pleasantly: even so also ought we, for the perceiving of those things which are of God, to have our mind and understanding strengthened, by some power that is from without us, and should be given unto us; seeing that through the default of our first parent, we are most unapt to understand the secret things of God. And forsomuch as those things, whereunto our faith hath a respect, are altogether divine; it followeth

of necessity, that to understand them, we be also holpen by divine inspiration.

But we must now declare, what is the chiefest thing, whereunto our faith is directed; which (to speak briefly) is the promise of God, whereunto by believing we assent. And this promise is chiefly that, wherein he promiseth, that he will through Christ be favorable and merciful unto us. And although in the holy scriptures are read and offered unto us very many promises of God, yet this one is the chiefest, for whose sake the rest are performed unto us; unto which also all other promises are to be referred. This promise (as we have before said) is that, wherein God promiseth, that he will be merciful unto us for Christ his sake. And although there be very many things, which we ought to believe; as are threatening's, histories, exhortations, praises of God, and such other like: yet ought all these things to be referred to the persuading of us to this promise only. Hereby is manifest, what is the chiefest object of faith; for the common object, or (as they term it) the equal object of faith is the word of God, set forth in the holy scripture. Beyond this object faith extendeth not itself; for (as Paul saith) Faith cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of God. This thing our adversaries can by no means abide; for they contend, that there be certain things (I know not what) to be believed, which are not contained in the holy scriptures. But we say, that faith is an assent that is given to the holy scripture, and unto those things which are necessarily and evidently concluded of it. Among other things, they are wont to object unto us the perpetual virginity of the mother of Christ, which they say must be believed; although it be not mentioned in the holy scriptures. They object moreover, that the authority of the holy scriptures dependeth of the church, and cannot be proved by the scriptures themselves.

3. As touching the first, it is sufficient for us, that we are taught by the holy scriptures, that Christ was conceived and born of a virgin. And above that, to affirm that the blessed virgin was joined with man, in fellowship of the flesh, it were rash and presumptuous; for seeing there is nothing spoken thereof in the holy scriptures, nor yet is the same likely, why (in God's name) should we either believe it, or affirm it? And contrariwise, that she abode perpetually a virgin; forsomuch as the holy scriptures do not by express words avouch the same, it is not to be admitted among those things, which must of necessity be believed: such as are the things expressly contained in the holy scriptures. Jerome against Helvidius wrote of this matter; for he was worthily to be condemned, because he did rashly affirm, that she was not perpetually a virgin. And Augustine very well admonisheth us, that when we come to such places, where the sense of the scripture cannot certainly be gathered, we should not rashly set our opinion on the one part or the other. As concerning the other objection, we have oftentimes declared, that it is not true which they take as granted; namely, that the scripture hath his authority of the church: for the steadfastness thereof dependeth of God, and not of men. And the word was both firm and certain before the church began; for the church was called by the word: and the spirit of God wrought in the hearts of them that believed the word, and of them that read it, that they did acknowledge it to be no human word, but altogether divine. Wherefore the authority came to the word of God from the holy Ghost, and not from the church.

But they say, that Augustine writeth against the epistle called *Epistola Fundamenti*, saying; I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the church had moved me thereto. Howbeit, Augustine in those words would signify nothing else, but that we must attribute much to the ministry

of the church, which setteth forth, preacheth, and beateth the Gospel into the memory of all faithful people. For which of us hath come unto Christ, or believed the Gospel, but that he hath been stirred up by preaching of the Gospel, which is done in the church? And yet thereby it cannot be gathered, that the authority of the Gospel depends of the church, in the minds of the hearers. For if it were in the power thereof, to cause the scripture to be received; then undoubtedly it would long since have persuaded the Epicures and Turks to embrace the same. But the matter is far otherwise; for what authority soever the church, or the ministers thereof have, the same dependeth wholly upon the word of God. For if a man should demand of them, how they prove the authority of the church, or how certain they are, that it erreth not in the understanding of the holy scriptures; and discerning them from other writings? They will answer that, because it is governed by the holy Ghost. But I beseech you how know ye that? Because (they will say) Christ hath promised, that He will be with it, even to the end of the world. And because he hath also said; Where soever shall be two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. And again; I will send the holy Ghost the comforter, which shall lead you into all truth. These are the things (say they) which persuade us of the authority of the church: but I would fain know, from whence ye received these things, but out of the holy scriptures; wherefore we may contrariwise conclude, that the church hath her authority of the scriptures.

4. Further, by that place of Paul is declared another difference of faith; namely, that it is a firm assent. For he pronounceth of Abraham, that he nothing doubted; and he useth this verb διακρίνεσθαι, which signifieth To reason with himself, and to put doubts. In which signification Luke in the Acts useth the self-same word: for so it is said unto Peter, that he should go

unto Cornelius the centurion, μηδὲν διακρινόμενος, that is, Doubting nothing. Abraham had a respect unto the will and power of God, which made the promise; and not unto his own infirmity, or to the infirmity of his wife. Without God he had nothing, whereby he could promise himself any such thing: wherefore (as saith the apostle) he was strengthened in faith; neither doubted he through unbelief, which is all one as if he had said: Elsewhere on every side were offered unto him incredulity and doubting. Neither ought this sentence to be reprov'd, as though we do feel no such experience in ourselves: for there is none, in whose mind there riseth not at any time some doubt, touching those things which we believe; for this cometh not of faith, but of our infirmity. Of which thing we may be easily instructed, by that which we see to happen in the habit of any science; especially of the mathematical science: for therein is certainty, and that very great certainty; for there the conclusions do necessarily and most evidently follow of the premises. But if a man have not perfectly learned, or perfectly attained unto the science, he shall sometimes doubt; and this cometh to pass, not by means of the science, but by reason of the fault of him that useth the science.

Even so we, because (so long as we live here) we be weak, neither can have a full and perfect faith; therefore doubts do oftentimes arise unto us, yea, even against our wills. But touching the nature of an opinion, thou mayest perceive it to be otherwise: the which is such, as there can be no blame laid unto us, if we somewhat incline to the other part, from that which we think to be true. But the infirmity, which happeneth to us, concerning faith, may come two ways: for sometimes we firmly cleave unto those things, which we believe; howbeit, there are other things behind, which are to be believed, the which as yet we perceive not. And after this

manner, they which together with the Gospel observed choice of meats, and other ceremonies, are called by Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, Weak in faith: for they knew not as yet, that the ceremonies of the law were abrogated. Sometimes it cometh to pass, that we see indeed the things, which are to be believed; but yet we are not so perfect in faith, that we can firmly and constantly cleave unto them. So Christ called the apostles Men of little faith, and especially Peter, when (through doubting) he was almost drowned with the waves of the sea. Wherefore, as touching each part, we must always pray unto God to increase our faith.

It is also to be noted, that the power of believing cometh of the holy Ghost, when as we yield not unto so many and so dangerous floods of doubting, which do invade the mind; but do in the end overcome them: which thing cannot be done without a heavenly and supernatural power. But in this assent of the faith, we must diligently examine, both what he is that hath spoken, and also what it is that is said, and is set before us to believe: because the devil doth study nothing more, than to cause us to believe, that God hath spoken that which he spake not. Oftentimes also, those things, which be spoken by God himself, are by false deceivers wrested to a wrong sense, are corrupted, and so forced upon us to be believed. Wherefore, seeing we have need of revelation, concerning each part; we must pray unto God that he will not suffer us to be deceived. One of them, which writeth upon the sentences, is of this opinion; that If it were most assuredly known, that God spake anything, faith therein could take no place: for straightway (saith he) by the light of nature we should know, that it ought to be true, which God hath spoken, unless we will think him to be a liar. But this man is wonderful far out of the way; for we doubt not, but that the prophets assuredly knew, that God spake in them, and yet they believed those things

which they foretold. We also assuredly know, that God spake those things, which are read in the holy scriptures, and yet we believe them. The apostles knew, that they had received the holy Ghost, and yet were they not therefore destitute of faith. But that which is spoken of this man should then be true, if we could know evidently, by reason, or sense, that God spake these things: which thing can in no wise be done; for they come not to our knowledge otherwise than by revelation. But this man instead of evidence did put certainty.

The last part which is in the definition, wherein it is said, that this assent wrestleth with the sense and wisdom of the flesh, may manifestly be declared, not only by the example of Abraham; but also by a great many of other examples. God promised deliverance unto the children of Israel, and yet in the meantime increased their affliction: they were charged with a great number of bricks, they had no straw given them for their work, they were sharply and cruelly beaten; and when they were already departed out of Egypt, the sea came against them, on the other side of them were great huge rocks, and at their backs Pharaoh was with a great mighty army; against which hindrances the flesh could not choose but strive. And in like sort, many things seemed to be against the promise made to David, whereby he should be moved, not to believe the anointment by Samuel; against the which it was needful that he should be strengthened by faith. The apostles also descried many tokens of infirmity in Christ, which they ought to have overcome by faith. Wherefore we may conclude, that such is the nature of our faith, that it hath always some strife with doubting.

5. And whereas it is added, Giving the glory unto God, the end whereunto faith tendeth is respected; namely, to advance and increase the glory of God, which herein consisteth, that we conceive such worthy estimation towards

God. It is said that Abraham was well-near a hundred years old; for (as it is written in the history of Genesis the 17th chapter) he was 99 years of age, when this promise was made to him: he had no like example before his time, by consideration whereof his mind might be confirmed, for he is the first that the scriptures do make mention of, to have had strength of getting children restored again to him. Neither is it any marvel, that by the work of faith is advanced God's glory; forsomuch as thereby we for God's sake deny the best part of ourselves, which is our mind and reason, whereby we either assent or not assent unto things set forth unto us. Wherefore it is manifest, that there can be nothing more excellent offered by us unto God than faith; for it is wonderful testification of the power and goodness of God, for his sake to quench in ourselves the sense of nature. But I wonder at these, which so diligently commend works, and so lightly extol chastity, sole life, and other works; and yet are so cold in setting forth of the commendation of faith, seeing thereby cometh the victory, by which we overcome both ourselves, and also the whole world. For so John saith; This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Which thing I speak not, as though I meant, that we are justified by faith, as it is a work: for it is polluted by sundry blemishes of our infirmity.

And Augustine saith, that this sentence must by no means be admitted; namely, that Faith meriteth justification unto us: for saith is not (saith he) of ourselves, but as Paul expressly teacheth to the Ephesians) It is the gift of God. Howbeit, in so much as it is a work, it excelleth many ways all other works. Neither can it be expressed, how far wide the School-men err, when they imagine, that faith can consist without good works: for after their judgment, faith should not attain unto the worthiness of wisdom; which (as the philosophers do write, and also they themselves confess) cannot be had

without the rest of the virtues. What manner of divine faith shall it then be, if it reach not unto the perfection of wisdom? Moreover, forsomuch as virtue suffereth not vice to be joined together with it, and they themselves affirm that faith is a virtue; how will they have true faith to be in sinners, and in such as be strangers from God? But they will say, that they appoint faith to be a virtue of the understanding; unto which kind of virtues, vices are not repugnant: for we see sometimes, that the most wicked men of all have excellent sciences in them. But neither will this anything help them, their own feigned imagination is a let thereto: for they imagine, that those things, which are set forth to our understanding, if they be obscure, and not very evident; that assent is not given unto them, unless it be, because the will commandeth the understanding to give assent, and herein to subject itself to the truth of God. Wherefore I will demand of these men, whether the work of the will, whereby it commandeth the understanding to give place, and to assent unto the words of God, be good or evil? Undoubtedly, they must be compelled, whether they will or no, to say it is good. But without charity it is not possible, that the will should bring the understanding to embrace the things that are to be believed: wherefor these fond devises of theirs are repugnant the one to the other.

But we teach no such thing, that faith should depend upon the commandment of the will: for how should the will be moved to command things that are to be believed, as good and worthy of credit, unless it had first received the same by understanding? Indeed we confess, that those things, which we believe are obscure, and not very evident to human reason: but they are made plain to the understanding by the light of divine revelation, and by the lightening of the holy Ghost: wherefore, by the judgment of reason, they are embraced and admitted with the best certainty.

Which things being so known and received, the will consequently delighteth itself in them, and so earnestly embraceth them, as it commandeth the other powers of the mind to do works agreeable unto that truth, which the mind hath believed: and by this means, out of faith springeth charity; after the which hope doth follow. For the things, which we believe, and earnestly love, we wait for with a courageous and patient mind; which thing pertaineth chiefly unto hope. Neither let any man think, that this is against reason, or else that it extinguisheth the nature of man; for that we seem in believing to refuse human sense, as though this were a madness in us, as Festus said unto Paul, when he preached the faith of Christ; Much learning hath made thee mad. The case standeth not so, but rather it is brought to pass by faith, that our reason maketh itself subject unto the doctrine of God, and to his revelation, rather than to inferior reasonings and persuasions; the which being but underlings to the holy scriptures, man is rather puffed up, than humbled by them. And if any man say, that men become mad with believing; we will add, that the same is done most of all by reason.

6. The apostle maketh mention, that God quickeneth them that be dead; and that the body of Abraham was dead, and also the womb of Sara. In which words Chrysostom saith are laid the foundations of our resurrection, which we believe shall come. For if God were able to do these things, then can there be no want in him, either of means or power to restore the dead to life again. And undoubtedly, I am persuaded, that this faith was no small help unto Abraham for moving of him to sacrifice his son, according as God had required at his hands. For though he had received the promise, that he should have posterity by Isaac; yet he saw, that although he were slain, yet there was place still remaining for that promise: for he believed, that God

was able to raise him up, although he were slain, and make him to live again. And how praise-worthy the faith of that patriarch was, Paul declareth, when he saith, that he had not a regard unto his own dead body, or to the dead womb of Sara; but gave the glory unto God, being most assuredly persuaded, that God was able to perform and bring to pass whatsoever he had promised. Ambrose by an Antithesis or contrary position, declareth the excellency of this faith; for he compareth it with the incredulity of Zechariah, unto whom when the angel showed of the birth of John Baptist, yet he remained still in unbelief; and therefore he was reprov'd of the Lord, and his tongue so tied, that he could not declare it; which punishment was very convenient for that offense: for they which believe not, do neither speak nor confess. Abraham considered with himself; Although I am now by nature past child getting, and am become barren; yet the power and might of God is not subject unto the impediments of creatures: for God can, beyond the accustomed manner and course of nature, bring to pass, whatsoever he will. Wherefore, although I, by mine ability, cannot beget a child; yet God can make his promise excellent with a miracle, whereby he may exceed the order of nature.

The Rabbins of the Hebrews say, that Abram begetteth not, but Abraham begetteth: because (say they) therein is put the aspiration He, being a letter pertaining to the name *Tetragrammaton*. As if it should have been said; The power of God being added, he which could not beget, now begetteth children. Augustine in his questions upon Genesis thinketh, that this place of the apostle is not absolutely to be understood: for we read, that after the death of Sara, Abraham had many children by his wife Chetura, which he afterward married. And he addeth, that the opinion of natural philosophers is, that men of great years cannot beget children of old women, but yet they

may of young maidens. Wherefore he thinketh, that in this place we must understand, that the body of Abraham was dead, as touching Sara his wife, which was now ninety years old. But this exposition hath no such assured cause, to compel us to think it to be true: for in that Abraham begat children of Chetura, Sara being now dead, that might come by this means, that God had now besides the order of nature, restored strength unto him for begetting of children. Neither maketh that anything to the purpose, which Origin affirmeth, who upon this place writeth, that the body of Abraham is understood to be dead, because he now lived chastely with his wife; neither had he anymore fellowship with her. But he commendeth him, for that when he had received the advertisement of God, that he should have issue by his wife, he again went in unto her. These things (as it appeareth) be devised of his own head; for they cannot be gathered by the history. Now the apostle is in hand to commend the faith of Abraham, for that he constantly gave assent unto the promise of God, although as well his own nature, as his wives were utterly against it.

7. But whether Abraham anything doubted, when God promised unto him a child, the scripture seemeth to leave in suspense: for in the 17th chapter of Genesis it is written, that he laughed, and said; Shall a child be born to one of an hundred years of age? And shall Sara bring forth a child being ninety years of age? I would to God Ishmael might live in thy sight! These words have a show both of joy and of admiration, yet nevertheless being joined with some doubting. And for this cause doth this scripture make mention of these things, that the faith of Abraham, which is so highly commended, should in no wise be thought to have been without mistrusts, which are accustomed to spring of the flesh and human sense: but because the faith of the Patriarch overcame these mistrusts, therefore it is praised. Neither do we

read there, that Abraham was accused of incredulity by God, as Sara was, who in like manner laughed: and if a man weigh the outward laughter, they were both alike; but God, which is the searcher of the hearts, understood right well the faith of either of them. Holy men, although they believed the promises of God, yet sometime, through human weakness, were in some doubt: and thereof it came oftentimes to pass, that they required signs and miracles for strengthening of their imbecility. Which thing we read of Gideon, and king Hezekiah. But in this place is showed a remedy against such temptations; namely, that we should call our thoughts back from earthly impediments, and fire our eyes only upon the power of God.

Of this thing the angel admonished the blessed virgin, saying; Nothing shall be impossible with God. Although it appear not by the words of the virgin, that she doubted, but only she asked how that should come to pass. For she doubted not, but that as the angel had told her, she should conceive, and that straightway; but because she saw that she was not as yet coupled in matrimony, although she were betrothed, she demanded how that should come to pass: whether she should wait, till she were joined in matrimony, or whether it should by any other means come to pass? Wherefore the angel in his answer comprehendeth two principal points. The one is, that by the same he might remove mistrust, if any such had peradventure stuck in the virgin's mind: for he saith; With God nothing shall be impossible. The second point is, of the manner of conceiving; The holy Ghost (saith he) shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee. But whereas some feign, that she asked this, because she had vowed her virginity unto God; this needs no long confutation, specially, seeing we are by the history itself taught, that she was betrothed to a man: neither was

there at that time any such custom to vow virginity unto God. But let us return to our purpose.

We ought to resist those doubts, which strive against faith, through weighing in our mind the power of God; for touching the will of God, there can no doubt arise: for whatsoever he setteth forth to be believed, he promiseth of his own accord; and this doubtless he would not do, if he would not give it. Wherefore it followeth, that they which are tempted with such doubting, are in doubt of his power. Hereof I think it to come to pass, that the prayers of the church do so oftentimes begin with the omnipotency of God; to the end that the hearts of them that pray, should be confirmed, and that they should not in their public prayers desire anything with doubting or mistrust. By these things it is manifest, how grievous a sin it is to doubt of the promises of God: for this is nothing else, but to account God either to be a liar, or else to be of small strength; and they which be of that mind, can neither call upon God, neither yet ask, or look for anything at his hands. But now, forsomuch as this is the nature of faith, which the apostle describeth, it manifestly appeareth, that the devil hath no faith: for he can have no confidence, that he is accepted of God; and besides that, he knoweth right well by the natural sharpness of his understanding, that God is omnipotent. But whereas James saith, that The devil believeth and trembleth: To believe, in that place, is meant To know. But the faith, which is here described, pertaineth unto men only; and to none but such as are godly.

8. But here ariseth a doubt. For if only the word of God be to be believed, why said Christ, that If they would not believe him, yet at the least-wise they should believe his works? For it seemeth by this sentence, that we should also believe miracles. But we answer, that miracles are as

testimonies, whereby men are the easilier brought to believe: so then they be things, by the means whereof men do believe; not that faith is directed unto them, as unto his object; albeit, as touching the miracles of Christ, and of the apostles, we must believe that they were done by God, and not by Beelzebub, or by the devil, as the Pharisees slanderously reported. And this is contained in the word of God; for it giveth testimony, that these miracles should be wrought, and that they were wrought in their due time; namely, in the preaching of sound doctrine. The sacraments also are believed, but they are nothing else than the visible words of God, whereunto also is joined the word of God, which is heard, as Augustine saith; The word cometh unto the element and it is made a sacrament. Howbeit, there is discretion and judgment to be had, when we believe the word of God; least we should draw thereunto any perverse and corrupt opinion. It is also requisite to have a good trial and examination, if one shall discern of miracles: and in the sacraments it must be considered, that they be orderly ministered; that is, in such sort as they were instituted by God. And by a sound judgment we must remove away, and set aside the inventions of men, that we believe them not, as we would believe the words of God.

And when Basilius, or other of the fathers say that We must believe without examination or judgment; which seemeth to be taken out of that which Paul saith in his epistle to the Romans, that Abraham believed, neither judged he: that word in Greek is διακρίθη. To answer to this doubt, this is to be understood, that judgment is of two sorts; the one is, when we take counsel of the senses and human reason, and this is to be utterly removed from faith, for it always resisteth the word of God: the other is the judgment of the spirit, which must of necessity be had. And this is it which Paul said; Prove all things, and keep that which is good. And unto the

Corinthians; Spiritual things are compared with spiritual things. And with this judgment it is necessary to confer one place, which in the holy scriptures is somewhat obscure, with another place which is more manifest. The authority of the church hath no dominion over faith, as some wickedly think. The office of the church is to preach, to admonish, to reprove, to testify, and to lay the holy scriptures before men's eyes: neither doth it require to be believed further forth, than it speaketh the words of God. Paul, before he had made mention of the word, by which faith is brought forth, he spake of them that preach the Gospel: that is, of the ministers, which be sent by God, in whom he described the ministry of the church; namely, that it consisteth in preaching of the Gospel.

Moreover, if faith, as it is written, come by hearing; that is, as it is added by the word of God: then followeth it of necessity, that there is nothing, whereby faith is more nourished, maintained, and confirmed, than by continual reading and repeating of the word of God. This thing testified Tertullian in his apology, when he saith; that To this end holy assemblies are gathered together, to hear God's word. The philosophers say, that we of the selfsame things both are, and are nourished: wherefor in like sort it comes to pass, that if faith be of the word of God, it is also nourished by the same. We know moreover, that through often and usual works, habits or grounded dispositions are confirmed: as contrariwise, if a man cease off from actions, they wax weak. Wherefore, if a man cease to read, to hear, or to repeat the holy scriptures, faith will wax feeble in him. And they which think, that a lively and pure faith may continue in churches without often preaching, do exceedingly err. Chrysostom hath an excellent similitude of a light or lamp that burneth, which soon goeth out, unless oil be still ministered unto it: by the lamp or light he meaneth faith, and by oil the word of God; and this he

writeth in that place, where he treateth of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

How far forth faith agreeth with fear.

9. Moreover, that saying of Paul; Otherwise thou shalt be cut off, seemeth to make against faith. None which believeth ought, as touching himself to be persuaded, that he shall be cut off; for faith suffereth not this persuasion to take place. The Lord saith, that He which believeth, passeth from death unto life; not every kind of life, but unto eternal life, which is now already begun, and shall be accomplished in the world to come. Wherefore, seeing that eternal life is promised unto us, we ought in no wise to doubt thereof. Every one of the faithful believeth that he is adopted by God into his son, and that he is chosen unto eternal life: wherefore it shall be unto him as he believeth. For the etymology of this word faith, is thought by many to be drawn from hence; to wit, if that be done which is spoken. Howbeit, he which so believeth, ought always to be mindful of perseverance, and not to live loosely; and ought also to crave at the hands of God his gift and grace to abide in his goodness; touching the obtainment whereof we ought not to doubt, seeing both God hath promised it unto his, and also that the prayer of the faithful cannot be poured out with doubting, as the apostle James testifieth. Howbeit, it is profitable to take diligent heed to our flesh seeing it is weak, and every way unclean; neither is there anything in the nature thereof, but may be condemned. Wherefore these words of the apostle stir us up to bridle the pride thereof, and to break the security of the same, and also to shake off sluggishness,

But for the retaining still of certainty, we must fly unto that which is written a little after; namely, that The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And that we may see, how profitable this admonition of the

apostle is unto them that be faithful, and that it is not in any respect vain, we will use this distribution: first, to see as touching the church, what is to be feared. If we speak of the whole church, we must not in any wise fear, that it shall ever fail: for Christ promised, that He would be with it unto the end of the world. Indeed it may be tempted, sifted, and shaken; but overthrown it cannot be: wherefore let us pray, that the cross, temptations, and persecutions thereof may be asswaged, and turned to good. But touching particular churches, because it is possible that they may be transferred, we do pray as well against their continual temptations, as also that with them, and especially with our church, may abide the kingdom of God. And concerning our posterity also, there is cause why we should fear; because the promise is indefinitely set forth: and unless the same be drawn more narrow through election and predestination, it may come to pass, that it shall not comprehend them; even as all the Jews were not comprehended in the promise. And touching infants, we may also judge the like; in very deed, the covenant and promise excludeth them not, nay rather they be generally signified in these words, wherein the Lord saith; I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed; under which promise we baptize them, and visibly incorporate them into the church; who yet, when they come to age, may reject the covenant, and condemn the Gospel. Whereby is made manifest, that they in very deed pertained not to election, and unto the promises: wherefore we may justly fear, least they should not stand, as we see happened in Ishmael and Esau.

There are moreover in the church some πρόσκαιροι, that is, which believe but for a time, and in the time of temptation step back, as did Judas; and they which in time of persecutions deny Christ: wherefore for these also we have great cause to be afraid. As touching those which sincerely believe in

Christ, although they have a confidence of their salvation, and are assured thereof; yet so long as we live here, there be many falls even ready at hand with us, and those great: as it is manifest by that which Peter and David did. Wherefore they have whereof to be afraid, although they be not afraid, that they shall eternally be damned; but assuredly hope, that either they shall be defended by God, or that if they do fall, they shall be restored again. As we also do trust of them which be excommunicated; for they are not cast out of the church, to the intent they should perish; but that their spirit might at length be saved. And therefore the elect also, and they which sincerely believe, ought continually to be afraid of falling; and to beware, least they be cut off from Christ, though it be but for a time. And of this restitution of them that have fallen, is also mention made in Jeremiah, in the third chapter; Thou hast played the harlot with thy lovers; howbeit return again. All these things declare unto us, that this exhortation of Paul unto fear, is not unprofitable; seeing we ought so many ways to be careful both for ourselves, and also for others. Further Chrysostom addeth hereunto; that The abuse of the grace of God, which reigneth among us, ought to be unto us a great fear and horror, so often as we consider of it.

10. Whereunto belongeth that, which is written both unto the Romans, and unto the Corinthians; to wit, that The godly stand by faith. Neither is that hereunto repugnant, which is written in the self-same 15th chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, that They stood in the Gospel; because faith is referred unto the Gospel, as unto his own object: yea rather it springeth hereof after a sort, as we have heard before. Neither is there any speech made in this place of men particularly, but of the whole congregation and body of the believers; and therefore he admonisheth us upon just cause, that We should not be high minded, but should fear. For even as the church of

the Jews is now extinguished, and Africa likewise, and Greece, and Asia have lost many churches; so is it to be feared, least the self-same thing happen now unto the churches which seem to stand: wherefore, let them not advance themselves. But none of the number of the faithful ought to be in doubt of his own salvation; for the nature of faith is to make men assured of the promises of God. Howbeit, this must be understood, that it is not possible to shake off all fear, so long as we live in this life: for we be continually tossed between two cogitations; one touching the goodness, faith, and constancy of God; the other as touching our corruption, infirmity, and proneness to evil.

For when we consider, how weak we are, and how prone to evil, and weigh also the unpureness and imperfection of our works, how good soever they be; and therewithal the severity of the law, in requiring the very uttermost of things that it commandeth: this consideration (I say) if it be earnestly had, cannot but make the mind exceedingly afraid, and cast it down. But when on the other side we consider the goodness, clemency, and mercy of God, and his steadfastness in promises; and here withal remember also, that all the merits of Christ are communicated with us, we are refreshed and recreated, and the fear is either qualified, or else sometimes plainly laid away. For these affections, where they be perfect, and thoroughly bent, do one succeed another: for they cannot be both at one time; or else if they be both at one time, then they appear both to be remiss. But in what manner they give place the one to the other, we may by daily experience understand.

For if any man be set upon the top of an high tower, and when he is there, his mind runneth upon nothing else, but upon the height of the tower, and what a deep way he should fall, so that he cannot fall without danger of

death; it is not possible, but (if his mind be still bent upon this) he will be altogether smitten with horror: but if he turn his eyes aside to the bars or battlements which stay him up, so that he cannot fall, then will he pluck up his spirits again, and will put away all fear. Neither ought it to seem strange to any man, that we say, that faith expelleth that fear which is joined with doubting of salvation; when as it is said in John, that Charity driveth out fear: for it is most certain, that that which the scripture attributeth unto charity, ought much more to be attributed to faith; for charity springeth thereof. But (as we have already said) Paul meaneth not of men particularly, but of the public profession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospel, and of the religion thereof received in any whole nation or province. And that which is here spoken, stirreth up godly men to most fervent prayers for preservation of the churches.

11. But because the apostle in his epistle unto the Romans writeth on this wise; Ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear anymore: it shall not be from the purpose, briefly to see, whether Paul meaneth, that we be delivered from all kind of fear or no. First this is certain, that fear is nothing else, but a certain affection of the mind; whereby we are stricken, by reason of some great and deadly evil at hand. We are not wont to be moved with dangers a far off, but with such as hang over our heads; neither do things that be light, and of small weight make us afraid. Wherefore fear (as a Divine speaketh of fear) hath respect unto sin, unto the wrath of God, unto chastisements and scourges, and finally unto hell-fire. But there are two kinds of fear reckoned to be, of which the one is commonly called a childly fear; and the other a servile fear. And that is counted a servile fear, which only for fear of pains and of hell-fire, either draweth us back from doing evil, or forceth us to do well. Even so signified an Ethnic poet;

Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae, that is, The wicked hate to sin for fear of punishment. But the childly fear is that, whereby men live uprightly, and fly wickedness; because they desire the glory of God, and for that they allow righteousness even for itself. Wherefore the same poet saith;

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore; that is, The good hate to sin for the love of virtue. Of these two kinds of fear are many things spoken oftentimes by Augustine in sundry places, and especially in his 9th treatise upon the epistle of John: and it is read in the master of the sentences, in the third book, and 36th distinction, where Augustine alledgeth two places out of the holy scriptures, which seem to be repugnant one to another. The one is out of John; Perfect love driveth out fear: the other is taken out of the 19th Psalm; The fear of the Lord abideth forever. To abide, and to be driven forth, agree not together; this contrariety he maketh at one in this wise, and saith, that they in very deed disagree not. For even as two pipes, being blown with one and the self-same breath discord not: so (saith he) two hearts, namely the heart of David, and the heart of John, being stirred with one and the self-same spirit, cannot disagree the one from the other. But yet they require an indifferent and an attentive hearer; for John speaketh of servile fear, and of perfect love; but David speaketh of the childly fear aforesaid. And therefore he saith; The fear of the Lord is chaste or clean (for in Hebrew it is written, Jireath, Jehovah, Tehorah,) and abideth forever. On this manner (he thinketh) that the appearance of contradiction which seemeth to be in these two places, may be holpen. And he useth for each fear this similitude.

Let us suppose (saith he) that there be two women, the one chaste, and the other unchaste and an adulteress; doubtless each of these women feareth her husband: the adulteress feareth him, when he is absent, least he should

return again; and when he is present, least he should understand of her naughty behavior: but the chaste wife is afraid of her husband when he is present, least he should depart from her, or should not love her so well, or should by some offense be alienated from her. By this similitude Augustine thinketh may be distinctly perceived each kind of those fears. Others say moreover, that this servile fear is not altogether unprofitable; for it prepareth a way unto love: for first (say they) it striketh the mind, and terrifieth men from sins; it stirreth them up to righteousness for fear of punishments. And an upright life, by little and little passeth into a use, and is by custom made pleasant; and so at the length men begin to refer their doings unto God, and to esteem righteousness in respect of itself. For even as a needle, when anything is to be sowed, first entereth in, and draweth with it the thread that is annexed thereto, but it self abideth not in that which is sowed: so (say they) there creepeth into us a servile fear, which is afterward excluded, when charity and a chaste fear do once take place.

But what is to be thought of those terrors, which in our minds go before faith, it is manifest; namely, that they are sins before the Lord: but if any profit or commodity follow them, that is to be attributed, not unto their own nature, but to the goodness of the holy Ghost; for he useth those to be means of our justification. The Master of the sentences, instead of the two kinds of fear, which Augustine maketh mention of, putteth four. The first is a worldly fear, whereby men, rather than they will lose riches, pleasures, and honors, fall away from Christ: and this is a fear most pernicious, and most far from all godliness. The second is a servile fear, which we before have described. The third is an initial fear, that is, a fear that serveth at the beginning, whereby men are so moved with the fear of punishment, that together therewith, they have also a regard unto God, and are caught with a

certain love of his righteousness and will: this fear in his judgment is mingled both with a servile fear, and also with a childly fear. Last of all he joineth that pure childly fear with perfect charity. But the School-men, which followed the Master of the sentences, because they also might add somewhat of their own, have brought forth another fear, which they call natural; whereby even by the impulsion of nature itself, we fly from those things, which are against the constitution of nature.

12. Now that I have briefly and faithfully declared these things out of Augustine, out of the Master of the sentences, and out of the School-men; I will in few words set forth what is to be taught touching them. First I confess, that there is more than one kind of fear; for I know that Peter feared otherwise than did Judas: for Judas indeed so feared, as he despaired; but Peter so feared, as he returned again unto Christ, whom before he by denying had forsaken. Wherefore we say, that a servile fear is that, whereby we be so horribly afraid of God, and fly from him when he is angry, that we are utterly void of faith. But a childly fear is that, whereby in the midst of terrors, we are lifted up through faith: neither suffer we ourselves to be swallowed up with fear. Wherefore in godly men fear is never separated from faith; for these two things must be so knit together, that faith do always govern fear: for if it should not be so, desperation would easily follow. For, even as the law ought always to be joined with the Gospel, so ought fear to be ever joined with faith. We do not so embrace the Gospel, but that we always think upon the obedience of the commandments of God. And when we see how often, and how grievously we fall, we call ourselves back again to repentance. On the contrary, the law is not to be received without the Gospel; for if it should, we could neither obey it without Christ, neither yet obtain pardon for the offenses that we have committed against it.

Wherefore Paul calleth us not back utterly from all fear of God; but from that fear only, which wanteth faith, and which flieth from God, as from an enemy, and from a cruel tyrant. But that fear which hath faith to moderate it, cannot be reprov'd; for it is the gift of the holy Ghost, as we read in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah. And the property of the gifts of the holy Ghost is, that by them we submit all our virtues and affections to the moderation of faith, and make them to serve God truly and sincerely.

These gifts they commonly counted to be seven; and if a man demand how they prove that, they straightway cite the eleventh chapter of Isaiah. Howbeit, if we examine that place by the truth of the Hebrew, we shall only find six gifts to be there; namely, the spirit of wisdom, of understanding, of counsel, of fortitude, of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord. But these men have been deceived by the Latin translation, which followed not the truth of the Hebrew, but the seventy interpreters; for they, between the spirit of knowledge and of fear, have put the spirit of piety, εὐσεβείας, that is pertaining to the obedience of God; whereby it seemeth, that they meant to interpret what manner of fear of God that should be, which might light upon Messias, of whom in that place there is mention made. For that fear was neither servile, nor yet a child's fear; but only an obedience, piety, and reverence towards God his father. Neither have the seventy interpreters only once so interpreted the fear of God; for in the book of Job, where we read; Fearing God, they have turned it εὐσεβής, that is, Obeying God. Howbeit, undoubtedly we ought not to draw together into so strict a number, the gifts of the holy Ghost, to think them to be but only six or seven; for besides all those, which are reckoned in that chapter, the same Isaiah reckoneth in another place, the spirit of judgment and of zeal. And Zechariah maketh mention of the spirit of grace, and Paul of the spirit of sanctification, and

John of the spirit of truth; and Paul again in another place of the spirit of adoption, and to the Ephesians of the spirit of promise, and a great many of other like gifts.

13. These things being so, let us now see, how both in this life, and in the other life, fear may have place. The saints, when they are in heaven, for that they shall then have perfect charity (to speak of fear properly, as it is a motion stirred up by means of some grievous evil that hangeth over us) shall have no fear. This doth Augustine confess upon the fifth psalm upon these words; I will worship in thy fear towards thy holy temple. But in them can only be that εὐσέβεια, that is, obedience, reverence, worshipping, and piety towards God; as the 70 interpreters have expounded the spirit of the fear of the Lord: and so such a gift might be found in Christ, who indeed otherwise could neither fear sin, nor hell-fire, nor yet fatherly chastisements of God. And if a man would say, that he feared death; that must be understood of natural fear, whereof we entreat not at this present. And after this sort do I understand Ambrose, when in his book *De spiritu sancto* he affirmeth, that The gifts of the holy Ghost are in the angels. Out of which words the School-men gather, that in them is the fear of God: for doubtless, seeing they are in blessed state, that can be no otherwise understood, but as it hath been already showed of me. But as touching the godly in this life; we must so affirm, as we think not, that they can be without childly fear; so that that fear be so understood (according as I taught before) that they do not only fly from offending of God, and are afraid of falls against his will; but also are moved with the fear of hell-fire, and of the wrath of God, and of his punishments: unto which fear nevertheless, a quiet faith and confidence in the mercy of God, are as a present comfort.

For we ought not to think, that the threatening's in the holy scriptures are vain; for they are also profitable to the godly, especially when they have not as yet obtained perfect charity and absolute regeneration. Christ said unto his apostles; I will show you whom ye shall fear, even him, which after he hath killed the body, hath power also to cast the soul into hell-fire. And Paul to the Corinthians bringeth forth examples of the Hebrews in old time, whereby he declareth, that for their abusing the sacraments of God, they were destroyed in the desert. By which examples he meant to warn the Corinthians, to beware of the like vengeance; Many (saith he) are weak, and many sleep. And if we would judge ourselves, we undoubtedly should not be judged: but now, forsomuch as we are judged, we be corrected of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with this world. And unto the Philippians; Work your salvation with fear and with trembling. And unto the Romans; Be not over wise, but fear. Hereby we see, that godly men live not upon the earth without the fear of God. And here, fear hath respect to many kinds of evils; for the godly are afraid of sin, of often falling, of the wrath of God, of fatherly chastisements, of scourges wherewith God punisheth his people when they sin, and finally of hell-fire: which they see they have deserved, unless God by his mercy, and Christ by his sacrifice, which he offered upon the cross, should help and succor us.

But what meaneth that which John saith; Perfect charity casteth out fear. I know there be some, which interpret these words in this sense; to wit, that they which love God truly, are not afraid to put themselves for godliness sake into all manner of dangers; neither do they shun persecutions, but valiantly do stand steadfast in all manner of adversities. The very which thing Paul in the latter epistle to Timothy wrote in other words saying; We have not (saith he) received the spirit of fearfulness, but of might and of

love. Wherefore he exhorteth Timothy, not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord, or of him being in bonds for the Lord's sake: but courageously to endure labor for the Gospel sake. Albeit that these things be true, yet this is not that which the place of John teacheth; for it maketh mention there of the judgment of the Lord, of which he willeth the godly, which love God, not to be afraid: and he rendereth a reason; because fear hath disquietness joined with it. Wherefore I willingly assent unto Augustine, which saith, that John speaketh of perfect charity; the which, seeing it cannot be had in this life, we may not look to have it without fear. Further, we might in this place understand that fear, which is dissevered from confidence; and therefore driveth men to desperation: for they which believe and love God truly, uphold their fear with a lively faith.

Of Security.

14. Security seemeth to be a contempt of God's justice, whereby sins are punished. If we speak of this security, it can never be otherwise than wicked; but there is also another found, the which no doubt is to be allowed, and is commendable. But to make the thing more plain, let us consider of three things; security, hope, and desperation. Hope is the mean which ought always to be commended: security is excess, but desperation is a want. For as in putting away the mercy of God, we are made desperate; so in contemning his justice, we become secure. Wherefore we may conclude, that Security is a certain immoderate hope: and hereof it springeth; either because we attribute too much to our own strength and wisdom, as though we think that by ourselves we be able to obtain anything: or else, though we think that the same lieth in the mercy of God, yet we suppose that he for our worthiness ought to accomplish it. So do they, which promise to themselves remission of their sins, and eternal felicity, though they use no repentance,

but live unpurely and wickedly. Or else it springeth hereof, because we believe not that there is in God any execution of justice.

And this security, whereof we entreat, is not only contrary unto desperation; but also unto the fear of God. For desperation proceedeth of too much fear of the justice of God against sins; but security thinketh nothing at all of that justice. Wherefore Barnard hath rightly said; Even as the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, so security is the foundation of all impiety, and the beginning of foolishness. For the fear of the Lord (as the scriptures testify of it) pertaineth chiefly unto piety and religion. Wherefore in the Acts the tenth chapter; Cornelius is called a man religious and fearing God. Justly therefore security hath impiety joined therewith; which, as it springeth of an evil beginning, so also it bringeth forth evil and naughty fruits: as sluggishness, unlustiness of mind, and slothfulness. Wherefore they, which trust unto themselves, neither seek for help at the hand of God, neither yet for the aid of men.

15. The people of Lais, which are spoken of in the 18th of Judges, lived securely, although they were joined in no league or fellowship with their next neighbors. They were also infected with negligence, which is nothing else but a privation of that endeavor, which we ought to apply for the governing of things: by it the will is weakened, and the cheerfulness of the body is diminished. This kind of security hath evermore a danger joined with it; for those things are not chased away which may be hurtful. For how should that be done, when as they be secure or careless; thinking rightly neither of their own ableness, nor yet of the mercy of God? Yea, they are utterly unknown unto themselves; for if they knew themselves, they would not live so securely. Augustine upon the 99th Psalm writeth; Whereas most security is, there is most danger. And he addeth, that a ship, when it is

brought into the haven, thinkest thou that it is in safety? But by the same way that the ship entereth in, the wind entereth also, and oftentimes tosseth it, and breaketh it upon a rock. Where then can there be security? Adam fell in paradise, Judas in the fellowship of Christ, Cham in the family of Noah, many in the law, and many also in the Gospel; where then shall we live securely? Undoubtedly nowhere. Wherefore, Ecclesiasticus doth very well admonish us; Son, stand in the fear of the Lord, and prepare thyself to temptation. The Israelites saw the Egyptians drowned in the red sea; was it then meet for them to live in security? No verily: yea, within a while after, they were tempted in the wilderness. Christ was baptized by John; was he therefore made secure? No, for he was straightway tempted of the devil. Wherefore we ought then to be most careful of all, when we are received into the favor of God: for then the devil doth most of all watch for our destruction, and endeavoreth to make us fall; and therefore there is no place for security.

16. But are we so made by God, that we can be nowhere secure? Not so undoubtedly: for there is another good and laudable security, which (as Augustine saith) consisteth in the promises of God, and is taken hold of by faith. This engendereth not luskishness or sluggishness, but cheerfulness and diligence. Of this, David hath very well pronounced in the 91st Psalm; He which dwelleth in the help of the most high, shall abide under the protection of the God of heaven. Whereas it is written in the Latin, *Adiutorio*; that is, In the help; the Hebrew word signifieth A cover, or secret place, which no man taketh hold of, but he which hath faith in the promises of God. By that buckler we be defended, with that shadow we be covered against all harm. This is the security of faith and of the spirit, which cleaveth unto the word of God; and therefore it must needs be commended.

But the other security is of the flesh, and therefore it is execrable and detestable. Against it are extant most manifest commandments of Christ; namely, To pray always, to knock, to seek, and to watch: for the day of the Lord will come like a thief. If the good-man of the house knew what time the thief would come, he would undoubtedly watch, neither would he suffer his house to be broken through. We ought to pray and watch: because, although the spirit be ready, yet is the flesh weak.

Paul admonisheth us To put on the armor of God, that we may resist in the evil day. Stand (saith he) with your loins girded with the girdle of truth, being clothed with the breastplate of righteousness, and having shoes on your feet, that ye may be ready to the Gospel of peace; above all things taking unto you the shield of faith, whereby ye may quench all the fiery darts of that evil one: and take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. So doth Peter also warn us against security, in his first epistle the fifth chapter; The devil (saith he) your enemy goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; resist him with a sound faith. But because I have said, that security is contrary to fear, I would not have any man to think, that all fear is to be praised: for there is also an evil fear, and that springeth of an evil judgment of good and evil things: as if a man should think that the adversities of this world, and the crosses which the elect suffer, are both altogether evil, and utterly to be feared. Against these things we must sing together with David; I will not fear what man can do to me. There is also another fear of the ungodly to be reproved, which fear is engendered by an evil conscience: for they which live shamefully and wickedly are always afraid that the vengeance from heaven hangeth over them.

Such fear Plutarch in his book of felicity calleth sores of the mind. There are (saith he) sores as well in the mind, as in the body. And he addeth an excellent similitude. As they, which in a fever either cold or hot, because inwardly they be either cold or hot, are more grievously sick, than if either the heat or cold were applied outwardly to their bodies: so they, which are vexed in the mind, are much more tormented, than they which are afflicted in the body. After the same manner we may say, that they always tremble and are afraid, whose consciences are troubled. Wherefore David said; They have trembled through fear, whereas no fear was: so Cain, and so Judas also were wonderfully afraid. Seneca unto Lucillus, in his 106th epistle saith, that No place will make a wicked man quiet: for thus he always thinketh; Although I be not as yet taken, I may nevertheless be taken at the length: and that I have not hitherto been taken, it came rather of fortune, than of confidence. They also do fear exceedingly, which are themselves fearful and horrible unto others, for he must needs be afraid of many, whom many do fear.

17. Against such fears Seneca hath invented remedies; namely, that we should live uprightly, and commit nothing that is wicked. But who can by this means be secure at any time? For who is he that sinneth not? But we much better repose ourselves in the faith of Christ, and put all our confidence and security in his mercy only. This manner of way Paul teacheth us; Being justified (saith he) by faith, we have peace with God. This medicine hath virtue against all diseases. Also carefulness, which seemeth to be contrary unto security, is not always to be praised; because therein are two vices to be taken heed of. The first is, that being moved with it, we seek not by unjust means to remedy an evil that cometh unlooked for: as the Jews did, when they said; If we suffer this man to live, the Romans

will come and overthrow our place and nation: wherefore they decreed, to destroy him. Furthermore, we must beware, that we be not so moved for temporal things, as we should cast away our hope and confidence of the goodness and providence of God. Wherefore the true security is that, which is received by faith, and consisteth of the promises of God. Paul did put us in mind hereof, when he wrote to the Romans; If God have given his son unto us, how shall he not also give us all things with him? Who shall lay any faults against the elect of God? It is God which justifieth, who shall then condemn? It is Christ which died, yea and which rose again, who also sitteth at the right hand of God and maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall affliction? Shall trouble? Shall persecution? Shall hunger? Shall nakedness? Shall danger? Shall the sword? I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Now it sufficiently appeareth (as I think) what manner of security is allowed, and which is condemned.

Whether true Faith may be severed from Charity.

18. But now let us propound three things to be inquired; the first, whether true faith may be severed from charity, as our adversaries persuade themselves that it may; another is, whether charity be the form of faith, according as the School-men teach; lastly, let us see wherein charity is more excellent than faith, and likewise how faith doth excel charity. Concerning the first, it shall be convenient before all things, that we by some certain definition set forth the nature of faith: for then we may easily discern how much it is joined with charity. Let us rip up the matter thoroughly; and first let us make a difference between supposing and believing. When any man

doth given his assent unto one side of a controversy, he is said to suppose or have opinion: which thing is not without suspicion, and a doubtful mind; least peradventure the matter should be otherwise. But we are not said to believe, unless we do already give a firm and assured consent unto the one side, so that we suspect nothing at all of the truth of the other side. Wherefore to believe, according as serveth to our purpose, is by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, to give a firm assent unto the word of God, and that by the authority of God himself. We say, that the inspiration of God is required, because human reasons in those things do fail, and The natural man perceiveth not those things which be of God; for he thinketh them to be but foolishness, and he cannot give credit unto them.

And that a firm assent is required in a true faith, Augustine declareth in his 109th treatise upon John; when he saith, We must believe immoveable, firmly, steadfastly, and courageously, least a man wander about his own affairs, and abandon Christ. And we must give our assent unto the word of God, which is of two sorts; written, and not written. For those things, which God spake unto the prophets, the prophets believed: and yet were not those things written by others before them. Abraham believed that he should be blessed, so as all nations should obtain blessing in his seed: also he believed that God was to be obeyed, when his son was demanded for sacrifice; and yet had he not read anything written thereof. Wherefore that which we have spoken of faith, maketh nothing against them which say, that faith is an assent given to the Gospel of Christ; or to the mercy of God given us through Christ; or else offered unto us by him, for the remission of sins. Forsomuch as these be the most high and principal things in the word of God, unto the which, the law, the prophets, the threatening's, promises, and histories, how many soever be found in the holy scriptures, be directed.

Wherefore I agree with them, and what they embraced in the Gospel; but as touching remission of sins through Christ, I also do affirm to be contained in the word of God.

19. The epistle to the Hebrews the eleventh chapter, hath a most plain definition of faith, where it is called ὑπόστασις, that is, The ground or being of things, which are hoped for; in Greek, ἐλπιζομένων. And surly in this respect, faith comprehendeth the Gospel, eternal life, the fellowship of Christ, and thereby the remission of sins: for these be the things which we hope for. But seeing those things cannot appear by natural evidence, neither yet stick fast in our minds, or can firmly abide by the industry of our own reason, or by the help of human knowledge, they have need of faith, as a prop or ground-work, unto the which surly they may lean. Afterward is added ἔλεγχος, that is, An evident token or argument of those things which appear not. For those things, which be taught us in the scriptures, unless they be admitted by faith, will not seem of themselves very likely to be true unto our reason. And whereas there is mention made of ὑπόστασις, or ἔλεγχος, [that is, A being, or evident token] that firm assent is declared, the which we say we have need of in believing. Whereunto there is no let, that we being compassed on every side with the flesh, are oftentimes put to trouble by wavering and infirmity; seeing this cometh not to pass by any error of faith, but by our own fault. Wherefore, we define faith by itself, according to the property thereof, and not as it is weakened in us. Whereupon the doubting and infirmity of such an assent, is the cause of notable falls, which have happened unto godly men, and which we see do every day happen. For whatsoever naughtiness men do commit, they do sin thorough the want and imperfection of faith; because either they believe not, that God ordained laws against the sins, which they commit; or else

those laws, which are made, they consider not as they ought to do; or sometimes they give but weak assent unto those things that be read and delivered unto them.

20. Aristotle in his Ethics maketh diligent inquiry, how it can be, that when as yet there is a knowledge of divine things, anything can be committed against the same: and he saith; It may be, that there is retained only a general knowledge; but seeing that particular things do urge specially, the force of a particular thing laid before us, easily overcometh the general knowledge, and maketh the same more feeble. If any man have assured himself, that all theft is an unjust and infamous thing; and on the other part conceiveth, that it were fit for him to follow all his own commodity; it may soon come to pass, that he will not bring in the particular thing of the first sentence, whereby he should earnestly reckon with himself on this wise: That which thou now attemptest is theft, a thing unjust and infamous. For if he did thoroughly cast in his mind these things, and fix his eyes upon them, he would not steal: but these things being very oft times abandoned, and not considered of, he only respecteth the particular thing of the other proposition; namely, that this money, this garment, this stuff will both be commodious to him, and serve him to great use. About which things, his mind being bent and occupied, he is soon snarled; because that true knowledge, while it is but smally regarded by him, is imperfect, and in a manner extinguished.

So David, as concerning faith, knew very well, that all adultery both is sin, and displeaseth God exceedingly: but when he committed the same, he had even then but only a general knowledge thereof, the which was weak and of very small efficacy; and he converted in a manner all his cogitations unto special and present allurements, so evidently was the beauty of the

woman which he beheld fixed in his mind. Unto which delights he gave more of his consent, than unto the general sentence drawn out of the word of God, and perceived by faith: wherefore thou seest, that through the weakness of faith he came to his fall. Also Peter knew with a general knowledge, that the liberty of the Gospel should be kept, and that corrupt opinions should not be brought in through his example: on the other part he saw, that offense, should be taken away from the weak brethren. Wherefore when the Jews had come unto him, he began to withdraw himself from the Ethnics, neither did he eat with them; because he did not remember himself so much as he ought to have done, that by this act evil opinions would creep in, and by that means the liberty of the Gospel be overthrown: but he chiefly had in his mind his weak brethren the Jews, toward whom he was more affected than it was meet he should. And therefore he fell, because he thought that they ought by no means to be offended. So that he was upon just cause blamed by Paul, that he walked not uprightly. By these things it appeareth, of how great importance is the strength and steadfastness of the assent of faith; which I repeated before.

21. I confess, that while we live here, the same cannot perfectly be had; because we now know in part only, whereas unto a strong assent is required a full knowledge. But because that desire may not suddenly turn us from the right, nor yet affection disturb the judgment of faith, this notable remedy we have; namely, that with a fixed and attentive mind we be continually occupied in the word of God; and that we examine our actions by the same: therein let us exercise ourselves, therein let us employ our business, and therein let us earnestly spend our whole time and travel. We must not behold with our eyes, nor fasten our mind upon those things that are against the commandments of God, and which cause God's word not to be

believed. Abraham being now a hundred years old, heard that he should beget a son; he respected not (as the apostle saith) his own dead body, he gave the glory to God, remembering with himself, that he which was able to do all things, and which failed not, nor might not fail, promised this unto him. Hereby it came to pass, that neither he doubted, nor yet mistrusted. These things have we said touching the stableness and strength of the assent of faith. And of what efficacy this strength of faith is in the believers, Augustine declared upon the ninth treatise of John, when he said; To believe in Christ, is, in believing to love; in believing to go unto him, and to be made a member of him. Now do we gather, that faith is a gift or power inspired into us by the spirit of God; by which faith we give a firm and steadfast assent unto the word of God, through the authority thereof. This definition I doubt not but is made plain, by those things which I have already spoken.

22. I am not ignorant, that the apostle James mentioned, that It is a dead faith which is destitute of good works; howbeit, that is no faith, when it is pronounced to be dead: even as a man, when he is dead, cannot be called a man, unless we use a figurative speech. And when they say that a man is buried, they understand the same of the dead carcass: even so this is not to be accounted faith, but rather a dead carcass of faith; neither doth it in nature agree with true faith, but in name only. The apostle Paul also writing unto Timothy, called the same feigned, saying on this wise; Let charity proceed from a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith not feigned. And Christ in the Gospel described certain believers, but those temporary, or which believed but for a time. Wherefore, when as in the holy scriptures it is entreated concerning justification by faith, and other things of that sort; those are not to be ascribed unto a dead faith, but unto a lively faith: after

which manner I at this present may order my speech. Amongst the School-divines there is boast made of faith formed, and faith without form; for such terms they have: but the same we will examine a little after. Only I will now declare this; to wit, that Thomas Aquinas held, that faith formed and faith unformed be of one habit or quality: because (as he thinketh) it belongeth little or nothing unto faith, whether charity be present or not present; for this they think is done by chance, or (as they say) by accidents. Certainly it is to be wondered, that so notable a man should be so much deceived, as he would not have these two to be distinguished in their own nature, seeing the one is a dead faith, and the other a lively faith: the one maketh unto eternal life, and the other unto condemnation. For a dead faith putteth a certain goodly show in the mind, but such, as seeing it doth not justify or regenerate, it only taketh away the excuse of ignorance: as Paul teacheth unto the Romans, and Christ in the Gospel of John; If I had not come (saith he) and had not talked with them, they should have had no sin.

23. Faith, hope, and charity we appoint to be three several things: neither do we mingle them together, or confound them one in another, as our adversaries lay to our charge; but we say, that they be inseparable companions, in such sort, as where true faith is, there also will hope and charity be present: their natures nevertheless being safe and unmixed. Neither would we ever grant charity to be an accident unto faith, saving that peradventure our adversaries, under the name of an accident, have understood a thing proper. For charity doth no less follow faith, than light followeth the sun; which thing shall be showed by authorities out of the scripture, and also by diverse reasons. Paul unto the Hebrews, in the definition of faith (as we declared before) appointed Faith to be a ground or argument of those things which are hoped for. Here now thou seest, that

hope and faith are joined together: for so soon as ever we have assented unto the promises of the mercy of God, and the remission of sins, we do hope for them; for we have confidence, that we shall obtain those things which God hath promised. And it cannot be, but we should also love those things, which we already know and hope to be singular good. Moreover, faith is the power, whereby we apprehend Christ, who is by God made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. But what righteousness or sanctification can there be unto us, if charity be absent? Further, faith causeth us to apprehend God, not only in respect that he is good, but also as he is our sovereign good. Which thing, so soon as ever it is perceived, it followeth necessarily, that we should prosecute the same with love and charity. I verily would never assent unto those crabbed Sophisters, which say, that it may be, that the blessed may understand the chiefest good thing, and yet nevertheless may withhold their will from the love and embracing of the same.

24. Now let us come to the fathers. Augustine *De fide & operibus*, the 16th chapter writeth, that Faith which is without charity, is the faith of devils, and not of Christians. And he judgeth that to believe in Christ, pertaineth only unto the true faith, of the which we now presently speak; and he declareth it to be the same, which worketh by love. And in the next chapter he most plainly writeth, that those adulterous persons, which will still persist in their uncleanness begun, must not be admitted unto baptism; because he denieth that they believe in Christ: for either (saith he) they judge that God hath made no law against such wickedness, or else they think that they may be the members of Christ together with the members of a harlot. And thus he manifestly proveth after a sort, that they believe not in some place the word of God. But it is necessary, that true faith give equal

assent unto the whole word of God. Chrysostom in his sermon, which is entitled *De fide, & lege naturae, & spiritu sancto*, writeth; So soon as thou believest, thou shalt be garnished with good works: and he addeth, that faith by itself is full of good works. Jerome against the Luciferians doth say, that Faith is a firm and undoubted thing. I stand ready in prayer, but I should not pray unless I believed: and if so be I did believe, I would cleanse that heart, whereby God is discerned; my cheeks would be watered with tears, I would knock my breast, my body would tremble, my face would be wan, and I would lie at the feet of Christ crucified, &c. In these words thou seest, that many good works are joined with faith.

In the book named *The calling of the Gentiles*, being ascribed unto Ambrose, it is written, that Faith is the begetter of a good will, and of a just action. Gregory in his 22nd homily upon Ezekiel saith; Look how much we believe, so much we do love. But this thing is more certainly proved by the testimony of the holy scriptures. When the apostles were demanded by Christ, whether they also would depart? Peter answered; Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life: for we know and believe, that thou art Christ the son of the living God. Here it appeareth, that unto knowledge, and unto a lively faith was joined charity, whereby the apostles would not forsake Christ. Christ said; Every man that believeth in me hath life eternal. John Baptist pronounced the same, when he said; He that believeth in the son, hath everlasting life. True it is indeed, that while we live here, we have no absolute or perfect faith; but have only an entrance of the same: but howsoever it be, without charity it cannot consist. The prophet Habakkuk saith; The just man doth live by faith. Paul unto the Galatians saith; Ye be all the children of God by faith. And in the Gospel of John; Every man that hath heard of my father, and hath learned and

believed, cometh unto me. And again; This is the life eternal, that they know thee only the true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. All these things, which we have recited; seeing they be had by saith, and without charity they take no place, do show, that of necessity true faith is joined with charity.

25. In the first epistle of John, the fifth chapter; Whosoever believeth, that Jesus is that Christ, is born of God. Some there be which say, that those which have faith, are not presently the children of God; but that they may easily become [the children of God,] because they have already attained to some preparation unto the same. And Pighius, who amongst other defends this opinion, bringeth in the Gospel of John; And how many soever have received him, to them hath he given power to be made the children of God. Behold (saith he) the evangelist hath given to them, which alonely believe, the power to obtain the adoption of the children. Howbeit, this man should prudently have weighed those words which follow: for the evangelist addeth; that this power is given unto them which believed in his name, Which are born, not of blood, nor of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Wherefore they which have received him, and believed in his name, are said to be born of God and therefore are regenerated and justified: the which things without charity cannot be had. And whereas they are said to have received power, it is all one, as if it should be said, that they received the gift and grace to be the children of God. Power here in this place is not understood to be that which is dissevered from the thing itself, and from the effect. Wherefore Hilary in his first book *De trinitate*, saith; They which have received, are augmented to be the sons of God, not by growing of the flesh, but by the springing of faith.

Further, if we would grant, that power in that place doth make show of something as yet to be looked for, and which had no effect; they have not yet gotten that which they would, namely, that they should interpret charity or justification to be looked for after faith, as though these things for a certain space of time were differed from faith begun; but it should rather be referred to perfect adoption. For adoption (as Paul speaketh) is of two sorts, one we have now presently, which is spoken of unto the Romans; Ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear anymore, but the spirit of adoption of the children, wherein we cry; Abba, Father. And this adoption have they already obtained, who have received Christ by faith: and as the evangelist saith; They be born of God, and the self-same men be endued with charity. But there is another adoption which is perfect, this shall be given in the resurrection, when we shall be free from all grief and corruption. Of this there is plain mention made in the said chapter to the Romans, when it is said; Every creature groaneth, and waiteth for the revelation of the children of God: yea and we ourselves having the first fruits of the spirit, do groan amongst ourselves, waiting for the adoption and redemption of our bodies. Wherefore we will say, that the believers, and those that be justified and born of God, have a power; I mean a right unto that perfect adoption, the which we expect to obtain at the time appointed. Wherefore, howsoever they have understood that word Power, they prove nothing against us.

26. But they be wont to cast us in the teeth with them, which live an unclean life, and which acquaint themselves with heinous crimes; who nevertheless agree to all the articles of saith that we do, and yet for all that it is certain, that they behaving themselves so dishonestly, be destitute of charity: wherefore (say they) it cannot be denied, but that in them, at the least wise, faith is separated from charity. I answer, that the faith of these

men may indeed be called a true faith, as touching those things which they confess; but concerning the faith itself, if we thoroughly consider the nature thereof, it is no very true and lawful faith. To make this thing manifest, I will use examples; If a man conclude that an eclipse shall be, which is to come, but proveth it by a false kind of argument, and showeth not the same by any just demonstration; his knowledge, as touching the conclusion which he brought in, may be called true; yet, because he useth a naughty reason, the sense thereof shall never be called a true knowledge, but a false and sophistical. Also very many Turks do confess many things that we believe; as the creation of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and that Christ was born of the virgin Mary: whom nevertheless we will never account to be endued with the true faith.

Again, they object that which is in John; that There were certain princes, which believed in Christ, which notwithstanding durst not confess his name. And again, That there were some which believed, unto whom nevertheless Christ committed not himself. Now these things (say they) declare, that these men had faith without charity. Howbeit, we yield not as they would have us, that these princes were endued with the true faith: and Christ taught, that they did not believe truly; How (saith he) can you believe, which seek glory of yourselves? And certain indeed it is, that the princes which judged not evil of Christ; would not therefore confess him: because they feared to be cast out of the synagogue; and while they desired too much the preservation of their honor and dignity, they were turned away from the confession of Christ; wherefore Christ pronounced them not to believe. These men say moreover; They which believe truly, when they fall into grievous sins, and yet nevertheless do believe the same things which they did before, cannot be counted without faith; when as yet they be

despoiled of charity. But we admit not, that while they be conversant in their sins, they have faith. Against them the apostle beareth record, that They confess themselves to know God, but in their deeds they deny him. But with a sound and true faith, the denying of God cannot stand; wherefore these men shall be rather said to retain an image and show of faith, than the true faith of which we now entreat. And these things shall suffice at this time for the first question.

Whether charity may be called the form of faith.

27. As touching the second question, we are to examine, whether charity be (as the School-men term it) the form of faith. And first I say, that they so speak, not properly, but rather fondly: for it is not beseeming, that one quality of one and the same kind should be the form of another. For we grant not, that one accident cleaveth like a form unto another accident; and that chiefly among qualities. It is said of figures or shapes, that they happen unto quantity, when as yet they be qualities. But whether figures do truly or properly pertain unto the predicament of quality, I will not stand at this present to prove: it sufficeth as concerning our purpose, that one quality cannot be called the form of another. But the School-men by that their manner of speech meant no other thing, but that faith is made perfect by charity; even as matter is wont to be made perfect by the form of the same: which feigned devise of theirs must not be allowed. For if faith be compared unto hope and charity, it is even so towards them, as wisdom is to those virtues, which they call virtues of intelligence; and as prudence is towards those, which they call moral virtues. For even as moral virtues are knit together in prudence; so those things also, which belong unto intelligence, are joined together in wisdom. But no man will say, that other virtues of the mind be the forms of wisdom, neither that moral virtues are

the forms of prudence: wherefore, neither hope nor charity may be called the form of faith.

The comparison, which I took upon me to make of faith unto prudence, is to be read in Chrysostom upon the epistle unto Titus, the third homily, where he saith; that faith is of no less power to the governing of life, than wisdom is. Furthermore, that our wisdom consisteth in faith, no man I think doubteth: and that hope and charity are knit together in faith, it is hereby declared; insomuch as where faith is, these also are present with the same. Moreover, to speak of the form, according to the nature thereof, we make the same to be the beginning of the action: but faith, by a natural property and virtue thereof, maketh us to hold fast the word of God. Neither doth charity tend unto that end, the which rather compelleth us to love him, whom we have already known by faith; therefore charity in respect of faith shall not be accounted a form, seeing it is no beginning of the action thereof, the which chiefly consisteth in believing. Furthermore, matter is governed of the form, and thereby it is both contrived and contained; and not the form by the matter. But charity is obedient unto faith; faith governeth the same: for whatsoever we love uprightly, it must be known by faith, that we ought to love the same. For this in nature we see, that love followeth the judgment of the party that knoweth. Besides this, the thing which begetteth, is more perfect, than that which is procreated. And we make no doubt, but that hope and charity is engendered by faith: wherefore, neither hope nor charity can be the forms of faith. That good works are engendered by faith, David sheweth, when he said; I believed, and therefore have I spoken: whereby appeareth, that confession proceedeth of faith. He saith also; I have not declined from thy judgments, because thou hast taught

me. By these things it is manifest, that the uprightness of life proceedeth from the assent of faith.

28. But let us see after what sort hope and charity are engendered of faith. In the epistle to the Romans we read; We being justified by faith, have peace towards God through Christ, by whom also we have access through faith unto the grace wherein we now stand, and rejoyce under the hope of the glory of God. Behold, the apostle expressly sheweth, that we have peace and access unto God, and hope of the glory through faith. The same doth he more plainly teach in his epistle to the Ephesians, the third chapter, where he writeth; that We have access with confidence, which cometh by faith. Here again thou seest, that confidence (which is hope) doth spring of faith. And that charity is derived from thence, the same apostle testifieth unto Timothy, when he saith; Charity out of a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith not feigned. And the reason which we touched before, persuadeth the same: for seeing that by faith we apprehend God, as the sovereign good; as he that is mighty, wise, and most loving toward us, Which gave his only son unto death for us, and hath given all things with him; how can it be, but that our love must break out towards him, and towards all things, which appertain unto him? But touching order, it is to be understood, that hope springeth out first. For when as by faith we have embraced the promise of eternal life, a hope is conceived of obtaining the same; and from hence in the third place springeth love: for we love not those things, which we are out of hope to obtain.

29. Now let us come to the arguments, which our adversaries do use, to prove charity to be the form of faith. They allege that sentence of Paul unto the Galatians; Faith which worketh by love. Seeing (say they) that faith doth work by charity, the same it shall have instead of a form. Hereof

groweth the error of these men, that they imagine something to themselves, that should be compounded of faith and charity, the which being all wholly compact of these, might have the first entrance of the working thereof from charity, as from the form. But this devise of theirs is vain; for seeing faith and charity be several virtues, and that one quality (as I have said before) is no form of another, there shall be no one thing compact of these two faculties. Moreover, this manner of speech (to wit, that everything worketh by another thing) doth not always respect the form, but sometimes the instruments. The writer writeth by his pen, the soldier fighteth by his weapon, and the soul worketh by the body; but all these things they confess to be no forms, but instruments. And Paul said, that We must all stand before the tribunal seat of Christ, that every man shall bear away according as he hath behaved himself in his body; be it good, or be it evil. We say also, that prudence worketh by moral virtues; which virtues notwithstanding are not counted the forms thereof.

Also they object, that charity hath therefore the nature of a form; because it is the end of the precept: and whatsoever is done without that, cannot please God, but is condemned as sin. But if this argument be of force, we also will prove thereby, that faith is the form of other virtues; seeing Paul hath said; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Out of the which sentence Augustine in his 4th book and 4th chapter against Julian taught, that all the works of the infidels are sins. These men also bring the saying of James, that Faith is made perfect by works: the which maketh nothing against us; for it only teacheth, that faith is then perfect, when it worketh. Even as the Philosophers teach, that a form is not perfect, when it is taken as the first act (for so they speak) but when it is respected as a second act: for in working it putteth forth his strength, and declareth itself. Wherefore we grant, that after

this manner faith is made perfect by works; not that it is either increased, or made more earnest by the virtue of works: but through the more effectual operation of the holy Ghost, the which in working declareth itself; but in time of idleness lay hid. And this is not the property of charity alone, but is common unto all other virtues: for unto this end are virtues given unto the mind, that out of them actions might be drawn.

30. Moreover, they say that charity is therefore the form of faith; because by it is the first beginning, whereby the godly are known from the wicked. And this they prove by that place of the Gospel, where Christ is brought in to say at the day of judgment; I was hungry, and ye fed me: I thirsted, and ye gave me drink, &c. Unto these things we answer, that the discerning and knowledge of things is sometimes had by the causes, and by the beginnings of them, which they commonly call *A priori*, that is, By that which went before; and another is understood by the effects and properties, which they name *A posteriori*, to wit, By that which cometh after. Wherefore I willingly admit, that charity is that, whereby the godly are discerned from the wicked, by the latter knowledge, and by the effects: but this knowledge pertaineth to us. Christ otherwise, without the same, very well knoweth them that be his, and setteth them apart; namely, by election and predestination: the which be in a manner the beginnings and causes of our salvation. Wherefore, that knowledge is had by the effects, out of the form of things, which they take as granted, we must not grant. Neither is there any doubt, but in the last judgment the saints shall be discerned from the wicked, by the works and effects, according as the words which these men bring do declare. Howbeit, if they will have respect unto those words which the judge pronounced before time, when he said; (Come ye blessed of my father, take the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world) they shall easily

understand, that there is a more noble and excellent knowledge set forth of salvation to be given, than that knowledge which is afterward added through works. As for the form of faith (if any should be brought in, which properly is not lawful to be done) the same should be the spirit. For we have faith according to the portion thereof; and the more there is of the spirit, the more ample faith is present; and the more scarcity there is of the spirit, the weaker is faith.

How Faith excelleth Charity, and so likewise on the contrary.

31. Now lastly there remaineth to see, wherein faith is preferred before charity; and again, what is attributed unto charity, rather than unto faith. First unto faith, justification is agreeable, the which we affirm ought not to be granted unto charity: for while we live here, charity is always imperfect. Therefore we cannot, in respect of the judgment of God, cleave either unto charity, or unto the good works which proceed from the same, in respect of being justified and absolved by them. Further, in the epistles of Paul to the Romans, and to the Galatians, it is most plainly declared; that We be justified by faith, and not by works. The very which thing the nature as well of faith, as of charity, if it be well considered, doth show: for faith doth further the mind of godly men toward Christ, and toward the understanding and admitting of the promises made concerning him; which thing is manifest to be done by the assent of the mind: and while that we know or understand anything, the very same we receive into ourselves. But on the contrary part, the office of charity is, that it may provoke and drive the will, to show forth in action, and express in sight of the world, that which the mind hath received. And this herein consisteth, that those things which we have, we impart and communicate them with others. And seeing, to justified, is to receive righteousness by imputation; it may sufficiently

appear, that the same cometh rather by faith, than by charity. Hereunto must be added that if we should appoint charity to be that, whereby righteousness is comprehended; it ought to be granted, that we, when we return into favor with God, are not enemies, (as the epistle to the Romans teacheth.) For charity maketh the friends of God, whom soever it adorneth; and None doth love God, but he hath first been beloved of him. Wherefore, faith in this is to be preferred before charity, that we are by faith justified. We may add those things, which we recited before; namely, that charity is engendered of faith: but on the other side, not faith of charity. Besides this, charity followeth the measure of faith, and is esteemed to be the measure thereof. As Gregory said; that So much as we love, so much we believe.

32. Those things which we have now recited are more agreeable unto faith, than unto charity: now let us see what things charity doth challenge unto it above faith. First, it endureth even in the life to come; at which time faith shall have no place. And that is it, that faith bringeth us no clear knowledge, but an obscure: for now we know darkly, and in part; but the knowledge which we shall have in the kingdom of heaven, shall be thoroughly perfect. Wherefore faith shall give place to a better state: but charity shall most of all appear in the world to come, as well towards God, as towards our neighbors. Thou wilt perhaps say; And shall not charity also be made perfect in the life to come? Which if it be granted, it shall continue no longer than faith. We answer, that here there is a difference; for seeing faith passeth into an open knowledge, and into a revealed sight of the thing present; it changeth his kind and nature. Which thing happeneth not to charity; for although the same become great and more vehement, yet it shall retain still the same substance: albeit even the same shall not have all the works which it now exerciseth. There shall be none hungry, to be fed; non

thirsty, to give drink unto; nor other like things in that eternal felicity. Moreover, it is attributed unto charity, that (as John writeth in his epistle) it giveth a testimony of our justification; We know (saith he) that if we love our brethren, we are translated from death unto life. And Peter seemeth to give commandment, that We through good works should make our calling certain. And we must not omit that which Paul hath; to wit, that Charity is greater than faith and hope. Which saying we expound two ways; first, because the Lord said, It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive. We shall now indeed evidently show, that faith doth exercise itself in receiving, and charity in giving and bestowing.

It is further expounded, that we are said to have two sorts of righteousness; the one (I say) being imputed unto us by God, by the which we are justified in very deed: and that (as it hath been said) we obtain not by works, but apprehend it by faith: and the other righteousness is that, which cleaveth unto us; and consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and all good works; the which (as we have already said) do never attain unto the perfect obedience of the law, but do only make a entrance into the same: the which is nothing else, but to obey the commandments of God, with as earnest an endeavor as we can. Wherefore I willingly grant, that in this kind of righteousness, charity hath preeminence: because our exercising, notwithstanding it be begun by faith, yet it stayeth not there; but goeth forward unto hope, unto charity, and unto all other virtues and good works. Wherefore as in justification before God, faith is the chief and principal: so in this righteousness that is begun, charity is the better.

33. And if any will demand, wherefore we appoint two sorts of righteousness, as hath been showed before: we will answer, that the same we have learned out of the holy scriptures. To the Romans is said; As by the

disobedience of one man, many are made sinners: so by the obedience of one, many are made righteous. And in the same epistle the apostle saith; But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, faith is counted for righteousness. And Paul almost throughout that whole chapter, speaketh of this imputation of righteousness by faith. And to the Corinthians he said, that Christ is made unto us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. But of the righteousness that cleaneth unto us, he sheweth unto the Ephesians, when he biddeth us To put on the new man, which is created according to God, in righteousness and holiness of the truth. Also to the Hebrews, when he saith; that The saints wrought righteousness. And it would be an infinite thing, if we should recite all the testimonies, which we find for the proofs of either righteousness. But it is very good to be considered, when the apostle compareth them both together: for there it is easily understood, wherein the one doth excel the other. Unto the Philippians it is written; That I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is by the law; but that righteousness, which cometh by the faith of Jesus Christ.

He had reckoned up before those things, which had happened unto him in the Jewish religion; whereof he might have gloried, as concerning the flesh; the which he said now that he made no reckoning of: and he esteemed them to be loss and dung, and that for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, &c. In which place thou shalt also perceive, that the good works, which he now exercised, being converted unto Christ, are by him accounted nothing, in comparison of that righteousness, which is granted unto us by faith. The same comparison also is used in the epistle to the Romans, where it is read on this wise; The Gentiles, which followed not righteousness, attained unto the law of righteousness; because they sought it not by works,

but by faith: but Israel, which followed righteousness, attained not to the law of righteousness, because they sought it by works, and not by faith. Also it is said in the same epistle, that They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and would establish their own righteousness, submitted not themselves unto the righteousness of God.

34. But against this distinction some say; How can it be, that the righteousness which we have not, should be imputed unto us? We answer; that we must not imagine, that Christ and his righteousness is strange from the saints; for We put on Christ himself through baptism: and (as it is written unto the Ephesians) God doth favor and accept us in his beloved. But these men say, that it behooveth the judgments of God to be true; but how can his judgment be true, when as the righteousness, which we have not, is imputed unto us; and that the sin which we have, is not imputed? And yet nevertheless both things are spoken by the scripture: for, as touching sin, David rehearseth (as Paul saith) that Blessed is the man, to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin. And touching righteousness, it is added; But unto him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. And these things, which the scripture declareth, are not without reason: for seeing righteousness is imputed unto us, we are not altogether destitute of the same; not that it cleaveth in us, but because we apprehend it by faith: therefore by faith we are truly said to have the same. For the apprehending by faith, doth not take away any whit from the truth of the thing. Wherefore, very many are far deceived, about the matter of the Eucharist: for when we affirm, that by faith we do eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; they straightways conclude, that therefore we have not these things indeed: as though that by faith we apprehend a false flesh of Christ, or a feigned blood of him.

Neither yet is that true, which was taken as granted; that we in any wise have sin, because it is not imputed unto us: for seeing they which be justified, do strive against sin, and suffer not the same to have dominion over them; therefore after a sort they are judged to have no sin. On the behalf of charity, that it doth justify, that is wont to be objected, which we read in John; God is charity, and he that dwelleth in charity, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Howbeit, this place is not very proper for charity: for else-where it is written also; He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. And again; He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, this man bringeth forth much fruit. And of them also, which keep his commandments, he saith; that He and the father will come and dwell with them. Wherefore thou seest, that this abiding, which they object against us, doth happen unto us through many instruments or means: and yet is there not any man that will affirm us to be justified by all these things. Wherefore we need not labor to know, by what means it cometh to pass, that Christ and the father dwell in us, and we in them: but we must rather consider, what is that, by the which he first and principally dwelleth in us. And certain it is, that such a conjunction springeth not of any other cause, than of election, predestination, and calling, according to his determinate purpose; as the apostle hath contrived together these things in the epistle to the Romans. And there is no doubt, but that we first of all by faith answer unto the calling of God. Neither doth experience teach us otherwise. When anything is promised unto us by some man, we then first of all cleave unto him, when we give credit unto his sayings. Wherefore Paul in another place wrote, that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith.

What is the union of the godly with Christ.

35. Now must we see, what it is to be in Christ. First cometh in place, that which is common unto all mortal men: for the son of God, because he took upon him the nature of man, is joined with all men. For seeing they have fellowship with flesh and blood, as testifieth the epistle to the Hebrews, he also was made partaker of flesh and blood. But this conjunction is general, and weak, and only (as I may term it) according to the matter: for the nature of man far differeth from that nature which Christ took upon him. For the human nature in Christ, is both immortal, and exempted from sin, and adorned with all pureness: but our nature is impure, corruptible, and miserably polluted with sin: but if the same be endued with the spirit of Christ, it is so repaired, as it differeth not much from the nature of Christ. Yea so great is that affinity (as Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians saith) that We are flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones. Which form of speaking seems to be drawn out of the writings of the Old Testament: for truly thus do brethren and kinsfolk there speak one of another; He is my bone, and my flesh. For they being come of one and the self-same seed of the father, and womb of the mother, seem to acknowledge unto themselves one matter common to them all: whereunto this furthereth also, that children draw of their parents, not only a carnal and corpulent substance; but also wit, affection, and disposition.

The very which thing cometh to pass in us, when we are endued with the spirit of Christ: for besides our nature, which we have common with him, we have (as Paul doth advertise us in the first to the Corinthians) his mind and (according as Paul requireth the Philippians) the self-same sense; Let the self-same sense (saith he) be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. This knitting of us together with Christ, Paul expressed by the similitude of engrafting, wherein are very well perceived those two things which we have

now rehearsed: for the young slip that is grafted, and the stock whereinto it is grafted, are made one thing. Neither only are the matters which were diverse, joined together; but they are also nourished together with one and the self-same juice, spirit, and life. The self-same thing the apostle testifieth to be done in us, when he saith that we are grafted into Christ. The same also doth our Savior teach in the Gospel of John, when he calleth Himself the vine, and us the branches: for the branches have the self-same life common with the vine tree; for they all spring out by one spirit, and bring forth one and the self-same fruit. Paul also, in his epistle to the Ephesians, compareth with matrimony that conjunction which we have with Christ, for he saith, that the same is a great sign between Christ and his church.

For even as in matrimony, not only the bodies be made common [between man and wife] but also their affections and wills are joined together: so cometh it to pass by a sure and firm ground between Christ and his church. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth them free from sin, which do abide in Christ, and are in him after such a sort, as I have now declared; to the end they may live his life, be of the same mind that he is, and bring forth such fruit of works as differ not from his fruits. And they which are such cannot fear condemnation or judgment: for the Lord Jesus is salvation itself, as his own name declareth; wherefore they which are in him, stand in no peril to be condemned. Hereunto we add, that they also are in Christ, which in all their affairs depend upon him; and who are moved by his spirit, whatsoever they take in hand or do: for, to depend upon him, is nothing else, then in all things that we go about, to have a regard unto him, and only to seek his glory. And they that are led by his spirit, follow not the affections and provocations of lusts. Hereby it is manifest, in what sort faithful and godly men are in Christ; and that by all the kinds of causes. For Christ and we

have all one matter, also we have the self-same first entrances of form: for we be endued with the self-same notes, properties, and conditions which he had. The efficient cause, whereby we are moved to work, is the same spirit whereby he was moved. Lastly, the end is all one; namely, that the glory of God may be advanced.

36. Furthermore, every assembly and congregation of men, which tendeth to a definite and certain end, and is governed by prescript laws, may be called a body. Wherefore a city, a common-wealth, and a kingdom, are called certain bodies; because they have a certain end, to wit, that men may both be in good state as touching the body, and may live according to virtue. But the body of Christ, which is the church, hath not only respect unto this, but unto eternal life also: and it hath all these things in common; namely, God, Christ, the holy Ghost, the word of God, grace, the sacraments: and it hath respect unto the things of this world, which pertain to mutual helping one of another. And this body is governed by the ordinances and sayings of the holy scriptures; and it liveth by the spirit of Christ. And of this thing we have an excellent article of our faith, wherein we confess the catholic church, to be the communion of Saints. But in the members of this body there is observed two sorts of conjunction; one is that, which they ought to retain among themselves; and the other, that which they ought to have with Christ. Touching this thing we are very well instructed in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians, where it is written, that By the head Christ, is ministered life and spirit, by the joints and knitting together of the members into the whole body, that according to the measure of every part, there may be an increase in the body. The same is also showed in the second chapter to the Colossians.

By which words it appeareth, that wicked men are not verily of the church, seeing the spirit is not instilled into them by Christ the head. Indeed they may be conversant in the church, but they cannot be of the church. It is a mere imagination brought by our adversaries, that there can be withered and dead members in the body of Christ, the which may be revived again. A member that is dead, is a member no more, neither yet ought to be called a member; unless thou wilt have it all one, that to be a man which is but the sign of a man. And Paul said in the epistle unto the Corinthians; Shall I take the member of Christ, and make of it the member of a harlot? As if he had said; These things are repugnant one with another, that we should be the members of each of them. Wherefore this similitude declareth, what manner of conjunction ought to be amongst us, and with Christ. And certainly, even as we have said, we be so joined with Christ, as we be called flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; because through his incarnation we are made of the same nature and kind that he is of: and afterward, his grace and spirit coming to us, we are made partakers of his spiritual conditions and properties, as it hath been above declared. Wherefore Cyril writing unto Reginas of the right faith, said that Our flesh is together in one substance with the flesh of Christ; and those that otherwise would judge, he held them accursed.

37. And for the proving of so great a conjunction between us and Christ, there is no need of the corporal and substantial presence of the body of Christ; as many endeavor to prove in the Eucharist. For we should have never a whit the more profit or commodity by the same, than if we confess Christ to be in heaven as touching his body. For we see that Christians may be members one of another, and that most nearly knit together, although some of them live in England, some in France, and some in Spain. But if so

be this be granted as touching the members themselves, why shall it be an absurd thing to grant the same touching the head; that by this spiritual conjunction it may both be in heaven, and also be joined spiritually with us? The very which thing we see come to pass in matrimony, wherein the holy scripture declareth, that Man and wife are one flesh: which thing our adversaries are constrained to grant no less to be true, when man and wife are sometimes in sundry places distant one from another, than when they dwell in one house together. If so be then it be so in them, why should we deny, that the body of Christ may be joined unto us in such sort, as we may be one with him; although by substantial and corporal presence in the Eucharist he be absent from us? They are ever flying unto that sentence of the Lord; This is my body, as though it may not otherwise be understood, but that there must be affirmed a natural presence; when nevertheless we will confess it to be the body of Christ, into the which we neither be transubstantiated, neither is it required that any of us in corporal presence should be joined with other, as concerning place. But of these things we will speak very largely elsewhere.

Touching the adoption of the children of God; out of the eighth chapter to the Romans, ver. 15.

38. This place seemeth to require, that we speak somewhat also of the adoption of the children of God. The lawyers (as it is in the institutions) define adoption to be a lawful act which doth imitate nature, found out for the comfort of them which have no children. Further, they make a distinction between adoption and arrogation: for they say, that it is arrogation, when he that is his own man and at liberty, is received into the stead of a son; but adoption is, when he that is received, is under another man's power. Howbeit the laws forbid, that the elder should be adopted of

the younger: for it seemed to be a monstrous thing, that the son should exceed the father in years; and therefore Cicero doth oftentimes inueth earnestly against that adoption of Clodius. Now doth God adopt unto himself his elect; not for that he had not another son, for he had Christ his only begotten son, in whom he was well pleased; but because in all the nature of man he had as yet no children. For through Adam we were all made strangers from him; wherefore for this cause God sent his own natural and legitimate son into the world, that by him he might adopt unto himself many other children of our kind. And this is not wont commonly to be done: for they which have one only son, seek not to themselves other sons; nay rather, they are glad that the same their son shall not be compelled to part the inheritance with his brethren. But so great was the love of God and of Christ towards us, as he would join us unto so great a dignity, although we be unworthy. Neither is that heavenly inheritance of that nature, that the same being communicated unto many, is therefore diminished.

Now let us see how this adoption cometh unto us. Paul seemeth to say, that it is communicated unto us by the spirit of Christ: for of it we have faith, whereby we embrace both Christ which died for us, and also the promises of God: and by that means we are adopted by God unto children. This thing did John very well show unto us, in the beginning of his Gospel, where he writeth; And as many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. By these words we understand, that we be made the sons of God, when we receive Christ. And this is not done either by circumcision, or by other ceremonies of the law, or by good moral works, but by faith only: and therefore John added; Unto those which have believed in his name. And when it is said, that Power is given unto them to be made the sons of God, we must not think (as many Sophisters would

have us) that we first believe, and then afterward receive power to be counted to be in the number of the sons of God: for power in that place is nothing else but a right and a prerogative. As if it should be said, that they which have received the Lord, and believed in his name, have a right and prerogative to come into the adoption of the sons of God. But John addeth; Which are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. First, when he saith; Not of blood, he signifieth that this adoption cometh not by the order of nature, as in this generation are mixed together the seed of man and woman. Which sentence, he more plainly expresseth in the next words following, when he saith; Not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man. And that by the flesh he meaneth the woman, may by two places be proved: for Adam said of his wife, which was delivered unto him by God; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. And Paul unto the Ephesians saith; He which loveth his wife, loveth himself: no man at any time hath hated his own flesh. And this interpretation Augustine followeth, albeit I see that this place may otherwise be expounded; as when it is said, Not of blood, we understand that we come not to this adoption by force of any stock or kindred. For the Hebrews persuaded themselves that they did: for they always boasted importunately, that they were the seed of Abraham. Neither attain we to this adoption By the will of the flesh: for to the attainment thereof, we are not holpen by those good things, which the flesh useth to covet: I mean, by riches, power, strength of the body, beauty, and such other like things: Neither by the will of man; namely, by those good things, which are counted more excellent, and that are thought most chiefly to become men; such are wisdom, prudence, and the works of moral virtues: for all these things cannot make us to be the children of God. But we are born (saith he) of God. All this

have we only of the goodness of God, and of his mere mercy. Therefore Paul unto the Ephesians saith; Who hath predestinated us unto the adoption of the sons of God. Wherefore, the whole consideration of our adoption dependeth of his election and predestination.

39. But of his divine will there can be no reason either understood or given by us: and thereof it cometh, that Christ saith in John; that We ought to be born divinely, and from above. And Christ compareth this generation with the wind; Thou hearest (saith he) the wind, and yet thou knowest not from whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Wherefore God, through Christ, giveth his spirit largely unto us: and he useth the word as an instrument; and this is called the seed, whereby we be regenerate. For he giveth faith, whereby we receive the promise of the word set forth unto us: and by that means we are justified, and do obtain the adoption of the sons of God, which yet so long as we live here cannot be perfect. Wherefore Paul saith; that We wait for the adoption of sons, and the redemption of the body: which we shall not attain unto, unless it be in that blessed resurrection. The self-same things Paul writeth to the Galatians; When the fullness of time (saith he) came, God sent his own son made of a woman, and made under the law, to deliver those which be under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because we are sons, God sent the spirit of his son into our hearts, in whom we cry; Abba, Father. These words declare that there was, before the fullness of time, a certain bondage under the law: afterward was given the son, by whom we which are appointed and prepared to be made the sons of God, might more fully receive both the spirit and adoption.

This adoption, Christ seemeth as it were by a certain sacrament to have confirmed in his genealogy: for when as in Luke and in Matthew, the names

of his progenitors are varied, there is mingled adoption: so that one and the self-same man had one father by nature, and another by adoption. Also in the Old Testament adoption was much used: for both Jacob adopted unto him his nephews Ephraim and Manasseh, to be unto him instead of other sons. And that trade was of such force at that time, as even unto dead men children were adopted: for when one brother was dead, the brother that remained on live, begat children of his wife, and raised seed in Israel. These things, as it were a certain shadow, figured this our adoption unto the sons of God. The common translation hath; The adoption of the sons of God, whereas in the Greek this word, of God, is not read: for there is only this word υιοθεσία, that is, Adoption.

40. But it must be diligently considered, both from whence we are by this adoption brought, and whither we are transferred. We were before, the children of the devil, of wrath, of incredulity, of mistrust, of this world, of perdition, of night, and of darkness. And here unto be we transferred, that both we are called, and are in very deed the sons of God, partakers of the divine nature, brethren of Christ, and children of light, and that we sin not, (For he which is born of God sinneth not) and that we love our neighbors, and our enemies, to the intent we should resemble our heavenly Father, who suffereth his sun to shine upon the good and evil, and raineth upon the just and unjust; and finally, that we be peace-makers: for they shall be called the sons of God. But our adoption is not such, as we should think that we are born of the substance of God: for that is proper unto Jesus Christ only; for the word of God is by nature born of the father, which thing nevertheless the Arians denied. For seeing they affirmed the son of God to be a creature, they must needs say that he was not the son of God by nature but by adoption. Doubtless great is our dignity: for we are so highly exalted, that

we not only are called, and be the sons of God; but also have Christ to be our brother. Wherefore Christ, when he was risen again, said unto the woman; Go ye and tell my brethren. And although the fathers of the old law were not quite void of this dignity, yet they had it not so publicly declared. But this was no let at all, that some of them were weak; for we also in the Gospel have many that be weak.

For Paul saith unto the Corinthians, that he could not speak unto them as unto spiritual; and therefore he was same to feed them with milk. The very which thing is written unto the Hebrews. And on the other side, they had men which were renowned in faith, whom we doubt not but were singular in this adoption. And that thus also it was in those days, the Apostle testifieth in the epistle to the Romans, the 9th chapter: for he saith; Unto whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the testament, and the giving of the law, and the worshipping, and the promises, and to whom pertain the fathers. Here we see, that adoption pertained unto them also. Ambrose upon this place teacheth, that of this adoption springeth unto godly men great security: and undoubtedly, for so much as this cometh unto us through the spirit, whereby we are inwardly moved, we ought to be far more certain, that we are the sons of God; than the sons of this world are certain that they are the sons of them, whom they call fathers. For oftentimes the mothers deceive both their husbands and their children: but the spirit of God deceiveth no man.

In old time, flatterers went about to persuade Alexander, that he was not the son of king Philip, but of Jupiter: afterward, when he saw there came blood out of a wound that was given him, he smiled, saying, that it seemed to him to be common blood, and not the blood of gods. But we, though we suffer many things, yea and loose our life for Christ his sake; yet

notwithstanding we ought to be fully persuaded, that we are the sons of God. For to the end we should not anything doubt of that matter, we have not only the witness of the spirit; but the very son of God hath taught us to call God, Father, and to invoke or call him by that name. And this form of prayer ought to call us back from all kind of wickedness, and from all kind of dishonest works; and also to put us in mind, not to degenerate from the nobility of so honorable a father, and that we in no case dishonor him: for it is accounted a great reproach unto fathers, to have wicked children. And seeing we cannot (as we have said) attain unto this adoption, but by Christ and his spirit; therefore neither Turks, Jews, nor men that be strangers from Christ, can call upon God as upon their father.

41. Furthermore, by these words (And if we be children, we be also heirs, even the heirs of God, and fellow-heirs of Christ) the Apostle showeth what we obtain by this adoption; namely this, To be the heirs of God. The which undoubtedly can appear to be a benefit of no small estimation: for not all those that be the children of any man, be forthwith his heirs also. For only the first begotten have that preeminence; even as we see the case standeth at this day in many realms. And in the holy Scriptures it is manifest, that Esau and Ishmael were not heirs. Wherefore we be heirs, and that of no poor man, or of small matters: for we have obtained the inheritance of God, and we be made heirs together with Christ: we have the inheritance of the father common with Christ, and we be so wholly grafted into him, and altogether knit with him, that by his spirit we live. But we shall then come unto this inheritance, when it shall be said unto us; Come ye blessed of my father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. We be fellow heirs, because (as John saith) when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him. And Paul saith unto the Colossians; Ye be dead, and your life

is hidden with Christ in God: and when as Christ your life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.

Inheritance (as it is defined by the Lawyers) is a succession into the whole right of the man that is dead. And may this appear to be but a small matter, to be made partakers of the whole right of God? Certainly Peter saith, that We be made partakers of the divine nature. Here Ambrose noted, that it is not in this matter, as we commonly see it come to pass in the world: for it behooveth that the testator die, before the successor can come to the inheritance. But God dieth not, nay rather we that be appointed to be his heirs do die first, before possession can be delivered unto us. Christ also first died, before he came unto the glory which was appointed for him. Moreover, as touching civil laws, the heir is counted one and the self-same person with him that maketh him heir. Even so we, through Christ, are strictly knit together with God, so as we are now one together with him, according as Christ prayed; That they may be one, as thou and I are one: for all things are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's. This inheritance obtain we freely, by the spirit of Christ. Wherefore the bishops of Rome, and their champions the Cardinals, and false bishops, do wickedly, which have shut up this inheritance of remission of sins, and access unto the kingdom of God under their counterfeit keys; that they at their own pleasure might sell the same, and either thrust down to hell, or send up to heaven whom they list themselves.

The description of Christian Hope, in the 5th chapter to the Romans, ver. 5.

42. As concerning hope, this is a notable chain, and an excellent connection of Christian degrees. Of this chain, the first link is fastened to the post of afflictions in this life; from thence the godly ascend to patience,

from patience to experience, and from experience to hope: which hope, forsomuch as it maketh not ashamed, but without doubting attaineth unto God, which is our principal felicity, is fastened unto him, as unto the highest link of the chain. This very property of not confounding, belongeth also unto faith; for None that believe in him shall be confounded: and that for good cause; for what can be of more near a kin unto faith, than hope? The Latin interpreter turneth it; *Non confundit*, that is, Confoundeth not. Howbeit it might be properly turned; *Non pudefacit*; that is, Maketh not ashamed. And it is a figurative kind of speech: for Paul's mind was to signify, that the godly cannot be frustrated of their hope; for they which are frustrated; namely, when things fall out far otherwise than they hoped for, are commonly ashamed. Wherefore Paul by shame understandeth frustration; because shame always followeth it. But the Latin interpreter had respect to that perturbation of the mind, which followeth shame: for, To confound, is nothing else, but To perturb or trouble.

Now, if this sentence be true, as indeed it is most true, namely, that this Hope confoundeth not; it followeth, that the same dependeth not of our works: for otherwise, it would oftentimes fail. But that it is true and certain, Paul declareth, not by one word only, but by three, and those of great efficacy. For first he useth this word Knowing, which betokeneth an assured knowledge of a thing. He maketh mention also of Rejoicing, which cannot have place among godly and wise men, but in those things which they assuredly and firmly possess. Last of all he addeth, that Hope maketh not ashamed. And it is not without cause, that he oftentimes induceth persuasions of this certainty; because from thence chiefly is consolation to be sought for in afflictions. When Christ did hang upon the cross, the wicked railed against him, saying; He hoped in God, let him save him, if he

will have him; let him come down from the cross, &c. The self-same things are laid against us, not only by outward enemies; but also by our flesh, our outward senses, and by human wisdom. How can we resist these, but by this doctrine of the apostle; Hope confoundeth not? The hope which we have put in the Lord, will not make ashamed.

43. The Sophisters labor to prove, that hope springeth of merits; because Paul saith it springeth of patience: as though we should think, that hope were given to us by the merit of patience. But in the mean time they mark not, that those things which Paul here by a certain order disposeth, are not so compared the one to the other, as causes and effects. For who will say that afflictions are the causes of patience? And if they be not so, why should they more affirm, that patience is the cause of hope? The scripture most expressly teacheth, that He which putteth confidence in man, or in any creature, is accursed: for a man, of whose promise we depend, and assure ourselves, may either die, or alter his mind, or else be let that he cannot faithfully perform that which he promised: and to have confidence [in him] either for merit sake, or by reason of good works, is to settle our hope in man; wherefore, such hope worthily maketh ashamed. But the hope, which is fixed upon God is certain; neither can it be deceived. The Sophisters craftily go about to avoid this sentence, by two places of Paul; the one to the Romans, and the other to Timothy. The place to Timothy is thus; I know whom I have believed, and am certain. And the other to the Romans is thus; I am assured that neither death, nor life, nor angels, &c. By these places they think to overthrow the proof which we have made, because they think that these words are to be understood, not universally of all believers; but only of Paul, and such other like, who had it peculiarly revealed unto them, that they should attain unto salvation.

But these their enterprises are in vain; for here is now entreated of the nature and property of hope, whereby is manifestly proved, that all they which are endued with it, are sure of their salvation: so that they must needs confess, that they which doubt of their salvation, either have not the hope which belongeth to a Christian; or else if they have that hope, they must needs be assured of their salvation. But if a man will say; What if I shall be unworthy, and therefore God will not bestow upon me the chief reward? I answer, that this is a wrestling of the conscience, and must be overcome by hope; for the obtainment whereof let us cleave fast unto the word of God: such as is this; God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your power, but together with the temptation will make a way out: and such like places of the holy scripture, wherein God promiseth, that he will give perseverance unto his, even unto the end. And to speak briefly, the hope of the godly leaneth only unto the goodness, power, and mercy of the only God. This thing Basilus very well understood in his exposition upon the 33rd Psalm, when he interpreteth these words; Hoping in his mercy: He which putteth not (saith he) confidence in his own proper deeds, neither hopeth to be justified by works, hath his hope of salvation only in the mercy of God; for when he shall consider these things with himself, Behold God and his reward, &c.

44. But the School-men have taught far otherwise; for the Master of the sentences, in his third book, thus defineth hope; Hope is an assured expectation of the blessedness to come, coming of the grace of God, and of merits going before. Which definition, how absurd it is, especially touching the latter part; it is manifest in those, which are newly from most heinous and horrible sins converted to Christ: for they undoubtedly can have no good merits, seeing before they were void of charity, from which all our

works proceed. Yet can there be nothing more certain, than that they, which be converted unto Christ, cannot be without hope. Yea, Augustine upon the psalm; From the depth have I called upon thee, O Lord, exhorteth them that fall, and those which live in the depth of evils, not to cast away hope; and that by the example of the thief, and of many others. It may now be demanded of them, by what merits hope is confirmed in these men? They commonly answer, that merits do not always go before hope; but always go before the thing hoped for. And they declare their opinion touching this matter, in such sort, as they teach that merits go before hope, either in very deed, or else doubtless in thought. For men newly converted, commonly while they conceive hope of salvation, determine both in their mind, and in their cogitation, to do good works; whereby they think to merit the last reward. But what certain hope can these good works imagined in the mind produce which are not yet wrought? For of a cause, which yet is not, cannot be produced an effect which already is. We should rather affirm the contrary; to wit, that this godly will springeth of faith and of hope, than that faith or hope should proceed of it, as from the cause.

But it is a world to see, how these men turn themselves, when on the one side they say that hope is an assured expectation; and yet on the other side they will have this to be a most firm doctrine, that no man can be assured of his salvation, unless it be specially revealed unto him by God. Here they perceive themselves to be fast tied; and they confess, that it is a hard matter to understand, what manner of certainty the certainty of hope is. Here these miserable men sweat, and go to work, and feign, and imagine many things. First they teach, that all certainty of hope cometh of the certainty of faith; and this indeed is not amiss: for therefore we certainly hope, because by faith we embrace the most certain promise of God. But they go on further,

and say, that by faith we generally and absolutely believe, that all the elect and predestinated shall be saved; but that hope maketh us to have a confidence, that we are of the number of the elect: as though hope had a particular knowledge under faith; that that which was generally apprehended by faith, is by hope applied unto every one of us apart. Wherefore they affirm, that this certainty of hope is by supposition; if we be of the number of the elect, and do persist even unto the end. And this kind of certainty they will have to consist of very likely conjectures. And at length they conclude, that the certainty of hope is less than the certainty of faith.

45. But contrariwise, we make the certainty of either of them to be alike: for look how much faith we have, so much hope also we have; for faith retaineth not with itself any part of certainty, which it delivereth not over unto hope. That is a fond devise, which they bring touching application, in that by hope, they apply unto us, those things, which we have by faith, generally and absolutely believed. For we do not only believe, that God is good, or the father and author of man's felicity; but also every godly man by faith assureth himself, that God both is, and will be unto him good, is and will be unto him a father, is and will be unto him the author of felicity. Hereof cometh that certainty of hope. And for this cause it is, that Paul writeth, that It cannot confound. And seeing faith hath a respect unto God, as to one that speaketh the truth; and hope hath respect unto him, as unto one that is faithful, and most ready to perform his promises: and God himself is no less faithful in performing, than true in promising; we may manifestly conclude, that hope hath as much certainty as hath faith. Neither can that anything more help them, which they cavil at the length; namely, that hope hath certainty as touching the object, but not as touching the

subject: for when (say they) it hath a respect unto the clemency, goodness, grace, and power of God, there is no let in those things, but that everyone may be saved: and therefore on that behalf they appoint a grounded certainty; but if a man consider the subject, the mind I mean, and will of him that hopeth; forsomuch as it is pliable and wavereth, and may be changed, it can never be certain or sure of salvation.

But these men seem unto me to deal even as they do, which in a siege, defending their city, diligently shut and defend all other gates saving one, which they leave open; through which when the enemies enter in and destroy all things, they perceive that they lost all their labor. So these men take exceeding great pains, because there may seem to be no uncertainty, as touching the goodness, power, and clemency of God, or merit of Christ. Howbeit, in the mean time they appoint our will to be so subject unto changing, as it neither can nor ought to promise unto itself perseverance, no not out of the word of God; and by this means they quite take away all certainty: so that this saying of Paul, Hope confoundeth not, can have no place; neither doth the certainty, which they go about to establish, anything profit. Verily if we peruse the holy scriptures, we shall not only understand, that God is generally good and mighty; but also that he is evermore unto us good and merciful: and that therefore he will confirm our will, that it shall never fall away from him. For as we have a little before mentioned; He will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able to bear, but together with the temptation will make a way forth. And in the first chapter of the first to the Corinthians; He shall confirm you blameless even to the end, against the day of the Lord Jesus Christ: for God is faithful, by whom we are called. There are besides, a great many other testimonies in the holy scriptures, which promise unto us both perseverance and confirmation of

our will by Christ. Wherefore we say, that this certainty of hope is a firm cleaving unto the promises offered unto us, and received by faith; because we know that we shall not give over, but continue even unto the last end.

46. And of so great force is this hope, that as Augustine writeth unto Dardanus, and in many other places, it calleth things that are to come, already done: as the same Augustine very well declareth out of many places of saint Paul, and especially unto the Romans, unto the Ephesians, and unto the Colossians. For unto the Ephesians we are said, to be already raised from the dead, and to be already set at the right hand of God, together with Christ in the heavenly places. Unto the Colossians; If ye have risen together with Christ, &c. And in another place; He hath saved us by the fountain of regeneration. And unto the Romans; By hope we are made safe. This certainty springeth chiefly of a worthy estimation, which by faith we conceive, touching the constancy of God: the which no unworthiness of ours is able to cast down. Unto which unworthiness of ours, drawing us from this confidence, if we have respect, we must needs against hope believe in hope; and have a full confidence that we shall be saved by Christ, although the same unworthiness repugn never so much against it; setting before the view of our eyes our father Abraham, whose steps we ought by faith to cleave unto.

He, as touching the promise that he should have issue; weighed not his own age, or the age of his wife, which was past child bearing; but had a respect unto him only which made the promise, and considered his might: and therefore he determined most assuredly with himself, that that should come to pass which God had promised. Even so, although we be unworthy, and that our foulness and sin is a let unto us; yet let us have no mistrust, but that by Christ we shall be made safe: unless we will suffer ourselves to be

infected with infidelity, the which Abraham did most of all abhor: for he staggered not through unbelief, as the apostle saith. Wherefore this uncertainty of our adversaries, is utterly taken away from the minds of the godly: for, for this cause (as the apostle testifieth) would God have us to be justified by faith, and not by works, that the promise should abide certain and unshaken. And this is indeed to give the glory unto God, which thing Abraham did: for he, notwithstanding those wonderful great impediments, hoped undoubtedly, that the same, which God had promised, should come to pass.

Job also made so small account of these impediments, that he said; Although he kill me, yet will I hope in him: by which words he showeth, that it is the property of the godly, that albeit they be very severely afflicted by God, and may appear to be hated of him, yet do not cast away their hope. Wherefore, let us imitate him, and if so be that our falling and unworthiness shall set themselves before our eyes; yet let us not distrust. Let us in the meantime detest our vices, and as much as lieth in us, amend them; but yet through them let us by no means be cast down from the hope of salvation. For if, when the promises of God be offered, we should behold our own worthiness; we should rather be moved to desperation than to any hope: for there is no man, whose mind is not laden with many and grievous sins. Besides this, Paul teacheth us, that Peace towards God is had by Christ, and by the faith which is towards him: which peace undoubtedly should either be none at all, or else very troublesome, if we should continually doubt of his good will towards us. Do we not always in our prayers call upon him as our father? But no son, which followeth natural affection, doubteth of his father's good will towards him. How then do we call him father, whom we suspect to be our enemy?

47. There might be a great many of such other reasons brought for the certainty of hope. But now I will in few words declare, that the fathers also in their writings taught the self-same certainty. Chrysostom upon that place unto the Romans, thus writeth; Do not (saith he) yea though thou be of small worthiness, discourage thyself, seeing thou hast so great a defense; namely, the love or favor of the judge. And a little afterward he saith; For that cause the apostle himself (when he saith; Hope confoundeth not) ascribeth all the things, which we have received, not unto our good deeds, but unto the love of God. Ambrose also saith, that Forsomuch as it is impossible, that they which are dear unto him, should be deceived; he would make us assured of the promise: because both it is God which hath promised, and hath promised unto those, whom he will have dear unto him. Augustine in his sermon, which he made upon Monday in Rogation week; Why (saith he) doth your hand tremble, when ye knock? And why is your conscience so near asleep, when ye beg? I am the door of life; I abhor not him that knocketh, though he be unclean. And upon the 41st Psalm he saith; Put not hope in thyself, but in thy God: for if thou do put hope in thine own self, thou shalt fill thy soul with trouble; for as yet it hath not found whereof to assure itself of thee. By these words he declareth, that the security which we have, cometh not of ourselves, but of God.

The same father upon the 27th Psalm, when he expoundeth these words of Paul, out of the second chapter to the Ephesians; We also by nature were the children of wrath, as others be: Why doth he say; We were? Because (saith he) by hope we now are not; for indeed, we still be: but we speak that which is better; namely, that which we in hope are; because we be certain of our hope: for our hope is not uncertain, that we should doubt of it. And Chrysostom upon the fifth chapter to the Romans saith; that We ought no

less to be persuaded of those things, which we shall receive, than we are of those things, which we have already received. Cyprian also in his sermon *De pestilentia*, when he saw the godly sort fearful to die, confirmed them many ways to be assured of their salvation: and amongst all other things saith; that They do fear and abhor death, which are void either of faith, or hope. And Barnard wonderfully rejoiceth touching the death of Christ, touching his wounds and cross; upon that rock he saith that he doth stand, and will not fall for any violence done against him. He maketh mention also of many excellent things, touching this firm and constant certainty. Wherefore, those good things, which we have avouched of the constancy and security of hope, do not only agree with the holy scriptures, and with most sure reasons; but also with the sentences of the fathers.

48. Now it shall be good to define hope, that the certainty thereof may the more plainly be known. Wherefore, Hope is a faculty or power, breathed into us by the holy Ghost, whereby we, with an assured and patient mind, do wait that the salvation begun by Christ, and received of us by faith, may once be performed in us; not for our own merits sake, but through the mercy of God. First it is said to be instilled by the holy Ghost, because it springeth not through nature, or continual actions. Indeed it is after faith, although not in respect of time, yet in nature; which thing may be learned out of the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written; that Faith is the foundation of things to be hoped for. For, insomuch as things, which we hope for, are not evident and manifest, but are removed a great way from us; they ought to lean unto saith, by which as by a prop or pillar, they may be stayed up. And that hope doth contain expectation, or attending for, the epistle to the Romans the 8th chapter doth plainly declare; where Paul saith, that that Hope which is seen is no hope; for how doth a man hope for that

which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, we do by patience wait for it.

Neither must this be passed over, that that good thing, which hope hath a respect unto, is difficult and hard to come by. For naturally in living creatures, the affection of hope consisteth in the grosser part of the mind, which they call the angry part; whereby the living creature is encouraged to pursue after that good thing, which is set before it, although there seem something to let it: for by such an affection it is stirred up, to overcome whatsoever standeth in the way. The wolf being hungry meeteth with a bull, and through the power of appetite desireth the same for a prey: but when he seeth the great difficulty that he must have, of joining and fighting with the bull, he is through the angry power of the mind stirred up by hope, and is bold to put himself into danger and fight; and so at the length having put away all lets, he obtaineth his prey. So hath God in the nobler part of our mind, placed hope, whereby is brought to pass, that when the chief felicity (which is a thing both difficult, and far from us) is set before us, we should not be feared away, but by faith have boldness and access unto God: as Paul saith in the 3rd chapter to the Ephesians.

And forsomuch as this felicity is very far distant from the godly, it cannot be otherwise, but that in hoping they have some grief; and that they sorrow in themselves, because their present state is by God so far removed from felicity. But on the other side, when they are certain and assured, that they shall attain unto that end; they cannot choose but be endued with incredible joy. And so this power of hope is sprinkled with the affects of joy and sorrow. And the apostle hath signified unto us some part of the sorrow thereof, in that place to the Romans, which we have already cited, when he writeth; Every creature groaneth, and travaileth in pain together with us,

even unto this present: and not only the creature; but we also, which have received the first fruits of the spirit; even we do sigh in ourselves, waiting for the adoption, even the redemption of our body. And that joy is joined with the self-same hope, he declareth in the 12th chapter of the same epistle; Rejoicing (saith he) in hope.

49. And although that valiant courage, and patient enduring, seem to bring to our minds an expectation; yet those virtues have not the same otherwise than from the hope which we have described. Neither is it to be marveled at, that one virtue should receive anything of another virtue: for they which are but meanly conversant in the Ethics do know, that liberality, temperance, and such other virtues, have much help at the hand of prudence: for by the help thereof, they have a mediocrity appointed them to follow. This is the difference that chiefly distinguisheth hope from faith; namely, that by faith we admit and embrace the promises offered unto us by God: but by the help of hope, we do patiently wait to have those promises at the length to be performed unto us. Neither was hope for any other cause given by God, but because we should not cease from following after that good thing, which we perceive cannot be obtained by our own deeds: for they are not by any means to be compared with it. For as the apostle saith; The tribulations of this time are not worthy of the glory to come, the which shall be revealed in us. For they verily that be endued with hope, assure themselves, that whatsoever they do want in the strength of nature, and in works, shall be supplied by the mercy of God, and the obedience of Christ.

And if a man demand, whether a pure life, and holy works can avail anything to the certainty of hope? We will easily grant that it may, so that we seclude the buying and selling of merits: for our works of themselves have nothing at all, whereby they can bring forth hope. Howbeit, the

persuasion of faith may of them take an argument to confirm hope, and to reason in this sort; God hath now of his mere liberality given me grace to do this or that good work, to put away this or that vice out of my mind; wherefor he will yet give greater things, and will not deny me those things which are remaining to salvation. If the Sophisters had said thus, they might have been borne withal. Neither in very deed is it contrary unto the apostles meaning: for, as we shall a little afterward see, he would have us, by reason of those things which God hath already granted unto us, to be certainly persuaded of his perpetual love towards us. But these men have both written and taught, that hope it self dependeth of merits, and so dependeth, as to hope without them, they say is presumption and rashness.

50. But it seems, that somewhat may be objected out of the holy scriptures, to make against this sentence of Paul, wherein he saith; that Hope confoundeth not. For to Timothy it is written; In my first defense, no man was on my side; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion, and the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work. Here Paul hoped to escape the persecution of Nero, but he was deceived; for under him he was slain. The same apostle unto the Philippians, when he had said, that He was distressed on both sides, because on the one part he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ: and for that, on the other part he saw it was necessary unto him for their sakes to remain in the flesh, he addeth this; And this I am sure of, that I shall abide, and with you all continue for your furtherance, and joy of your faith. Here also again it appeareth, that the apostle hoped, that he should be delivered from that captivity, the which nevertheless he did not escape. Wherefore it might seem, that the same hope confounded him. To answer to these things, we will repeat that which we said before; namely, that hope receiveth his certainty of faith, and faith hath his certainty

of the word of God. Wherefore it followeth, that either of them is as certain, as are the promises which be offered. And God hath absolutely, and without condition promised unto us remission of sins, and eternal life; and hath commanded, that we should without all doubting, both believe and hope for them: wherefore in these things, neither faith nor hope can deceive us.

But touching the dangers and adversities of this life, we have no plain and absolute promise; but, as they term it, under disjunction: for God hath promised, that he will either deliver us, or else comfort us in the dangers; so that we shall not fall away, but constantly confess his name: or if we chance to fall, he hath promised to restore us again, that we may attain to everlasting life. Wherefore it is not meet, that the certainty of hope should be fixed in one of these parts only: which thing if any good men at any time do, the same springeth of earthly affection, and not of Christian hope; and therefore it is no marvel, if they be sometimes deceived. But to return unto Paul, he of a certain great love hoped to abide longer among the Philippians, and to edify them; of the which thing seeing he was not instructed by the word of God, it came easily to pass, that he was deceived. But the sum of that godliness, which belongeth to the Gospel, is to determine certainly; that God doth love us, and that he will at the length make us blessed. And if sometime the minds of godly men be disturbed, as though they doubted of the promises of God, or of their salvation; this happeneth not through the default either of faith, or of hope; but by reason that while we live here, we be not endued with perfection: wherefor this doubting proceedeth from the flesh, and from our human wisdom.

Indeed we agree with our adversaries in this point, that sometimes certain doubts of salvation do arise even among the godly. But herein we disagree from them; namely, that they attribute this unto hope: but we say, that it

cometh only of man's infirmity, and that it must be daily corrected. Let a man therefore think, that he hath so much profited in faith and hope, as he feeleth himself more constant and firm. And in what sort these evils spring not of faith, or of hope, but of our own corruption; we have before declared by an apt similitude, and will now repeat the same again. No man can deny; but that the mathematical sciences are most certain; wherefore he which hath learned them exactly, pronounceth boldly, and nothing doubteth of their conclusions: but he that is but meanly instructed in this faculty, oftentimes doubteth, and standeth in a perplexity; because he hath not as yet attained perfectly unto those sciences. Even so are we tossed with doubts, not through faith or hope; but because we do not hope nor believe so much as is needful.

51. But some man will say, that we are peradventure deceived hereby; for that instead of the true faith or hope, we have only the shadows of them: for we cannot easily discern the true faith and hope, from the feigned and counterfeit faith and hope. I answer, that by this instance cannot be taken away the properties of faith or of hope: for although one or two cannot discern them, yet they remain still firm in their own nature. As we see it is in liberality and prodigality: for there be many that cannot distinguish the one from the other, and yet are not therefore their properties and conditions taken away. Paul entreateth of the nature and property of hope. But if thou wilt afterward, demand, how these faculties or powers are discerned from the counterfeit? We answer, that they are declared by the force and power of the holy Ghost; which spirit hath in all spiritual things no other light more clear than itself, whereby it should be illustrated. Which thing also we see to be true in the sun: for the sun is not declared to be the sun, but by his own light. Wherefore Paul unto the Romans very aptly said; It is the spirit

that beareth record with our spirit, that we be the children of God. But besides this light of the holy Ghost, is required also an examination of ourselves: wherefore Paul thus speaketh in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; Try yourselves, whether ye be in faith.

In which trial hope must be distinguished: for there is one hope that hath always repentance, and a desire of amendment of life joined with it; of which kind of hope the apostle speaketh, when he saith that It confoundeth not: for it hath always these companions joined with it; namely, faith and charity. Wherefore, when we teach a certainty thereof, we open not a window unto vices, as our adversaries slander us; neither do we stir up men to lose life: for this true hope moveth us not to these things, but rather driveth us to live according to that hope. There is another hope, which we may rather call a security of the flesh, whereof Augustine thus rightly speaketh; Such as cleave unto it, by hoping perish. And these be they, which say; God is good, and loveth us; Christ died for our salvation; Howsoever we lead our life, we shall obtain salvation. Of this hope we must diligently beware; for it is far distant from repentance, and from a desire to live well: and being of that nature, it utterly driveth away from it both faith and charity; this hope miserably deceiveth men: wherefore of this, Paul doth not here speak.

52. Now remaineth to see, whether the blessed spirits or souls may in heaven have this true hope, wherewith the godly are now adorned. For on the one side we know, that they wait for the resurrection of bodies, and the last judgment, which shall unto them be very welcome: wherefore in that behalf they seem not to be utterly void of hope. But on the other side, the apostle unto the Corinthians doth describe faith, hope, and charity: but of these three he saith, that only charity falleth not away. By which words he

manifestly teacheth, that true hope can have no place, when we be in heaven. And that which we have spoken of the godly, may also be called into question touching Christ: for he also seemeth to have hoped, that he should rise again, and that he should carry up his human nature into heaven. Unto these things we answer, that it ought not to be doubted, but that both Christ hoped, and also the souls of the blessed do yet after a sort hope. But we deny that it is such a hope as ours is, which we have in this life; because (as we have before declared out of the words of the apostle) our hope hath (as companions) sighing and sorrowing joined therewith: which things doubtless in the eternal felicity, which the blessed do enjoy in heaven, can have no place. Further, our hope cleaveth fast unto faith, the which breedeth an imperfect and an obscure knowledge: for as Paul saith unto the Corinthians; We see now by a glass, in a riddle, and we know but in part: but the saints in heaven know most perfectly and most clearly. Moreover, forsomuch as faith hath chiefly a respect unto the last and chief good thing; there ought no such hope as ours is to be ascribed to the blessed, which now hold and possess that good thing. For true and proper hope can have no place in the eternal felicity; it is only given us as an anchor, so long as we abide here: for so the epistle, which is written unto the Hebrews calleth it. For while we be tossed with the waves and tempests of this world (unless our mind be confirmed and established by the anchor of hope) our ship will soon dash against the sands and rocks.

53. Chrysostom calleth it a golden chain let down from heaven, which chain if we take hold of, we shall be drawn up into heaven. Wherefore, we must diligently provide, that this hope be daily more and more confirmed in us; which thing will then chiefly come to pass, if we weigh the singular benefits of God; which benefits, forsomuch as they are manifestly contained

in the holy scriptures, our hope by the reading of them shall greatly be confirmed. And this hath Paul in the epistle to the Romans most plainly taught, when he said; Whatsoever things are written, are written for our learning, that through patience and consolation of the scriptures we should have hope. The very which thing David also saith; They which know thy name, put their trust in thee. Wherefore, seeing the nature and name of God is nowhere better known, than in the holy scriptures; it followeth, that by them we ought to confirm our hope. And this if we will diligently observe, our mind shall not be discouraged, when God (as oftentimes his manner is) suffereth our doings to come even to shame. And the same we see happened even to Christ our savior; for he was so utterly forsaken of God, that he was nailed unto the cross, and died a most ignominious death, between two thieves. David also was brought to that point, that he not only being expelled from the kingdom of Israel, was fain to wander in desolate places; but also was now in a manner shut up in the power of Saul. The self-same thing we see hath oftentimes happened unto other of the godly sort, so as they were in a manner judged to be quite wrong, and to be fallen from their hope.

But the spirit of Christ giveth strength, that men are able in the midst of their calamities, to rejoyce, and say; These things should have no power of us, if they were not appointed from above. Which sentence Christ laid against Pilate, when he boasted of his power. The 42nd Psalm also hath excellently well taught us, how we ought to comfort ourselves, and with a good hope to erect our minds: for thus it is written; Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? Why art thou so discouraged? Hope in God; for I will yet make my confession unto him: my safety is in his countenance. Neither doth God commonly for any other cause disappoint his people of the outward aids

and helps of this world, but to gather their scattered hope, and not to suffer it to lean unto too many aids: and these sundry and manifold aids he changeth for one principal aid, and the same most firm; to the end we should depend upon him. By this difference of a firm hope, the Christians do much differ from the Epicures and Ethnics: for the Ethnics, if there come any great calamity to them, straightway they exclaim and cry out; If there be a God that hath a care of these things; if there be a God that seeth these things. So they call not upon God, but being in despair, utterly discourage themselves. But contrariwise, godly men most constantly cry unto God; neither doubt they, but that their prayers reach up even unto heaven; and that God hath a care both over them, and also over all that they have.

CHAP. IV. Of Justification; Upon the epistle to the Romans, 11th chapter. Also, 1 Cor. 1 & Gen. 15:6.

It shall now be a profitable thing to entreat of justification, which is the scope and end of all that Paul teacheth in the epistle to the Romans. Let this question be put forth after this sort; namely, whether men be justified by works or by faith? But first of all, it shall be good to discuss the words of the question proposed; and we will begin with this word justification. This verb *Tsadac*, with the Hebrews in the first conjugation signifieth, To be just: but if it be transferred unto the third conjugation, it signifieth To transfer righteousness into another, and to make just. For this is the efficacy of the form of those verbs, which they call *Hiphil*. Even as *Amad* signifieth, To stand; so *Heemid* signifieth, To appoint: that is, To make another thing to stand. Wherefore *Hitsdic* in the Hebrew signifieth, To justify, that is, To make one just: which thing, when it is done of God, it is done of him two manner of ways. For sometimes he doth assuredly bring forth righteousness in men. First, when God with his holy Spirit frameth them again, and wholly reneweth them in restoring the strength of their minds, and delivering the powers of man from a great part of his natural corruption;

and this is the first righteousness, which sticketh and cleaveth to our minds, by the benefit of God, through Christ. Secondly, when he hath so restored and made them new again, he giveth just and holy works; by the use and continuance of which works, a quality, or (as they call it) a habit is engendered in our minds, whereby we are made pliant to live honestly and godly: and we deny not, but this kind of righteousness is in the hearts of the regenerate.

But sometimes God justifieth, in absolving us from sins, and ascribing and imputing righteousness: and then this word *Hitsdic*, is a word taken of the law, which pertaineth to judgment, as also this word *Hatschiah*, which signifieth, To declare one to be an offender and a wicked person. And to justify in judgment, is by words, testimonies, and affirmation, to count one for just. And forsooth as these are the two significations of this word, To justify; namely, either in deed, or in account and estimation; and God is the author of either of them: whether of these two shall we follow in the disputation proposed? Forsooth the latter; and that for because the renovation inspired by the spirit of God, and our righteousness, as touching the habit gotten by good works, are whilst we live here so imperfect and maimed, that if judgment should be given by them, we might not be able to stand before the judgment seat of God. Besides that; Paul disputing of this matter, after he had brought forth the authority of David, and a testimony of the history of Abraham in Genesis; useth this word of imputing: and by the proper signification thereof, he reasoneth touching this present cause or question. And this I suppose to be sufficient as touching the declaration of the first word; namely, Justification.

2. Now let us entreat of Faith. Aman among the Hebrews in the first conjugation signifieth, To be firm: the very which verb in the third

conjugation; being called (as I have said) *Hiphil*, signifieth, To give constancy and assuredness to any promise or thing. Wherefore the Latins say; *Fidem homini aut verbis tribuere*; which is in English, To give faith or credit unto a man, or unto words: and it signifieth even as much as if a man should say, To believe. Wherefore this Hebrew verb *Heemin*, signifieth none other thing, than To suppose, or think a thing to be firm, constant, and true. And as touching God, he which believeth not him, maketh him a liar: for John saith in his first epistle, the 5th chapter; He which believeth not God, maketh him a liar. Which thing how grievous a sin it is, let every man consider with himself. Contrariwise, he which believeth God, adorneth him with glory and honor: for in the epistle to the Romans it is written of Abraham, that he staggered not through doubting, through the consideration of his own body, or of the womb of Sara being in a manner past child bearing; but gave the glory unto God, being strong in faith, and fully persuaded that he was able to perform whatsoever he would. Wherefore there seemeth to be a certain analogy or proportion between this word, To believe, and that To justify; as we in this place take it: for as, To justify, is by way of judging and accounting, to ascribe righteousness to a man; and not to make him to be in very deed just: so, To believe, is not (in very deed) to make the words and promises of any man sure, and firm; but to think and determine with ourselves, that so they are.

But this act of believing, whereof we now entreat, hath two manner of firmness and certainty. First of the things; namely, of the words and promises of God, which abide much more firmly than heaven and earth. Secondly, as touching the persuasion itself; which seeing it is wrought by the power of God, it is also most firm, most certain, and of assured persuasion; that is, that it is never naked, but always draweth with it many

and sundry motions of the mind. For experience and daily use teacheth, that in things civil, a man being well and fully persuaded of pleasant promises, is filled with confidence, rejoiceth, showeth a merry countenance, is glad, and pleasant, and cleaveth unto him that made the promise, that he may by all means allow him: but contrariwise, when he believeth not the persuasion, he laugheth at it, neglecteth and contemneth it, or waxeth cold, and bendeth the brow. Wherefore it can never be, that he which believeth in very deed, can want such affections, which are accustomed to follow a full and strong persuasion. And therefore, those that are the pure professors of the Gospel, do justly affirm, that, To believe, hath a very great conjunction with the action, or with the motion of confidence, hope, and such like affections: but most of all, with the sincere and firm affiance, which the same always draweth with it.

Whereby it cometh to pass, that in the holy scriptures, promises are made both to faith, and to trust. For even as it is said; The just man liveth by faith: also; He which believeth in him, shall not be confounded: and in the New Testament; He which believeth in the son, hath eternal life: again; We think that a man is justified by faith: Even so is it written in the Psalm; Blessed are all they which put their trust in him: and in Isaiah, the 26th chapter; He shall keep peace, because they trusted in him: and in the New Testament; Hope confoundeth not: to Titus also, the 3rd chapter; That we may be heirs, according to the hope of eternal life. Although in the Old Testament we do find the promises are oftener made unto hope, than unto faith; yet in the New Testament it is contrariwise: the reason whereof may be this, because in the old time, the Hebrews erred not, in believing that there was but one God; nay rather, they professed the worshipping of him only. But this was not well amongst them, that they had not a lively faith, which draweth with

it a trust; otherwise they had by education conceived either a certain opinion, or else a certain knowledge; and therefore unto this the scripture exhorteth them, to believe truly and effectually, which was expressed by the effect, under the name of trust. But in the New Testament they erred in the meaning, both the Gentiles which were worshippers of idols, and of many gods; and also the Jews, as touching the conditions of Messias: for they looked that he should come in glorious pomp, like a king, and magnificent in worldly empire. Wherefore faith was oftentimes beaten into them, whereby they might obtain the promises of God: for it was very necessary, that they should rightly be instructed of the chief point of the thing that they should believe.

3. And of this Hebrew verb *Aman*, is derived this noun *Emunah*, which signifieth Faith: and it sometimes signifieth, Certainty, and constancy of words and promises. Wherefore God is oftentimes in the holy scriptures, called faithful; and his works are called faithful; because they be firm, and do constantly continue: and we read in the epistle to the Romans; What if some of them have not believed? Hath their incredulity made vain the faith of God? Yea, and this Latin word *Fides*, that is, Faith, if we may believe Cicero, is derived of *Fio*; because that thing is done in deed, which was spoken. And sometimes it signifieth the assent of our mind, whereby we receive words which are set forth unto us: as it is said of Abraham; He believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. And for so much as in this discourse, we take faith now after this manner, it shall not be from the purpose, to define what faith is. Wherefore, Faith is a firm and an assured assent of the mind, unto the words of God; which assent is inspired by the holy Ghost, unto the salvation of the believers. And therefore it consisteth in the mind, and is occupied about the words of God,

from whence we have the matter thereof. Of the form also we need not to doubt, (because it is defined to be an assent.) The efficient cause is set down to be the inspiration of the holy Ghost. And the end is declared in the last place, when as we say, that this assent is inspired of the holy Ghost, to the salvation of the believers.

Not much unlike unto this definition, are those things, which be written concerning faith, in the epistle unto the Hebrews the 11th, chapter; namely, that Faith is a substance of things to be hoped for, and an argument of things that appear not. Where, that which the Latin interpreters have turned *Substantia*, that is, Substance; in Greek is written ὑπόστασις. Which word Budaeus most learnedly turneth in his commentaries, Boldness, strength, or valiantness of mind: and it is derived of this verb ὑφίσταμαι, which signifieth to Sustain, to receive, not to give place unto one that rusheth upon a man. Hereof a soldier is called ὑποστατικός, which is, Trusty, and turneth not his back unto his enemies; but goeth against them, and resisteth them. And undoubtedly in believing, we have need of this strength, and patience; by reason of the great fight, of which we have there experience. For we must resist the flesh, we must overcome reason, which very much striveth against faith; we must also resist the condemnation of our own conscience, sin, and the wrath of God: and there are many things besides, by which a faithful assent is both letted and assaulted. Now this ὑπόστασις, or substance, and those things that are hoped for, are very well compared together between themselves. For God promiseth resurrection, but yet unto the dead; he promiseth eternal life, but yet unto them that are rotten; he calleth them blessed, but yet those which abundantly thirst and hunger, and are on every side oppressed; he pronounceth men to be justified, but yet such as are covered with sins and filthiness.

Wherefore seeing these things seem to be so far off from us, it is needful that we have boldness, strength, and the assurance of a most firm assent; which may make these things to abide, and to stand with us as things most assured. With such a most strong shield of defense ought we to be armed, whereby we may quench all the fiery darts of the devil, when they are cast against us, that we may also overcome even the world: for as John testifieth; This is the victory, which overcometh the world, even our faith. Further, we must note, that this word *Argumentum*, that is, Argument, which in Greek is ἔλεγχος, is turned of some *Demonstratio*, that is, a Declaration; because, by faith are showed and declared those things which appear not. But me thinketh Augustine, although perhaps not so Latin-like, yet very faithfully turned it *Convictio*, that is, An overcoming; for by faith our mind is overcome, to grant that those things are true, which God either speaketh or promiseth.

4. But *Hostiensis* entreating of the holy Trinity, and the catholic faith, laboreth by two reasons to show, that faith by these words of the apostle is not defined; because that ὑπόστασις, or substance agreeth also with hope. For as much therefore as it is not proper to faith, he saith, it cannot be applied to the definition thereof. Further, because faith hath not a regard only to things to come, and those things which are hoped for; but also is referred unto things past: for we believe that God created heaven and earth, that Christ was born of a virgins, that he suffered for us, and was raised from the dead; but all these things are past, neither are they hoped for to come again. These two reasons of *Hostiensis* are very weak, neither do they prove, that these words unto the Hebrews cannot be applied unto the definition of faith. I grant indeed, that the intent of the apostle in that place was not to define faith, because he spake of patience chiefly, and would

show that it is most nearly knit to faith; because faith is ὑπόστασις, that is, A substance, &c. But by this reason are touched all things that express the nature of faith. And to the first objection we say, that ὑπόστασις, or substance must indeed be applied unto hope; but yet that ὑπόστασις, which it draweth from faith, not that which it hath of itself.

Neither ought it to seem any new matter, if these things, which are of a diverse nature, have something common in their definitions: for a lion, a dog, and a man, although they differ much in nature, yet herein they agree, that they be living creatures. And therefore in their definitions is something put, which is common unto them all; seeing both they are bodies, and are also things having life, and endued with senses. Wherefore, it ought not to seem marvelous, if faith and hope agree in that ὑπόστασις; forsomuch as they are distinguished by other differences. For in faith ὑπόστασις is referred unto the assent, but in hope to the expectation, whereby we patiently abide, until the promises and such things as we have received by faith be rendered unto us. To the other reason we answer, that Paul made mention of things past, which are made sure and plain unto us by faith: for he saith not only, that it is a substance of things to be hoped for; but addeth, that it is an argument or conviction of things that appear not. Now these things, which are past, appear not: for by that word, Paul comprehendeth whatsoever is believed, and is not evident; whether it be past, or whether it be to come, or whether it be now present. But peradventure thou wilt demand, why in the first place he maketh mention of those things which are hoped for? We answer, that it is rightly done; because these things are for good cause put first, which are more hard to believe: for peradventure there be some, which will easily enough grant, that God created all things, that Christ the son of God came into the world, and was born of the virgin, and

such like; but yet they will much doubt of the remission of their sins, of the resurrection of the flesh to come, and of the eternal glory which shall be given to the just. Wherefore, aptly and orderly are those things placed, which are read in the epistle to the Hebrews.

5. But what the nature of faith is, Isaiah the prophet hath aptly expressed in the 26th chapter, in which place is described the church as a city built of God. The prophet crieth; Open your gates, and a just nation shall enter therein: and he addeth the cause of that righteousness; *Schomer emunim*, that is, Preserving or keeping faith: where thou seest, that by faith the believers are justified. Then he addeth the thing, wherein consisteth that faith, whereby the people of God is just; namely, because *Jetser samuchthitt sor schalom*; that is, With a constant affection thou shalt keep peace. This is the true faith, whereby we are justified; namely, that we believe, that God will be unto us the author of peace and felicity, and a faithful keeper of his promise. And Augustine in his fortieth treatise upon John saith; What is faith, but to believe that which thou seest not? Which self-same thing he writeth upon the words of the apostle in his 27th sermon: but in his book *De spiritu & litera*, the 31st chapter, he writeth; that To believe, is nothing else but to consent, that that is true, which is spoken. The Master of the sentences, in the third book, the 23rd distinction saith, that Faith sometimes is that which we believe. For in the Creed of Athanasius it is said; And this is the catholic faith, that we should believe, &c.

Sometimes it is that, whereby we believe; and in this latter signification do we understand faith in this discourse. He separateth also a lively faith from a dead faith, which distinction is to be liked, because James maketh mention of a dead faith. But we must know, that a dead faith is only a faith in name; neither is it anymore a faith, then a dead man is a man. For even as

a dead man is called a man, although he be none: so a dead faith, although it be called a faith, yet hath it not the nature of faith. There is also another kind of faith, which serveth to work miracles, and much differeth from the justifying faith, and is common both to the godly, and also to the ungodly: of this, Paul maketh mention in the first to the Corinthians, when he saith; Unto one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, to another (he saith) is given faith. And it is not likely, that in that rehearsal of gifts and graces should be meant any other faith, than that which is the root of miracles; especially when as straightway are added gifts of healing, and of virtues, or powers. And of this kind of faith both Chrysostom, and also Theophilactus have made mention upon the same first epistle to the Corinthians; where, in the 13th chapter it is said; If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, &c.

And, that unto the wicked also this kind of faith is granted, it is hereby testified, in that it is most certain, that both they do prophesy, and work miracles: wherefore Christ shall say unto them; I know you not: although they boast with open mouth; Have we not in thy name prophesied? Have we not cast out devils? We must sever also from this faith, that faith, which endureth but for a time; whereof the Lord made mention in the parable of the seed, which is sown in the field: for all falleth not upon good ground, but some upon stony ground; and when it is sprung up with very good success, it very plainly expresseth them, which with a glad and joyful mind receive the word of God, but when the burning and ferventness of persecution shall wax hot, they fall away from it, and therefore they are called πρόσκαιροι, that is, Men having faith for a season. Wherefore, leaving all these significations, we in this discourse understand faith to be that firm assent, which is of so great force and efficacy, as it draweth with it

the affection of confidence, hope, and charity: lastly, all good works, as much as the infirmity of this present life will suffer.

6. Therefore Smith, which wrote against me a book of justification, although he set it out before against Luther, and against Melancthon, and speaketh much against others, and seldom maketh mention of me, is herein exceedingly deceived; in that he judgeth, that those are sharply to be reproved which say, that faith is a trust. And he bringeth a place out of the epistle to the Ephesians, the third chapter, where it is written; By whom, namely, by Christ Jesus, we have παρρησία, that is, boldness to speak, and προσαγωγήν, that is, an access; ἐν πεποιθήσει, that is, in trust, which cometh by faith. Therefore (saith he) seeing trust is by faith, it is not faith. Oh fine man, and witty Divine, which alone saw that these two things, namely, faith and trust, are two things, which are diverse and distinct each from other! What other thing in a manner doth Philip Melancthon, and others our faithful teachers mean, when they call that faith, whereby we are justified, Trust, but that the same is not dead, that it is not slothful, that it is not a human persuasion, but of so vehement an assent, that it hath even trust itself most inwardly and nighly joined unto it? But I mind not much to contend with this man; all that he babbleth, he scrapeth only out of the works of Ecchius, Pighius, and other rabble of the Roman Antichrist, and setteth them abroad, as though they were his own.

That faith, which draweth not trust, and other holy motions of the mind, driveth men into desperation; so far is it off that it can justify: which thing the miserable ends of Cain and Judas do plainly testify. But that which is a firm faith, continually trusteth; yea it sealeth our faith in the church by this common word Amen, used among the faithful. Which word is derived of this Hebrew word, *Aman*, which I before spake of; and signifieth (as David

Kimhi testifieth) It shall be ratified and firm; So shall the Lord bring to pass. They which pray without such a faith, do lose their labor. In this faith undoubtedly men do quiet themselves by tranquility, and unspeakable peace; and are like unto him, which found a most ample treasure and precious pearl, wherein he so contented himself, that he sold all that he had, to buy it. Hereof came it, that in the 7th chapter of Isaiah, the prophet said unto the wicked king Achaz, exhorting him to the true faith, *Hisschameer vehaschket*, that is, Take heed and be quiet: for the prophet would, that the king should beware of incredulity, and stay himself on the word of God, which is the property and nature of faith; as contrariwise the nature of infidelity is to waver and be unconstant. For, They who believe not, are shaken with every blast of doctrine and opinions, and always waver and doubt. Wherefore in Joshua the 7th chapter, the people are reprov'd; because their hearts melted away as water: and that undoubtedly happened only by their incredulity.

7. Forsomuch therefore as hereby it now appeareth, what we understand by faith; and among many significations of this word, which of them we do follow in this question: we must now speak somewhat of works. There is one kind of work, which after the action and motion, remaineth outwardly, and appeareth after it is finished; as the image which Phidias made, is called a work; and the temple of Jerusalem was called the work of Solomon. But otherwise the actions of men, and their voluntary and reasonable motions, are called works: and after this manner we now take works, which are nevertheless sundry ways distinct the one from the other. For there are some, which are inward; as, To believe, To love, To favor, To fear, and To pity: other some are outward; as To travel abroad, To give alms, To preach, To teach, and such like: and of both these kind of works is our question

meant. They also divide works into them which pertain unto ceremonies, and them which they call moral; and we in like manner do embrace both kinds. Further, the time wherein good works are wrought, must be distinguished; for some be done before we are justified, and have obtained the benefit of regeneration; and other some follow, and are counted the fruits of a new life, and of righteousness begun. And forsomuch as we cannot entreat of these latter works being such as follow justification, we will speak only of the former: for this only is called into controversy; Whether works justify us. For those which follow justification, cannot bring forth justification; because it is already had.

8. These points being first so handled and ordered, we will dissolve this whole question by three propositions, which be these; Justification is not of works; Justification is had by faith; Justification is given by faith only. These three things if we shall confirm by reasons taken out of the holy scriptures, and defend them from the objections and cavillations of our adversaries; we suppose that then we shall have sufficiently answered the question. God grant and work with us to bring this to such effect as we desire! As touching the first proposition, when we say that men are not justified by works; it is not to be thought, that the same happeneth thorough the default of good works: for if they could so be performed of us, as the law commandeth them, then should we be justified by them. For God, because he is just, as he acquitteth not the wicked; so would he by his sentence justify such as satisfy the law. But there is no man, which can thoroughly accomplish such works as the law commandeth. And as, if a man should owe a thousand crowns of gold, and had toward the payment thereof but only a thousand pieces of lead or brass money, undoubtedly he should not be discharged of the debt, neither might he be pronounced clear

or quit; which thing should not happen through the default of the crowns of gold, but through the default of his naughty money, and for that he wanteth money of gold: even so say we, that the law is indeed spiritual, holy, just; and he which could do all the things that it commandeth, should live by them: for it is set forth unto us as life. But forsomuch as none of us either doth or can do it, as it is given of God; therefore are we not justified by works.

Moreover also, if faith itself should be considered as it is our work, we cannot be justified by it; forsomuch as it is a work maimed and imperfect, and far underneath that that the law requireth. But therefore we are said to be justified by it; for that by it we take hold of the promises of God, and of the righteousness and merits of Christ, and apply them unto us. Suppose there were a beggar which hath a very loathsome and leprous hand, wherewith he receiveth the alms of him that offereth it unto him; undoubtedly that beggar is nothing at all holpen by the loathsomeness or leprosy of his hand; but by the alms which he received with his hand, what manner of hand so ever he have. There is none endued with true piety, but must needs grievously lament and be sorry when he seeth many (which are called Christians) to be ignorant whether works justify or no: seeing this doctrine is the head, fountain, and stay of all religion, and therefore of it above all things we ought to be most sure and certain. But now a days it is not only called into controversy, but many disagree one from another, and perniciously err from the true doctrine.

But if by complaining I might anything prevail, I would at large complain of this unhappiness: but forsomuch as that which is so, we can by no means bring to pass, but that it be so: only this will I prevent what I can; namely, that we fall not into those opinions, which diminish the glory of God, and

are repugnant unto the holy scriptures, and also are hurtful unto our consciences. Peradventure some will look that I should chiefly make answer to the cursed speaking's, slanders, and reproaches, wherewith the adversaries do as touching this matter, most importunately and tragically infame us: but I am not so mad, to think that these things are to be preferred before the setting forth and defense of the truth. Wherefore first of all I will descend to the matter, and then when I have confirmed our own opinion, I will pick out such wicked objections as are laid against us, and according to the strength that God hath given me I will overthrow them. And to the end it may manifestly appear, that men are not justified by works, (which thing was our first proposition;) I will rehearse in due form the order of the reasons which Paul hath in the epistle to the Romans; whereby it may the easier be perceived, that I in all points agree with him, neither do I one hairs breadth depart from his doctrine.

9. In the first chapter he began to reprove the Gentiles, because before they came to the knowledge of Christ, although by their philosophy they knew the true God; yet they worshipped him not as they should have done; neither gave they thanks unto him, as to the author of all good things; but being made foolish they became vain in their reasons and cogitations; and changing the glory of God, did transfer it from him, and gave it not only to the images of men, but unto birds, four footed beasts, and serpents; wherefore God delivered them over to the affections and desires of their own hearts, by means whereof they lived most shamefully, and became, as it is there written, full of all iniquity, maliciousness, fornication, avarice, and those vices, which do there follow. And if so be they were such, and lived after that manner; undoubtedly they could not be justified by their works: neither should Paul's reason against the Gentiles have been of any

force, to prove to them, that the religion of Christ had been necessary to the justifying of them, unless he had taught, that they were universally such as in that first chapter he described them to be. For who would think it to be an effectual reason, which appeareth to be true only of some, and not of all?

And in the second chapter he writeth in a manner the same things of the Jews; Behold (saith he) thou art called a Jew, and doest trust in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, and allowest the things that are profitable being instructed by the law: thou boastest that thou art a leader of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an informer of them which lack discretion, a teacher of the unlearned, as one that hath the form of the doctrine that is by the law. Thou therefore which teacheth another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou which preachest, a man should not steal, doest thou steal? Thou which sayest a man should not commit adultery, committest thou adultery? Thou that abhorrest images, doest thou commit sacrilege? And thou which makest thy boast of the law, doest thou by transgressing of the law dishonor God? For the name of God, as it is written, is evil spoken of among the Gentiles through you. Such therefore were the Jews without Christ; wherefore they could by no means be justified by their works: or else they might have answered Paul, that they were so grievously accused without cause.

10. But in what case men were before they received the faith of Christ, is more manifestly showed in the third chapter: for there we read; There is none righteous, there is none that understandeth or seeketh after God: all have gone out of the way, and are become unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one: their throat is an open sepulcher, with their tongues they have deceived, the poison of asps is under their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood, destruction

and wretchedness are in their ways, they have not known the way of peace, the fear of God is not before their eyes, &c. These testimonies Paul gathered together out of sundry places of the holy scripture; by which the nature of man, being destitute of the grace of God, is set forth in his colors. And that no man should say, that only the idolatrous and wicked Gentiles are by these words signified; the apostle (as it manifestly appeareth) sheweth, that these things are also extended unto the Jews, who above all other thought themselves most holy: and he addeth; But we know, that whatsoever the law speaketh, it speaketh unto them which are under the law. And to the end we should not doubt, but that his intent was to bring a general reason, he addeth; Because by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified. And by the flesh he understandeth a man not yet regenerate.

I know there have been some, which by the flesh have understood the inferior parts of the mind, which are gross, and entangled with shameful lusts. But this sense Paul excludeth when he saith; By the works of the law, that is, by the works commanded by God in the law, which must needs come of reason, and not of the strength of the inferior parts of the mind. Further, the scripture, after the Hebrew phrase, by the flesh understandeth the whole man; which thing we have in another place more abundantly expressed. Afterward, to the end he might the better confirm this sentence, he saith That every mouth might be stopped, and that the whole world might be guilty before God. Undoubtedly, if men should be justified by works, their mouths should not be stopped, neither should they be guilty before God. For they should always have somewhat to say; namely, that they are quit from sins, because they have deserved it by works: but now, when men perceive the contrary, they dare not once open their lips. Further, he saith; But now without the law, is the righteousness of God made

manifest, which hath the testimony both of the law and of the prophets. What man would appoint that thing to be the cause of our righteousness, without which, righteousness may be obtained? Undoubtedly no wise man would so do, seeing that such is the nature of causes, that without them the effects cannot be wrought.

To the same purpose also serveth that which followeth; Where is then thy boasting? It is excluded? By what law? By the law of works? No, but by the law of faith. He would have us know, that all just cause of glory is excluded and taken away from us: for the whole glory of our righteousness ought to be given and yielded to God. But if we should be justified by works, then would it not be so: for the glory should be ours, and every man would count himself to be therefore justified, because he hath lived virtuously and justly. And how certain and assured this was unto the apostle, those things which follow do declare; We think therefore that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law. Whie then shall we deny that, which the apostle with so great vehemency affirmeth? Undoubtedly it were a thing most impudent so to do. Wherefore let us assent unto him, and not resist so great a testimony of his. But besides these things, let us weigh and consider the pith of Paul's meaning; If we should be justified by works (saith he) we should not only have matter to boast of; but the occasion of our boasting and rejoicing in God, and of praising and commending his favor towards us, should be taken away. For without doubt it is unto us a thing most praiseworthy, and glorious, to acknowledge, that the benevolence and ready favor of God towards us, through Christ, is so great, that he delivereth us miserable men from our sins, and receiveth us into favor, although we be covered over with never so great loathsomeness and dregs of sins. If we

should (I say) be justified by works, then doubtless we might not truly boast, brag, or glory hereof.

11. But it is better for us to hear what the apostle himself saith in the beginning of the fourth chapter; What shall we say then, that our father Abraham found according to the flesh? For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to boast, but not before God. For what saith the scriptures? Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. But unto him which worketh, a reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt. Wherefore to the end that so sweet a consolation of the love and benevolence of God towards us, should not be taken away from us; let us constantly affirm with the apostle, that we are not justified by works. And that he might the better persuade us hereof, he urgeth this word λογίζεσθαι, which we say, is To impute, to ascribe unto a man righteousness, or to count a man to be just; and he setteth it as an Antithesis or contrary position unto merit or debt: so that he, to whom anything is imputed, deserveth not the same, neither receiveth it as a debt. But he which obtaineth anything as a debt, accounteth not the same as imputed or ascribed unto him. Neither did Paul think it sufficient, that he brought the scripture, concerning Abraham; but he also citeth 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. By the which words we do not only gather, that the righteousness, by which we are said to be justified, sticketh not in our minds, but is imputed of God; and that it is such an imputation, as consisteth not of works, but of the mere clemency of God.

Further, the apostle doth by another property of good works confirm his opinion; namely, because works are signs or seals of the righteousness

already obtained: where he saith of Abraham; And he received the sign of circumcision, being a seal of the righteousness of faith, which was in uncircumcision, &c. Seeing therefore that good works are signs and also seals, which bear witness of the righteousness already received, they cannot be the causes thereof. Neither have ceremonies only that property, but also even those works, which are called moral, when they are pleasant and acceptable before God: for they also are signs and tokens of our righteousness. Wherefore Peter exhorteth us to endeavor ourselves to make our vocation sure; namely, by living uprightly, and by good works: yea, and the form of the promise which God made with Abraham, is diligently to be weighed: for thereunto is not added a condition of the law, or of works. And seeing God added none, what boldness were it in us to presume to do it? And Paul saith; For not through the law was the promise made unto Abraham, or to his seed, that he should be the heir of the world; but through the righteousness of faith. For if those, which pertain unto the law, be heirs; then is faith made frustrate, and the promise is of no force; namely, because the law worketh anger. Wherefore if we fulfill not the law, the promise shall take no place. And to believe that promise, which shall never be fulfilled, would be a vain thing; which undoubtedly must needs utterly be so, if it be given upon this condition, that we should perform the law, when as no man can perfectly accomplish the law.

But the apostle proceedeth further, and by the judgment of the most merciful counsel of God decreeth after this manner; Therefore is the inheritance given by faith, and according to grace, to the end the promise should be firm. As if he should say; If the promise should depend upon works, our mind would continually waver; none might appoint any certainty of his own salvation: for his conscience would evermore accuse him, that he

had not performed those works, for the which the promise was made. To the end therefore we should not waver, God would that our justification should consist of faith and grace, that the promise might be firm. The same thing also is gathered by that which is declared of Abraham, howe that, Contrary to hope, he believed in hope. He is said to believe in hope, contrary to hope, which either in himself, or in nature seeth or feeleth no manner of thing, which might persuade him to hope. Even as Abraham was a hundred years of age, his body was in a manner dead: his wife an old woman, and barren; all which things naturally put him from hoping: and yet prevailing against them all, he hoped. But we, if we had merits or good works, whereby we might obtain righteousness; then should we not hope contrary to hope, but in hope, and according to hope. Wherefore our justification is to be appointed no otherwise, then we read it was in Abraham; for he is the father of us all: as it was imputed unto him, even so shall it be imputed unto us.

12. But now let us come to the 5th chapter. There again Paul plainly expreseth, in what case men are before they be regenerate: for he saith; For Christ; when we were yet weak, according as the time required, died for the ungodly. And straight way; But God setteth out his love towards us, in that when we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. And he addeth; For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his son, much more being now reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. Hereby we gather, that before regeneration men are weak, sinners, ungodly, and the enemies of God. Who then can ascribe unto such men, power to obtain righteousness at their pleasure, when they list to do good works? Others may believe it, but the godly will never be so persuaded. This moreover is another proof, in that he setteth forth the cause of so great an evil, when he saith; Therefore, even as by one man sin entered into the world, and by sin, death: even so

death went over all men, forsomuch as all men have sinned. As if he should have said; We have been even from the beginning, by the first man, lost and condemned. And least thou shouldest think, that infants are to be excepted, he saith; Yea death hath reigned from Adam even to Moses, over them also, which have not sinned, after the similitude of the transgression of Adam. The mass or lump of perdition, comprehendeth all those that are born; from which corruption the holy scriptures teach that it is not possible for men to escape by their works, and to challenge justification unto themselves. Afterward in the 6th chapter, thus speaketh our apostle; What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of them is death, but now being delivered from sin, and made the servants of God, ye have your fruit to sanctification, and the end everlasting life. What other thing mean these words, than that all things, which men do, before they believe in Christ, deserve nothing else but ignominy and shame? And there is no fruit there, of sanctification, but it followeth regeneration itself. And who will say, that we are justified by those things, which are full of ignominy and shame? But now let us hear what is said in the beginning of the 7th chapter Know ye not brethren (for I speak to them that know the law) how that the law hath power over man, as long as he liveth? For the woman, which is in subjection to a man, is bound by the law to the man, as long as he liveth: but if the man be dead, she is loosed from the law of the man. Wherefore, if whilst the man liveth, she couple herself with another man, she shall be counted a wedlock-breaker: but if the man be dead, she is free from the law of the husband, so that she is no wedlock-breaker, though she couple herself with another man. Even so ye also, my brethren, are dead unto the law, by the body of Christ, that ye should be coupled to another; namely to him, which is risen again from the dead, that we should bring

forth fruit unto God. Paul would by this reason declare, that before our faith in Christ, we as it were to husbands, were coupled to the law, and to the flesh; of which copulation could come no fruits, but such as are pernicious and deadly: but now being delivered by the grace of God, we are coupled unto Christ by the spirit, unto Christ (I say) being raised from the dead: by which copulation, we shall now bring forth fruit unto God, and not anymore to death and damnation.

And the self-same thing he affirmeth, or rather expoundeth, when he addeth; For when we were in the flesh, the lusts of sins, which are by the law, took effect in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. Here let us note, that so long as we were in the flesh, we were subject unto wicked affections, which by the law were of force in our members; how then could we be justified by our works? Further, in the same chapter it is written; For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. If now I do that, which I would not, then it is not I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing. Here (as it manifestly appeareth) he doth entreat of the works of men. And although that in interpreting of these words, I have effectually proved, that they are to be understood of those works, which are done of the godly, which have already obtained justification: yet now I leave it free unto the adversaries, to take whether part they will. And if they grant, that these things ought to be understood of works done before justification; then, forsomuch as they are neither allowed, nor good, how shall they deserve righteousness? For they are called evil, and no man is justified by an evil action. But if we understand works, which are here described, to be the works of those that are justified; then will I make my argument *A maiori*, that is, From the greater. If those works, which might

seem most acceptable and just, and holy to God, are called evil, and by the judgment of reason now renewed are not allowed; how can we affirm then, that those works, which are of sinners, are such, as they be able to justify?

13. And least any man should say, that we take our argument only of that, which happeneth through the slothfulness of men; when as the disputation is of that which may be done, if men would put to their good will (for many are not justified by their good works, when as they might be justified by them if they would.) Hereunto we answer with the apostle in the eighth chapter, who saith; For that which the law could not perform, insomuch as it was weak, because of the flesh, that performed God by his own son, being sent under the similitude of flesh subject unto sin, and for sin condemned sin through the flesh. This place admonisheth us, that the righteousness, which God commanded in the commandments, could not be performed by the help of the law; by reason of the corruption and infirmity of the flesh: and for that cause was Christ sent by the father, to perform that which could not be accomplished of us. The same thing also teacheth he a little after: for when he had said, that The lust of the flesh is death; he addeth moreover, that It is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. Wherefore, whatsoever we do of our own natural strength and power (which is called flesh) the same resisteth God: for our corrupted nature cannot be subdued under the law of God. And forsomuch as it is so, then can we not be justified by the deeds thereof. In the same chapter also we read; Unto those that love God, all things work to good, unto those, I say, which are called of his purpose. In which words the apostle touched the beginning and chief point of all our goodness, namely, the purpose of God; which is so the cause of our salvation, that all our goodness dependeth thereof, but it is not moved by any of our goodness.

But the very causes of man's felicity are afterward orderly and distinctly described; among which there is no mention at all of our good works. Those which he knew before, he also predestinated; and whom he hath predestinated, those hath he also called; and whom he hath called, them also hath he justified; and whom he hath justified, them also will he glorify. This chain is linked together with all the means and helps, whereby God bringeth us unto salvation. But seeing there is no mention made of the works of the law, and of merits; it sufficiently appeareth, that by them we are not justified. Further, when it is said; Who shall accuse the elect of God? It is God which justifieth, who shall condemn? It is Christ which died, yea which also is risen again, which also sitteth at the right hand of God, which also maketh intercession for us. If by the judgment of God we should be justified by works, it had been sufficient to have said; The elect shall be accused in vain, forsomuch as they have good merits; and seeing by their virtuous and holy works they shall obtain absolution. He saith not so; But (saith he) it is God which justifieth. And it might have been answered; No man shall condemn the elect, seeing that their works be such, as they deserve both absolution, and a reward. But he maketh no such answer, but saith; It is Christ that died, &c. Why then should we take upon us to mingle our works therewithal, seeing the scripture willeth us in no case so to do?

14. Now come we to the ninth chapter, wherein is entreated of the providence of God, which directeth and ordereth all things; not for any other cause undoubtedly, but that we should think, that the nature of it, and of justification is all one: for either of them is given freely, and not of works. For the apostle writeth, that Of two brethren, which were not yet born, and when they had done neither good nor evil, (to the end the election of God should abide according to his purpose, not of works, but of him that

calleth) it is said; The elder shall serve the younger, as it is written; Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated. Here, as we see, are works most manifestly excluded. Also unto Moses it was answered; I will show mercy to whom soever I show mercy, and will have compassion on whom soever I have compassion. These words also declare, that the forgiveness of sins, and the means whereby men are received into favor, depend not of their works, but of the mere and merciful benevolence of God. And no less also do the words following declare; It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Again; He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. But if justification might be gotten by our will, or by works; then should it be both of him that willeth, and of him that runneth. Neither should they be converted, on whom God hath compassion; but they, which should have most compassion upon themselves: neither also should God harden any man, seeing all men might promptly, easily, and at their pleasure by good works be reconciled unto God, and also be justified. But it is far otherwise; for they which put their confidence in works, do too far err from the true righteousness, whereof we now speak. Toward the end of the ninth chapter, the apostle saith; Israel which followed the law of righteousness, attained not to the law of righteousness. And why? Even because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. And if the works of the law were a let unto the Jews, for the obtaining of justification; what should we then hope to have thereby?

The very same thing the apostle, although in other words, declareth in the tenth chapter; They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, did not submit themselves unto the righteousness of God. These words signify nothing else, but that they

fall from the righteousness of God, which attribute much unto their own righteousness; namely, to works. And there is so great a contrariety and repugnancy between grace and works, that the effect, which proceedeth from the one, cannot proceed from the other. For Paul saith; There is a remnant left, according to the election of grace. If it be of grace, then it is not now of works; for else should grace be no more grace: and if it be of works, then it is not of grace. For this is the property of grace, to be given freely, and of mere liberality: but the property of work is, that the reward should be given of duty, and even of very right. Lastly, what shall we say, seeing the apostle crieth out; Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God! Undoubtedly Paul by this affection declareth, that it is a thing most hard to be known; whether God deal justly, which predestineth whom he will, and justifieth whom he will, having no respect to condition and merits? There human reason is very much offended, there our flesh ceaseth not to cry against: but if either of them; namely, justification and election, should happen by works and merits, there should be no trouble, no offense, no stumbling block laid against us. But forso much as it is far otherwise, and that by us cannot be rendered a reason of the will of God; therefore Paul justly and worthily crieth out: and to his opinion must all men that be wise agree. In the 14th chapter it is written; Blessed is he which judgeth not himself, in that thing which he alloweth. But he which judgeth, is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith. For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Hereby are we taught, that they which want a true faith, can do or perform nothing which is not sin.

I know indeed, that the adversaries interpret these words of the conscience; but they are never able to prove, that faith signifieth conscience. And although peradventure Paul teacheth this at the beginning;

namely, that we ought not to do anything against our conscience: yet in a manner afterward he bringeth in a general sentence, when he writeth, that Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. As though he should have said; This is a general rule, when men go about to do anything, they ought to be persuaded by the spirit and word of God, that that which they have in hand to do, is acceptable unto God, and pleaseth him: which persuasion if they have not, then undoubtedly they sin in doing that which they do. And if I should grant, that in this place, faith signifieth the conscience; I would think it should be added also, that the conscience ought not to be believed, unless it be instructed by the word of God: forsomuch as there be many endued with so superstitious a conscience, that whether they obey it, or not obey it, they sin most grievously. But I will not stand long at this time about the expounding of this place, and therefore let us hear what is said in the 4th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, where it is thus written; I know nothing by myself, yet am I not thereby justified. These words Paul spake of his ministry, being now converted unto Christ, being now an apostle, and whom, as touching his function, no man was able to accuse. And if so great a friend of God, pronounceth this of himself, and of his works; what mean we to attribute justification to the works of them that are not yet regenerate? The works of the godly, and of the chief apostle of Christ, could not deserve it; how then can it be granted unto those, which are yet strangers from Christ?

15. To the Galatians, the second chapter, Paul repeateth that sentence, which he had written in the 3rd chapter to the Romans; namely, that, No flesh shall be justified by the works of the law. Which sentence forsomuch as it is plain enough, and hath been already before recited, needeth now no further declaration. But in the same chapter it is written; If righteousness

come by the law, then Christ died gratis. In which place, gratis, signifieth nothing else, but in vain, and to no purpose: which then undoubtedly should be most true. For if true righteousness before God, could by any other means have been attained unto by men, why then died he? And why was he crucified? And again; This one thing I desire to learn of you; Received ye the spirit by the works of the law, or by the preaching of faith? And straight way; He therefore that ministereth unto you the spirit, and worketh miracles amongst you, doth he that through the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? They which are justified, receive the holy Ghost; for without it, it is utterly impossible to be justified: and if it be not given through works, neither can justification then come through works. Further, there is no doubt, but that justification cometh of the good will and favor of God; seeing by it men are received into grace, adopted to be his children, and made heirs of eternal life. But such as before justification, are occupied in the works of the law, are bound under the curse; so far is it off, that they should have the fruition of the favor of God. For the apostle addeth; As many as are under the law, are under the curse. But to the end we should not think this to be his own invention, he saith; As it is written, Cursed be he, which abideth not in all the things that are written in the book of the law. After this he argueth from the time; I speak after the manner of men: though it be but a man's testament, yet if it be allowed, no man rejecteth it, or addeth anything thereto. Moreover, unto Abraham were the promises made, and unto his seed: he saith not, to his seeds, as speaking of many; but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ. This I do say, that the law, which began afterward, beyond 430 years, doth not disannul the testament, that was before confirmed of God unto Christ-ward, to make the promises of none effect. First, saith he; The testament of God, and the first promise, offereth

justification without works: wherefore the testament confirmed, received, and allowed, is not restrained by the law, which was so long time afterward given.

If there had been a law given, which could have given life, then should righteousness have been of the law. This reason of the apostle is not full: for there must be added the demand of the antecedent; namely, That the law cannot give life. For as it is declared unto the Romans; It was weakened through the flesh, although as touching itself, it contained commandments, which pertained unto life. Wherefore seeing it is for certain, that the law cannot give life; no more can it likewise justify. But before that faith came, we were kept under the law, and were shut up unto that faith, which afterward should be revealed. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster unto Christ, that we should be justified by faith. If the law be as it were a schoolmaster, then should we do great injury unto God, and to Christ, which are unto us instead of parents, if we should ascribe unto the schoolmaster, that which is proper unto them. It is not the schoolmaster, which maketh us heirs, which adopteth us, which giveth us all things; but it is the father; wherefore let us ascribe our justification unto God, and unto Christ; and not unto the law, nor unto works, nor to our merits. Tell me, ye that would so fain be under the law; do ye not hear what the law saith? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, one of a handmaiden, another of a freewoman; and he which came of the handmaiden, was born according to the flesh; but he which came of the freewoman, was born according to promise; which things are spoken by an allegory. For these are two testaments, the one from the mount Sina, which engendereth unto bondage, the which is Agar: for Agar is mount Sina in Arabia, and is joined unto the city, which is now called Jerusalem, and it is in bondage with her children:

but Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. In these words, this thing is chiefly to be noted; that the law engendereth not, but unto bondage, as Agar did. But if by the works thereof it could justify, it should engender to liberty; for what thing else is justification than a certain liberty from sin? But forsomuch as it is both called a servant, and gendereth to bondage; we ought not then by it to look for justification. In the fifth chapter it is written; If ye be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. And he brings a reason of the said sentence; For that man (saith he) which is circumcised, is debtor to keep the whole law. So much doth Paul take justification from circumcision and works, as he saith, that Christ nothing profiteth them in case they will be circumcised, after they believe. And still he more strongly confirmeth that which was said; Christ is come in vain unto you: for if ye have justification, as the fruit of your works, then the coming, death, and blood-shedding of Christ should not have been necessary. And I, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I suffer persecution? Then is the offense of the cross abolished. The offense and slander of the cross is, that men being wicked, and otherwise sinners, are by God counted just, through Christ crucified, and by faith in him. Here the flesh is offended, here doth reason utterly resist; which thing happeneth not, when justification is preached to come of works, whether they be ceremonial or moral. But God would have this offense to remain, because it pleaseth him, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.

16. Unto the Ephesians the 2nd chapter it is written; And ye, when ye were dead in trespasses and sins, in which in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, even after the governor that ruleth in the air, and the spirit that now worketh in the children of unbelief, among whom we also had our conversation in time past, in the lust of the flesh, and fulfilled

the will of the flesh, and of the mind, and as it is in the Greek τῶν διανοιῶν, of our thoughts, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others are. Let us note in these words, that men at the beginning, before they come to Christ, are dead in sin; and therefore are not able to help themselves to live, and to be justified. Who ever saw that a dead man could help himself? Further, by those words is showed, that they were in the power of the prince of darkness, which worketh and is puissant in the children of unbelief. Seeing therefore they were governed by him, how could they by their works tend to justification? And because we should not think that he spake only of some other certain ungodly persons, he addeth; All we (comprehending also the apostles in the number) Among them (saith he) we were. And what did we then? We were conversant in the lusts of our flesh. And to the end we might understand, that these lusts were not only the wicked affections of the grosser part of the soul, it followeth; We doing the will of the flesh and of the mind, or of reason, did follow also the thoughts or inventions of human reason. If we were all such, from whence then cometh salvation, and justification? But God, which is rich in mercy, for his exceeding love sake, wherewith he loved us, yea even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ.

But what instrument used he to give unto us our salvation? For, By grace (saith he) were ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. Could works be more manifestly excluded? In what place then shall we put them? Certainly they follow justification. For the apostle addeth; For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath prepared, that we should walk in them. But they could not be in us before, which thing is very well thus described; Ye were at that time without Christ,

being alienated from the common-wealth of Israel, strangers from the testaments of promise, having no hope, and being without God in this world. Bein in this state, who can fain unto himself good works, whereby men may merit justification? And to the Philippians the 3rd chapter; If any other man may seem that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I have more, being circumcised the eighth day, of the kindred of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew, born of the Hebrews; as concerning the law, a Pharisee; as touching ferventness, I persecuted the church of God; as touching the righteousness which is of the law, I was unrebukable. Seeing that Paul had so many, and so great things before his conversion, and that he had whereof to trust and boast in the flesh, let us hear what he at the length pronounceth of all these things; These things (saith he) if they be compared unto the true righteousness, which is through the faith of Christ, I count loss, vile, and dung. If we should thereby obtain righteousness, should so profitable things be counted for losses; so precious and holy things, for vile; and things acceptable and pleasant unto God, for dung? Let Paul take heed what he saith here; nay rather let the readers take heed that they believe not Sophisters more than Paul.

Now to the Colossians, the first chapter; And you which were sometimes far off, and through evil works, enemies in your hearts; yet hath he now reconciled in the body of his flesh, through death. Here ought every word diligently to be noted, so as we may perceive, that in them which be alienated from God, we are not to look for such things, whereby they may return into grace and favor; and that they which be enemies in mind, cannot obtain that peace which is joined with justification: that it is impossible that good works should be done of them, before they be changed, which are said to stick in evil works. But what manner of works those were, it appeareth in

the 2nd chapter, seeing it is there written; And ye, when ye were dead through sins, and through the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, forgiving all our sins, and hath put out the hand-writing that was against us. In the 2nd to Timothy, the 1st chapter; Who hath called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his purpose and grace, which is given us through Christ Jesus. Here he speaketh of the effectual calling, whereby we are justified; and not of the common calling, which is by the preaching of the word of God, that is laid open to all men. And forsomuch as this consisteth not (as Paul saith) of merits or works; neither can justification also come of them. Unto Titus it is written; The goodness and love of God our savior towards us, hath appeared: not by the works of righteousness, which we had done, but according to his mercy hath he saved us. Also unto the Hebrews, there is but one only sacrifice, and one oblation affirmed to be; namely, the death of Christ, by which sins are wiped away, and satisfaction made for men. Wherefore justification is not to be looked for of works: and it ought to suffice us, that the good works which we do after justification, are sacrifices of thanksgiving: but let us not make them sacrifices propitiatory; for then we should do great injury unto Christ.

17. But setting aside the epistles of Paul; let us seek testimonies also out of other places of the holy scriptures. Christ in the seventh of Matthew saith; Every good tree bringeth forth good fruits, but an ill tree bringeth forth evil fruits. And to the end the nature of those which are not regenerate, might be the better declared, he addeth; A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruits. Wherefore seeing Christ saith, that this cannot so be, how dare these men affirm that it may be; and say, that by works men may be justified? Christ useth the self-same

matter in the twelfth chapter of Matthew; Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or make the tree evil, and his fruit evil: for by the fruit the tree is known. O ye generation of vipers! How can ye speak good things, when as ye yourselves are evil? For of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things; and an evil man out of an evil treasure bringeth forth evil things. These words of Christ do declare, that men, which are not yet regenerate, are evil trees, which neither do nor can bring forth good fruit: and they testify, that the wicked cannot speak good things, much less then can they work good things; and that out of an evil treasure of the heart, are evil things to be looked for. And seeing the matter is so, consider I pray you, whether they, which are alienated from Christ, ought to be called evil, or no. Undoubtedly unless they be evil, none of us which cleave unto Christ can be good.

Also in Luke the 17th chapter; But which of you that hath a servant that goeth to plough, or feedeth your cattle, will straight way say unto him, when he cometh from the field; Go thy way and sit down? And saith not rather unto him; Prepare that I may sup, gird up thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken, and afterward eat thou, and drink thou? Doeth he thank this servant, because he hath done those things which he hath commanded him? I think not. So likewise ye, when ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which we ought to have done. These words spake Christ to his disciples, to his apostles I mean, and to them which were now converted to salvation; who if they work unprofitable works, what shall we then judge of those, which have not yet received the faith of Christ? But the Sophisters have made the world such fools, that they say, that works before

justification do after a sort deserve it; and those works which follow, they call most profitable of all. Wherefore now men would in a manner make account with God, and with beads number how many prayers they have said: for what other thing meant they by them, than that they should by a certain number recite so many *Pater nosters*, or so many *Ave Mary's*; thinking by that recital to have God most assuredly bound to them?

In the 15th of John, Christ is compared unto a vine tree, and we unto the branches thereof: wherefore he saith; Even as the branch cannot bring forth fruit, of itself, unless it abide in the vine; no more also can ye, unless ye abide in me. I am the vine, and ye be the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit. And whosoever shall not abide in me, they are cast out of the doors, even as the branches or cuttings off from the vine, and they shall gather them, and cast them into the fire. Now that we have recited these words of the Lord, how agreeth it, that men being strangers from Christ, and yet not regenerate, can work good works, whereby they may be justified; seeing they are called dry branches which shall be cast into the fire? And it is said, that they only can bring forth fruit, which cleave unto Christ, as branches cleave to the vine. And that we should the better understand the will of Christ, there is added; Without me ye can do nothing. Which sentence some go about to make obscure; and say, that Nothing can be done without Christ, in respect the he is God, forsomuch as he is the first cause of all things: as though the Lord disputed then of the general conservation of natural things, and of that power, whereby God bringeth forth all things universally. Christ came not into the world to teach this philosophy, he undoubtedly entreated of the fruit of salvation, and of eternal life; and spake of those, which should cleave unto his doctrine, or else should be strangers from it.

18. Moreover, the son of God commanded, that the faithful should in their prayers say; Forgive us our trespasses: signifying thereby, that the faithful also have need of forgiveness, in those things which they do; for our works are imperfect, neither are they able to satisfy. Wherefore, if our works, which we do after our regeneration, need purging by the merit of Christ; and we pray, they may so be: how can they be propitiatory? A great deal less can we think of those works, which are done before regeneration, that they should be acceptable and pleasant unto God. And further, no man can justly say, that he is not one of this number, seeing God hath commanded all men to pray in that manner: and his will is not, that any man should make a lie in his prayer. Yea and John also writeth; If we shall say, that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us. And I suppose there is none, that will judge it a thing meet, that there should be many mediators brought in, when as There is but only one mediator between God and man; namely, the man Christ Jesus. But if besides him, and his merits, our works should also justify us; then should they be set between God and us: neither should Christ be the only mediator. Over this, the prophets do every-where pray, and David also; that God would wash, cleanse, purify, and purge their sins; namely, in forgiving and remitting them: but if they could have attained unto that thing by their works, then needed they not to have requested it by prayer, or at the least-way not with so great fervency.

And in Job the 15th chapter, it is written that The very heavens are not pure before God: and in the fourth chapter, he pronounceth the angels not to be pure. In what case then shall men be, before they obtain justification? David also in his Psalms crieth; If thou Lord look strictly upon our iniquities, Lord, who shall be able to abide it? Isaiah calleth the thirsty unto the waters, and bidden them buy without silver. But our men (forsooth) will

merit, and be justified, both by merits, and by works, and also by silver. Moreover, in the forty chapter the same prophet (when he heard a voice, wherein it was said, Cry out) answered, What shall I cry? And it was said unto him that he should cry; All flesh is grass; and *Chasdo*, that is, his piety, or religion, or mercy, wherewith he succoreth his neighbor, is as the flower of the field; that is, a thing vanishing, which straightway fadeth away, neither can it continue. The same thing also affirmeth he in the 64th chapter, where he saith; that All our righteousness is as filthy rags. Which sentence, whether a man apply it unto works done after regeneration, or before; I pass not much: for either way will make on our side. And in the self-same chapter he addeth; O our God, we are clay, and thou art our creator, and we are the work of thy hands. And the same similitude of the clay and potter useth Paul to the Romans, in the ninth chapter; wherein is notably declared, that so much are we able to do towards our justification, as can the clay towards the potter, to cause him to make it after this manner, or that manner. We might also recite testimonies, which are written of the maliciousness of our hearts, both in Genesis, and in Jeremiah: but I suppose I have already brought testimonies enow for the confirmation of our proposition.

And this now only will I say, that there have been men so rash, that they have not only attributed some merit of justification unto honest works, and which are (as they term them) morally good; but also unto superstitious works, which they themselves have imagined and invented. For who is ignorant of the rimes commonly set abroad of holy water? *Aqua benedicta, deleantur tua delicta, sit tibi laus & vita*; that is, By holy water let thy sins be blotted out, and let it be unto thee praise and life. They ascribe also forgiveness of sins unto Monks cowls, to candles, and the ashes of the boughs of the olive tree, and the palm tree, and unto pilgrimages.

Wherefore they proceeded unto such fond and ungodly trifles, by means of those things which they so perversely interpreted in the holy scriptures concerning merits. Undoubtedly, none understand, but they which have experience, how hard a thing it is; that a heart bruised, overthrown, and laden with the burden of sins, should, when it is grieved and oppressed, quiet itself in the free promises of God through Christ: for such a heart earnestly laboreth, that once at the length it may with a firm faith be established. If we should, with the Sophisters, will a man to have a respect unto his works; then should he never be in quiet, but should always be vexed, and always doubt of his salvation, and at the last be swallowed up with desperation. I would not that any man should think, that when we reason of this matter, we take in hand a vain thing, or a strife about words. It is a thing, whereby is defended the honor of Christ, and that which is proper unto himself only; namely, to justify and to forgive sins. We seek, that the same should in no case be attributed unto works, or to any other thing else of ours. We seek that the promise should be firm, and that afflicted consciences should receive consolation in the words and promises of God. Lastly, we seek that the Gospel should be distinguished from the law, and the law from the Gospel; but this cannot they do, which ascribe justification to works, and confound, and perniciously mingle them together. And for the confirmation of this proposition, although I could bring a great many more reasons, and in a manner infinite; yet these which I have already brought, shall suffice: and I will omit the rest, for they which are not moved with these reasons, neither will they be touched with any other.

19. Howbeit I think it not good to pass over with silence, the trifling shifts and wily deceits, whereby the Sophisters use to avoid and obscure this doctrine, which we have now put forth. First they say, that the holy

scriptures, as often as they take away the power of justifying from works, do that only as touching the ceremonies of the old law, and not as touching just and upright works, which commonly they do call moral works. In which thing how much men are deceived, even the testimonies of the scriptures, and especially of Paul, (whom they affirm to be most of all on their side, as touching that matter) will most plainly declare. For although this apostle speaketh of many things, which seem to pertain both to the rites, and also to the ceremonies of the law; yet in his declaration he writeth a great many more other things: whereby he declareth, that he speaketh not only of ceremonies, but also even of the other laws of righteousness and goodness: yea rather altogether of those, which pertain to manners, and even unto the table of the ten commandments. And in the 1st chapter, when he reproveth the Gentiles, that without the faith of Christ, they could not be justified, he setteth before their eyes, their works; namely, idolatry and shameful lusts. And toward the end of the chapter, he rehearseth a very long catalog of vices, wherewith they were infected; neither speaketh he anything of the ceremonies of Moses. Wherefore, forsomuch as those vices, which he there mentioneth, are against the ten commandments, and the moral law, we cannot think, but of that also he understandeth those things, which he writeth. And in the second chapter he reproveth the Jews for the like kind of sins: for he saith; Thou which teachest another, dost thou not teach thyself? Thou which teachest that a man should not steal, dost thou steal? That a man should not commit adultery, aft a fornicator? Yea, and thou which detestest idols, dost rob God of his honor? Who seeth not, that these things are contained in the law of the ten commandments?

And in the third chapter, he yet more manifestly entreateth of the same, when he writeth; There is none just, there is none that understandeth, or

inquireth after God. All have declined, and are together made unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one. These things we see are of the same kind, and pertain unto manners. If the apostle would have spoken only of ceremonial laws; he would never have made mention of these things. And this is also more evidently gathered, that when he had said; No flesh is justified by the works of the law: he addeth; For by the law cometh the knowledge of sin. Wherefore that law, whereby we know sin, justifieth not. According to which meaning, he said also in the fourth chapter; The law worketh wrath: so far is it off, that it should justify. But it is very manifest unto all men, that sins are better perceived, and the wrath of God against transgressors more provoked, by reason of the ten commandments, than through the precepts of ceremonies. I will not speak also of that general sentence, wherein it is said in the fourth chapter; that, Unto him which worketh, a reward is not imputed according unto grace, but according to debt: and also; That God would have the inheritance to consist of grace, that the promise should abide firm, and not be changed, that our glorying might be excluded; which glorying cometh no less of good works moral, than of ceremonies. It is written also in the fifth chapter, that, The law entered in, that sin might abound; and where sin hath abounded, there also hath grace more abounded. These things also cannot be drawn unto ceremonies only. Moreover, in the sixth chapter, when it was objected unto him, that by so depressing the work and the law, he did seem to open a gate unto loose life, and unto slothfulness, and unto sins; as now daily they object unto us, he answered; that, We ought not to abide in sin, forsomuch as we are now dead unto it. By baptism (saith he) we are buried with Christ, that even as he died, and rose again; so likewise should we walk in newness of life. And he admonisheth us, that even as Christ died once, and dieth no more; so also

we should esteem ourselves dead to sin, but living unto God. And he addeth, that we must have a diligent care, that sin reign not in our mortal bodies, and that we give not our members the weapons of iniquity unto sin, but give over ourselves unto God, as of dead folks, now living, and our members the weapons of righteousness to sanctification.

20. These things, which we have rehearsed, and the rest which followeth, even in a manner to the end of the chapter, seem they to pertain unto the ceremonies of Moses; or rather to a just, sincere, and moral life? The matter is so plain, as there needeth no question therein; yet those things, which are written in the seventh chapter, be yet much more manifest. The affections (saith he) which are in the members, had force by the law, to bring forth fruit unto death. But what other thing are these affections, than lusts, filthy desires, anger, hatred and envy; which affections are rehearsed to the Galatians, in the catalog, where the works of the flesh are separated from the works of the spirit? And there is no doubt, but that all these things pertain unto the ten commandments. Which thing the better to understand, Paul addeth; What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. But I had not known sin, but by the law: for I knew not what lust meant, unless the law had said; Thou shalt not lust. Also; The law in deed is holy, the commandment is holy, just, and good. Again; The law indeed is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sin; for that which I do: I allow not, for the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do: wherefor it is not I now that work it, but sin which dwelleth in me: for there dwelleth no good in me, that is, in my flesh. I have a delight in the law of God, as touching the inward man: but I feel another law in my members, resisting the law of the mind. Oh unhappy man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the law of sin and of death? Wherefore in mind I serve the law of

God, but in flesh the law of sin. Whosoever shall diligently weigh all these testimonies, shall easily see, that the apostle wholly speaketh of the ten commandments; whereof also he plainly maketh mention in these words.

But the words, which afterward follow in the eighth chapter; namely, That which was impossible unto the law, insomuch as it was weak, by means of the flesh, God sending his own son in the similitude of flesh subject unto sin, for sin, condemned sin in the flesh. These words I say, cannot be expounded of the law of ceremonies: and much less that which followeth in the same chapter; We are debtors, not unto the flesh, that we should live according to the flesh: for if ye live according to the flesh, ye shall die; but if by the spirit ye do mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live. Neither can this be referred unto ceremonies, no more than that can be, which is written to the Galatians; The law was given, because of transgression: for where there is no law, there is also no transgression. And it is certain, that neither boasting can be excluded, neither can the promise be firm, if our justification should depend of the observation of the ten commandments, and of the moral precepts; howsoever thou take away the rites and ceremonies of Moses. But much more firm is that place out of the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans; And if it be of works, then it is not of grace; if of grace, then is it not of works. This Antithesis is universal, neither can it by any means be applied unto ceremonies. I will not speak of that also, which Paul writeth unto the Philippians; how that he, besides those precepts of Moses, lived also without blame as touching the righteousness which is of the law. For that which he writeth unto the Ephesians, the second chapter; Not of works, least any man should boast; he writeth unto the Gentiles. Wherefore those works, which he excludeth from justification, cannot be understood of ceremonies: for the Gentiles

observed them not. But what will they say of the epistle to Timothy; where, in the first chapter, we are plainly and absolutely said to be called; not for our works, but according to purpose and grace? Also to Titus; He hath saved us (saith he) not by the works of righteousness, which we have don, but according to his mercy.

21. All these things are so plain and manifest, that they need not any interpretation. For there is no man so dull, but that as soon as he once heareth these things, he easily perceiveth, how that they cannot, without great injury, be wrested to the ceremonies and rites of Moses. But I would fain know of these men, why they take away the power of justifying from the works of ceremonies, and do so easily attribute it unto our moral works. Is it not a point of good and laudable manners, to worship God with certain appointed rites, which God hath commanded? Were not the rites and holy services, which were at that time prescribed unto the people of the Jews, commanded in the ten commandments? Undoubtedly, where the sabbath is commanded to be observed, there are these things contained. And even these self-same Sophisters, do they not at this day attribute the forgiveness of sins, and bestowing of grace, unto their sacraments; as in the Old Testament they were attributed unto circumcision? What manner of new constancy is this; one while to say, that the rites of Moses had no power to justify; and another while to grant that the same were sacraments of the old fathers; and that in circumcision, original sin was forgiven unto infants? But this affirm not we; nay rather we utterly deny, that any sacraments bestow grace: they do indeed offer grace, but yet by signification. For in the sacraments, and in the words, and visible signs is set forth unto us the promise of God, made through Christ: which promise if we take hold of by faith, we both obtain a greater grace, than that was, which before we had;

and also with the seal of the sacraments, we seal the gift of God, which by faith we embraced. But I cannot enough marvel at these men, which both affirm, and also deny one and the self-same thing.

They answer indeed, but not with any great advisedness, as their accustomed manner is; that they utterly take not away from the sacraments of the elder fathers, and chiefly from circumcision, the strength of justifying; but only from the time that the gospel was published abroad: of which only time (as they say) the disputation which Paul had, to prove that the rites of Moses should be no more retained, did arise. But here also, according to their accustomed manner, they are both deceived themselves, and also they deceive others. For seeing the apostle teacheth, that Abraham was not justified by circumcision; but received it afterward, being now justified by faith; undoubtedly he taketh away the power of justifying from that ceremony, even also in the time of Abraham, wherein it was first instituted. David also, when he affirmeth, that blessedness herein consisteth, that sins should not be imputed; (which thing, as we now reason, is nothing else than to be justified) speaketh he of his own time, or of another time? And Habakkuk when he saith, that The just man liveth by faith, and excludeth works from justifying, (as Paul manifestly expoundeth him) spake he only of his own time think you? Undoubtedly he spake both of our time, and also of his own time. Lastly, when Paul expressly writeth unto the Galatians, in the 3rd chapter; As many as are of the law, are under the curse: and goeth on proving that sentence; from whence (I beseech you) seeketh he his testimony? Undoubtedly, out of the law. He saith; Cursed be he, which abideth not in all the things, that are written in the book of the law. Seeing therefore the law so speaketh, and that (as Paul saith) it wrappeth in a curse all those that transgress the commandments thereof; then it

followeth of necessity, that by those works which pertain unto it, no man can be justified.

22. But these men fly to another shift. For they say, that all those which are to be justified, are not of one and the self-same condition: for they say, that some of the Hebrews, and some of the Gentiles, are converted to the faith of Christ, and become Christians: again, that some, after they have once received Christ, do fall into grievous and wicked crimes, and have need again of instauration. Now (say they) the state and consideration of both partes is not alike: for they, which have once professed the name of Christians, when they are fallen, cannot recover righteousness, but by good works; as by alms-deeds, by tears, fasting, confessions, and such other: which preparations and merits are not required of them, that from infidelity be first converted unto Christ. But I would first hear of these good wise men, out of what place of the holy scripture they found this distinction. And seeing the manner of justification is utterly one and the self-same, and pertaineth as well to the one as to the other; why should the one come unto it one way, and the other another way? Further, why do they attribute unto them that are fallen in Christianity, that they by their good works do merit unto themselves justification; but unto those which come from infidelity, they attribute not the same? Are they, which have not kept faith when they were in the church, better than the Ethnic? Certainly I think not; For they which have once tasted of the sweet word of God, and do afterward fall from it, are in worse state than the other. And; The servant, which knoweth the will of his master, and doth it not, is more grievously punished. Also; He which hath not a care over his, and especially over his own household, the same man hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel. But they say, they deny not, but that they which are converted from Infidels, may do

some good works; yea and that if they do them, they may after some sort deserve justification, at the least way [as they term it] of congruity: but that these works are alike required, as well of these, as of the other, they deny.

But forsomuch as all their works (as I have else-where taught) are sins; how can they do good works before God? Moreover, how are not good works required of them, before they come unto Christ, and are baptized; seeing none of them, which are regenerate by Christ, can believe truly, unless he earnestly repent him of the life which he hath lead? For he doth greatly lament the sins and offenses of his former life, and confesseth, that he hath grievously erred; which thing if he do not, undoubtedly he believeth not faithfully and truly. This doth Augustine write of himself, in his book of confessions. And in the Acts of the apostles, the Ephesians, when they had given themselves unto Christ, did not only confess their sins; but also burned those books, which before they had used unto superstition. But I will declare what hath deceived these men. They read peradventure in the Fathers, that they attributed much unto tears, fasting's, alms, and other godly works of the penitent. But these men understand not what the Fathers meant in those places: for they entreated of ecclesiastical satisfactions, and not of our works, whereby God should be pacified, or the forgiveness of sins deserved. For the church, forsomuch as it seeth not the inward faith of them that fall, (for there are many, which not abiding the shame of excommunication, do sometimes counterfeit some show of conversion and repentance, thereby the rather to be reconciled, and received unto the communion of the other brethren;) the church (I say) to the end that this should not happen, would have a proof of their faith, and conversion to God: neither would it admit unto the fellowship of the faithful such as were fallen; before they had showed fasting's, confessions, and alms, as

witnesses of a true and perfect changing. And because these men mark not this, they confound all things, and build thereupon most detestable hypocrisy.

23. But they have yet another shift: for they say, that the works of Infidels, are not sins, although they be done without the faith of Christ. For they imagine, that there is a certain general confused faith towards God, which faith, they which have, although they believe not in Christ; yet that they may work many excellent works, which even for that self-same faith's sake, may please God, and after a sort deserve justification. They give (say they) large alms, they honor their parents, they bear exceeding love to their country; if they have committed anything that is evil, they are sorry for it; they live moderately, and do a great many other such like things, and that not unadvisedly. But because they believe that there is a God, which delighteth in such duties, therefore they bend their endeavor to those things, to make themselves acceptable unto him. Further, they paint out and color their fond devise, with a trim similitude. A stake (say they) or a post, being put into the earth, although oftentimes it take not root, or life; yet draweth it some juice out of the earth, and so bringeth forth some leaves, and buddeth, as if it lived in very deed: likewise, men (say they) that are strange from Christ, although they live not by the celestial spirit; yet by some inspiration of the spirit, they work those excellent works, which we have described. But we that are instructed by the holy scriptures, do acknowledge no other faith, whereby we can please God; but only that which is in Christ Jesus. For, There is none other name under heaven given unto men, whereby we can be saved, but only the name of Christ our savior. And Paul, as often as he maketh mention of faith which justifieth, always declareth it to be that faith, whereby we are godly affected towards Christ, and his Gospel.

But least that Paul of himself, and alone should seem to teach this; I will a little more deeply repeated the whole matter. Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. But what believed he? Forsooth this; that he should have seed given him, namely, that only seed (as Paul interpreteth it) wherein all nations should be blessed, which is Christ Jesus. This testament was confirmed of God unto him in Christ; yea, the Lord himself, when he spake of him, said He saw my day, and rejoiced. Job also in the 19th chapter; I know (saith he) that my redeemer liveth, which shall also rise in the last day, over them which do lie in the dust. And after the worms have destroyed this body, I shall see the Lord in my flesh; whom I myself shall see, and mine own eyes shall behold, and none other for me. This faith, expressed in those words, is in no wise general or confused: for in it are plainly described the principal points, which pertain unto Christ. For first he is called a redeemer, wherein is published the forgiveness of sins. Further, his coming to judgment is set forth, and also the resurrection of the dead; wherein, not other bodies, but even the self-same, which they had before, shall be restored unto men. There is also added the human nature of Christ, which may be seen with corporal eyes. Further, what manner of faith (I beseech you) is that, which these men affirm Infidels to have? For a true and firm persuasion, and a constant and an assured assent unto the promises of God, draweth with it (as I said at the beginning) all good motions of the mind. How then can they say, that these men have faith, which lie still weltering in idolatry, and in most shameful and gross sins?

They may indeed have a certain credulity, either by education, or by human persuasion, or by an opinion after a sort rooted in them: but to have a true faith, so long as they lead such a kind of life, it is not by any means

possible; unless they will grant, that the Turks have also faith: for they assent unto many things, which we profess and believe. But that place of Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, wherein it is said; If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing: they will have it to be understood, not only of the true faith; but they also say, that the same faith may be separated from charity. Howbeit they grant, that if it so come to pass, the same faith will not profit anything at all. Seeing therefore they expound that place after this manner, how agree they with Paul, seeing they say that a general and confused faith, wherewith men be endued that are yet strange from Christ, can bring forth good works, which of congruity may merit justification, and please God; when as Paul saith, that even The true faith also (as they interpret it) doth nothing profit without charity? But that similitude, which they bring of a stake or a post fastened into the earth, utterly overthroweth their own opinion. For although being dead it seemeth to live; yet in very deed it liveth not: and a wise husbandman seeth that the budding forth is unprofitable; and therefore such leaves he casteth away and destroyeth, as vain and nothing worth. And of the same estimation with God are those works, which these men so color and set forth to the show.

24. They invent also another fond color, not much unlike unto the former: [for they say] that those works of the infidels are not done without grace. For there is (say they) a certain general grace laid forth unto all men, and common even unto men not regenerate; wherewith they being after a sort holpen, may merit justification, and do works which please God. But in so saying, they fall into the heresy of Pelagius: for he also taught, that men without the grace of Christ, might even by the virtue and strength of nature, and by the doctrine of the law work good works, whereby they might be

justified. Neither doth this anything help their cause, in that they said, that they refer not these things unto nature, but unto grace; which the Pelagians utterly denied. For in words they will seem to disagree from them, when as in very deed they very much agree with them: for in that they assign a grace, whereby they can attain unto righteousness without Christ, they are both against Christ, and the Milevitane Council, and the holy scriptures. Further, in that they make grace common unto all men, they turn it into nature; and they say that some will use it, some will not use it. And this grace they call a preventing grace; but that other, which is more absolute, they call an after following grace. Which division we deny not, so that it be rightly understood: for we grant there is one grace which preventeth, and another which followeth after; howbeit, the favor of God through Christ, wherewith we are both prevented to will well, and wherewith we afterward being regenerate, are holpen and stirred up to live well, is one and the same. For whoever doubted, but that we are prevented of God, to the intent we may be changed and renewed in Christ? He were worse than mad, which would say, that we in our conversion and turning unto God, do prevent the aid and help of God. He first loveth us, before we can begin to love him; he first stirreth us up by his favor and spirit, before that we can either will, or think anything that is good.

But herein is an error, if we think that men are endued with the grace of Christ, when they are not yet regenerate, nor renewed in Christ. Indeed there be illuminations sometimes given unto them; but if those be not so vehement, and so effectual as they change their minds, then serve they unto their judgment and condemnation, and not unto their salvation: which thing we must think, that even the sins of them which are so illuminated do deserve. And least that any man should be ignorant, what these men's

meaning is; it must be understood, that they affirm that Paul excluded from justification such works only, as are done of them by free will alone, and by the help of the law. But I would fain know of these men, what manner of works those be, which are so done of men. In very deed they are not gross and shameful sins, such as are murders, fornications, adulteries, thefts, and such other like: for these are not done by the help of the law, but rather by the impulsion of the flesh, and of the devil. Neither are they natural works; as to play or pastime, to plough, to reap, and to sails: for as touching those things, there is nothing commanded in the law. Then there remaineth only honest, civil, or moral works; as, to honor the parents, to help the poor, to be sorry for wicked acts committed: for these things are both commanded in the law, and may (as these men think) be performed by free will: from all these (say they) Paul taketh away the power of justifying.

But what other good works then are there remaining? Undoubtedly I see none, unless peradventure they understand those, which are done of men already justified: for before justification, other works have we none, besides those which we have now rehearsed. Seeing therefore these men exclude both sins, and also works natural, and these moral works, which the law commandeth; undoubtedly they exclude all works. Let them show then by what works they would have men to be justified. If they had any consideration, they would have this saying always before their eyes; If of grace, then not of works; if of works, then not of grace. Neither would they fly to this fond, false, and vain cavillation; to say, that Paul must be understood as touching those works only, which are destitute of any faith or grace, whatsoever they be. How dare these men speak this, seeing they cannot abide, that any man should say, that men are justified by faith only? Ye add (say they) that same word [Only] of your own head; it is not found

in the holy scriptures. If they lay this justly and rightly against us, why do they themselves commit the same fault? Why will they allow that in themselves, which they will not admit in others? Seeing therefore Paul taketh away the power of justifying from works, not adding thereto this word, Only; by what authority might they then add that word unto them?

But for the adding of the word (Only) unto Faith, we have most firm arguments out of the holy scriptures: and we use that kind of speech, which (as we shall declare) is received and used of all the fathers. But let us hear what they babble as touching this matter; Paul (say they) had most ado with the Jews, which thought they might so be justified by works, (and especially by the works of the law) that they had no need of Christ: wherefore the apostle bendeth himself to that only. But I am of that mind, that whatsoever things he wrote, he wrote them unto the church, which did consist both of the Jews, and also of the Gentiles; which with one assent confessed Christ. Do they think, that there were any among all these, which promised unto themselves salvation without Christ? Undoubtedly, if there had been any such, the church would not have suffered them. But yet there were some, which together with Christ, would have retained ceremonies, unto which they attributed over much: but that there were any which excluded Christ, it is not to be thought. Further, Paul, when he teacheth these things, instructed not only the Jews, but also the Gentiles: as it most manifestly appeareth by the epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith; that A man is justified by faith, and that (saith he) not of yourselves, least any man should boast. And in that place he calleth those Gentiles by name, unto whom he writeth, and especially in the second chapter. Wherefore this fond invention of theirs is vain and ridiculous.

25. But now let us come to their sacred and strong anchor-hold. There are two kinds of merits (say they,) one of congruity, the other of worthiness. And they confess, that the works which go before justification, merit not justification of worthiness, but only of congruity. If thou demand of them, what they mean, when they say merit of congruity; they will answer, that they ascribe it unto those works, which in very deed of their own nature deserve not salvation; but so far forth, as promise is made to them through a certain goodness of God: and such (say they) are those moral acts, which are done by many before justification. But the merit of worthiness, they call that, for whose sake altogether the reward is due. And this do they ascribe unto those works, which are done of the godly after regeneration. And by this distinction they think, that they have gotten the victory. But forso much as they have it not out of the holy scriptures, there is no cause why they should so much delight themselves therein. What if we on the contrary side teach, that the same distinction is manifest and directly repugnant unto the word of God? Will they not grant, that this their so notorious invention was by them found out, and devised only to shift away our arguments? Paul, when he spake of men justified, yea even of the martyrs of Christ, which at that time suffered persecutions, and most grievous calamities, for their consolation wrote these words; The sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed in us. These men say, that such sufferings are worthy: but Paul denieth them to be worthy. How agree these things together? Or rather how manifestly are they repugnant one to another? And because they say, that in the merit of congruity are regarded only the promises of God, and not the dignity or nature of the action; let them show whatever God promised unto those works, which are done without faith and the religion of Christ. Further, who seeth not how foolish

this kind of speech is? Undoubtedly, they which are worthy of anything, the same is of congruency due unto them: and such, unto whom by an upright and sound judgment anything is of congruency due, ought to be judged worthy of it. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth, that this distinction was both ill framed, and also maliciously devised to avoid our reasons.

26. And yet these men accuse us, as though we neglect, or rather utterly deny those works, which they call works of preparation. Which thing undoubtedly, we do not; for although we admit not the preparations of these men, yet some preparations we both grant, and also allow. For God, the author of our salvation, thorough Christ, useth many and sundry means, and degrees, and ways, whereby he may lead us to salvation: which, by reason of his providence, and wonderful power, and incredible love toward us, may be called preparations. Although, if a man weigh the nature of things themselves and consider also our mind and will in doing of them, they have in them nothing, why our salvation ought to be ascribed to them: nay rather they are repugnant unto our salvation. For those goodly actions, which they call moral, do minister matter unto the wicked, to puff up themselves, and are occasions to make them delight in themselves; and not to seek any salvation either of Christ, or of sincere godliness. But contrary we see it happen oftentimes, that they which have fallen into gross and heinous sins, are sooner touched with a healthful repentance, and do more readily come to Christ. Wherefore Christ said unto the Scribes and Pharisees; Harlots and Publicans shall go before you in the kingdom of God. Neither also will any good man say, that men are either restrained from justification by the fault of wicked acts; or else holpen thereunto by the strength of civil virtues. But herein consisteth all, that these means sometimes are destitute of the grace of God; and sometimes they are by him converted unto our salvation: so

that, although, as touching us, they are sins, and of their own nature do help nothing; yet by the government of God, they are always brought unto a good end. A man shall see sometimes some men live uprightly and honestly, as touching the judgment of men; which yet forsomuch as inwardly they swell in pride and disdainfulness, are forsaken of God, so that they run headlong into most shameful falls, and most heinous sins; and yet by that means it cometh to pass, that they more easily acknowledge themselves, and are amended, and do return again unto the sheepfold of Christ.

This is plainly set forth unto us in the gospel. The prodigal son leaving his father, and having spent and wasted his patrimony, was at the last driven to this point, that he became a bond-man, and also a swine-herd; which thing undoubtedly he could not do without great shame. For being born of so noble a blood, he should never have embased himself unto such vile things: but he being in this state, began to think with himself that he should be happy, if that he might but eat cuds with the swine: of which cuds, yet he had not his belly full. All these things undoubtedly were to be counted a reproach unto him; and yet thereby it came to pass, that he began to think and say with himself; Ah! How many hired servants are in my father's house, which have plenty of bread and good meat, but I perish here for hunger? And by this means there was stirred up in him a just repentance: wherefore he wisely and godly went again to his father, from whom he had rashly departed. For who knoweth the secret counsels of God, and the most deep bottomless pit of his providence? He oftentimes prepareth men unto salvation by those things, which of their own nature would be hurtful and deadly; but that he of his goodness turneth them to another end. This will I declare by a similitude so plain and manifest, that there is no man but may understand the same.

A physician sometimes cometh to a man that hath a putrefied leg, which can by no means be cured, unless it be cut and lanced. He cutteth it, afterward he applieth plasters and medicines thereunto, and at the length healeth the man. Here I demand, whether that cutting may seem to be a preparation to recover health or no? Thou wilt say that it may: but whether hath it that of his own nature, or else by some violence and condition of the sick person? It hath not that undoubtedly of his own nature; for if the sick person being so cut, had been given over and left of the physician, without doubt he had perished: for he in very deed that were left in that pain and anguish, should never be able by his own wit, or by his own strength to recover health; nay rather for very pain and anguish he would die. Wherefore in that the cutting and lancing was a preparation to health, the same is to be ascribed to the physician, and to his art. Even so, if God should leave a man in those ways and degrees, by which some are brought unto salvation, he should miserably perish in them: but forsomuch as God by his most healthful art and wisdom useth them, they are made preparations unto justification, although of their own nature they nothing help us; but through our naughtiness and corrupt nature, do exceedingly hurt us, unless the grace of God be joined unto them. But this similitude in this part faileth, for that the physician cannot peradventure heal the sick person without that cutting; but God can by infinite other ways and means bring us to salvation: which thing I will now by examples declare. Judas, when he had betrayed Christ, acknowledged his sin, and confessed it openly: for he said openly, that He had sinned, and betrayed the just blood. This acknowledging and confessing should undoubtedly have been preparatives unto justification, if God would have used them: but forsomuch as God used them not, what other thing shall we think Judas

therein deserved, but only damnation? For certain it is, that afterward he hung himself, and perished forever. This self-same thing we see happened in Cain; for he also confessed his sin, and yet was he swallowed up with desperation. This is the strength and nature of these things, if they be not governed and ordered by God.

27. Further, our adversaries accuse us, that we heinously slander the law of God, and make it unprofitable; when we affirm, that it cannot be observed of men by natural strength and ableness. But these men do right well declare, that they never exactly considered in the scriptures, what are the offices of the law: for if they had pondered them, they would never judge it unprofitable, although it cannot fully be observed of us. The first part or office thereof (as Paul teacheth) is to show sin: for, By the law is the knowledge of sin. Again, it provoketh the wrath of God: for, The law worketh wrath. Moreover, it augmenteth the heinousness of sin: for, The law entered in, that sin should abound. It bringeth also a curse: for, As many as are under the law, are under the curse. But to what end are these things? That it might be as it were our schoolmaster unto Christ. For they which acknowledge their sins, do see that the wrath of God hangeth over them; and feel that their sins do daily increase, and that they continually more and more are under the curse: at the length, when the spirit of God shall breath upon them, they begin to long for Christ, that they might by him be delivered from so great evils. And this is the schoolmastership of the law unto Christ. Now, seeing it is so; how can the law seem unto any man unprofitable? Further, who will say, that Aristotle labored unprofitably, when with so great cunning he did set forth in his books, called *Analytica posteriora*, the nature of a Syllogism demonstrative: when as yet notwithstanding, there are scanty found any reasons framed with so great

cunning, in any faculty or sciences of wise men? For, seeing we are ignorant of the last and perfectest differences of things, we cannot either perfectly define, or make a perfect demonstration.

But yet notwithstanding Aristotle bestowed good and diligent labor: for by those his most excellent rules, he sheweth whereunto at the least we should level, if any man will surly and firmly prove anything. Cicero also, when he described unto us such an Orator, as there never hath been, or shall be; yet loseth not he his labor: for this at the least way he sheweth, what pattern he ought to set before him, which desireth to excel in that art. So hath God set forth his laws, that men should always have an example before their eyes, whereunto they should frame their life. Besides this, unto men that are regenerate in Christ, the laws of God are not utterly impossible to be observed: for seeing that they by the spirit of God have their strength after a sort renewed, and the rage of the flesh somewhat repressed, they may accomplish many things which are grateful and acceptable unto God. Further also, men not yet regenerate may nevertheless, as touching outward discipline, after a sort apply themselves unto the laws of God. Which thing where it is exercised, public-wealth's flourish, and the wrath of God is not so much kindled against men; and the punishments, which God useth sometimes, to pour upon open sinners, are for a time avoided.

28. And these are no small or vulgar utilities of the law, which they seem to be ignorant of, which make those objections unto us. But they, not being content with these, say further; that the law may be kept, even of men not yet regenerate. And if a man object the excellency and difficulty thereof; they answer, that our righteousness, if it be compared with the righteousness of God, which is on every side absolute and perfect; or if it be applied unto the law, as the law by itself is considered; it is no

righteousness. But if our righteousness be so compared with the law, as God of his goodness condescendeth unto our infirmity; after that manner we may observe it, and be justified by good works. But this you must know is a sophistical distinction of Pighius, whereby he took upon him the authority to moderate the law of God; which authority doubtless can pertain unto no mortal men. And this may we prove both by the law of man, and also by the law of God: for it is written in the Digests, *De legibus & senatus consultis*; As touching those things, which are first in a common-wealth, decrees ought to be made certain, either by interpretation, or by the constitution of a good Prince: namely, that it be not in the hand of any man, or Judge, to mitigate the laws at his pleasure, or to transgress them under the name of any equity. For so indeed laws should be made, *Lesbiaregula*; that is, A rule of lead; and all things would be confounded at every man's pleasure.

But rather this rule is therefore given, that if the extremity of the law be set forth in any decree, and the equity and moderation of that extreme law be nowhere expressed; the judge ought to follow the extreme law, and ought not to use equity; which equity yet he may then follow, if it be expressed in any law. As for example; All laws agree, that if a debtor pay not his money at his day, and the creditor by that means sustaineth loss, the debtor is bound to bear the loss. And this they call to pay the interest, or (as other speak) to pay the damage. But because we find in the Digests, *De regulis juris*; In all causes, that thing is taken for a fact, wherein it cometh to pass, that by another man's means, there is a stay why it is not done: therefore, if the debtor can prove, that the fault was not in him, why the money was not paid, for that he had the money, and offered the same, and that the creditor was in fault of non-payment; although the creditor sustain never so much loss by forbearing his money, yet is not the debtor bound in equity to make

recompense. For by written equity it is counted for a deed, when the let came by reason of another. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth, that it is not in the power of a judge, or of any other man, to moderate laws as he list himself.

And if the case be so in the Roman laws, invented and set forth by men, what shall we think of the law of God? For it ought infinitely to be more firm than the law of man: neither is it lawful for us, to faine any equity therein, unless when we see expressly written. As for example; The law is; He which shall shed man's blood, his blood also shall be shed. Here have we the extremity of the law, which undoubtedly we ought always to follow; unless in some other place equity had taught, that the same extremity ought to be mitigated. But in another place it is thus written; If two go forth together into the wood to cut down wood, and the axe by chance falleth out of the hand of the one, and killeth him that standeth by him; let there be some cities of refuge, whereunto this man-killer may fly, and in which he may live safely, till such time as the matter be tried: so that, if he can prove his innocence, then let him be let go free at the death of the high priest. This equity might the judges use, because it was written in the laws of God; yea, and it was their part also to use it, so often as they saw that the matter, which they had in hand, did so require. But that it was lawful for them, by their authority, to bend the laws of God; or to mitigate them; it cannot be proved by any testimony of the holy scriptures: nay, on the contrary part, they were commanded, that They should not decline either to the left hand, or to the right hand; and that they should neither add anything unto the law of God, nor yet take away anything from it. And we need no long discourse to teach, that the law is impossible to be observed, as touching our ableness and strength; and especially before we are regenerate: for this the scripture

plainly testifieth. For Paul writeth thus in the 8th chapter unto the Romans; That which was impossible unto the law, in as much as it was weakened by the flesh, &c. Also in the same chapter; The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject unto the law of God, nay truly, nor yet can it be. And in the 1st to the Corinthians; The carnal man understandeth not the things, which are of the spirit of God, neither yet can he: for unto him they are foolishness. Christ also; An evil tree (saith he) cannot bring forth good fruits. Also; How can ye speak good things, when ye yourselves are evil? All these things do manifestly teach, that it is impossible that the law of God should be observed by human strength, being so defiled and corrupted as it is. But as touching these cavillations, and subtle shifts of the papists, let these sayings suffice.

29. Now let us come to certain particular objections of theirs, whereby they labor both to trouble us, and also to establish their own fond lies. They say that Ahab, the ungodly king, did rent his garments at the threatening's of Elias, that he put on sackcloth, and so lay on the ground and fasted, and went barefoot: and for that cause the Lord said unto the prophet; Hast thou not seen Ahab humble himself before me? In his days I will not bring the evil, but in the days of his son. Behold (say they) the works of an ungodly king, and one not yet justified, do so please God, that they pacify God towards him. But we say on the contrary side, that Ahab, by these facts was not justified: for if he had had that true faith, which doth justify men; he would not have abiden still in idolatry, and other most detestable sins. Indeed he was somewhat moved at the threatening's of the prophet; but yet that which he did, pertained only unto a certain outward and civil discipline, rather than to true repentance. But God saith, that he was humbled before him. I answer, that that word, Before me, may be referred either unto the

words of God, which were spoken unto Ahab, by the prophet; so that the meaning is: Before me, that is to say, At my words: or else, Before me, that is to say, In the church of the Israelites. And by that fact, Ahab testified, that he repented of the wicked part, which he had done: and that was a good and profitable example before the multitude. But God, which behold the inward parts of his heart, saw that that repentance was feigned and unfruitful; and for that cause he promised that he would only defer the punishment, so that that punishment, which otherwise should have happened in his days, should happen in the days of his son.

Neither is this strange, neither ought we to be ignorant thereof, that for the keeping of outward discipline, plagues are forborne, and most grievous punishments of this present life are avoided. For we teach not, that all sins are equal; God would also expect till the sins of the Amorites were full. And then at the length his wrath is wont to be poured out, when fowl lusts, and wicked acts, impudently and without any stay do range abroad: yea, where outward discipline is kept, God oftentimes giveth many good things; not indeed for the merit of the deeds, but for order sake, appointed by God in nature. For God, in respect of the conservation, and good order of things, will, that this by a certain connection, should follow of the other. But I marvel what these men mean, when out of the books of the Chronicles, they say, that Roboam the son of Solomon did evil, in that he prepared not his heart to inquire of the Lord. They might easily have seen, that this serveth nothing to this present purpose, unless they be (if I may so term them) table-doctors, which have more skill in the tables, than in the books. For so oft as they find in the table of the holy books, this word, To prepare; or, Preparations, that straightway, whatsoever it be, they snatch; and think that it maketh for their purpose, and pertaineth unto their preparatory works. But

the holy history, when it had declared, that the king behaved himself wickedly; addeth by exposition (as it oftentimes doth) that He had not an upright heart, and ready to seek the Lord.

Neither doth this any whit more help their cause, which is written in the 16th chapter of the Proverbs; It pertaineth to a man to prepare the heart, but the answer of the tongue is of the Lord. For we ought by those words to understand nothing else, then that men indeed are wont to purpose with themselves many things; howbeit the event and success is not in their power, but dependeth of God. Men do oftentimes appoint with themselves what they will say in the senate house, in the judgment place, before the king, unto the soldiers, and unto the people; but what shall come to pass, that lieth in the pleasure of God. They indeed prepare the heart, but God ordereth the answer of the tongue, according to his providence. Such another weighty reason they cite out of the 10th Psalm; The Lord hath heard the desire of the poor, thine ear hath heard the preparation of their heart. But in this place these good masters make two flat errors; for first they understand not that which they speak; secondly, they cite not the place according to the truth of the Hebrew. For the sense is, the God despiseth not the prayers of the poor, but according to his great goodness accomplisheth those things for them, which they had determined in their mind to desire of him: and this is the preparation of the heart. For none that is godly desireth anything of God, but first he deliberateth in his heart, that the same thing is to be desired; otherwise he should come rashly unto God, and should pray foolishly. But these men, wheresoever they find in the holy scriptures, this word, To prepare; straightway they snatch it up, even against the nature thereof, to establish works preparatory.

But now let us see what the sentence is after the Hebrew verity; *Thaauath anauimschamata Jehovah takin libbam tacschif ozneeca*, that is; Thou Lord hast heard the desire of the poor, thou hast prepared, or shalt prepare their heart; thine ear shall hear. Here we see David doth affirm, that God heareth the desires of the saints, whom he calleth poor. And he addeth a cause; namely, because God prepareth their hearts, to require those things, which may serve for their salvation, and which please God. But by whom God worketh such a preparation in the hearts of the faithful, Paul teacheth in his epistle to the Romans, and thus he writeth; What we should ask, as we ought, we know not: but the Spirit prayeth for us with unspeakable sighs. But God, who searcheth the hearts, seeth what the Spirit will ask for the saints. We see therefore both by David, and also by Paul, that God heareth those prayers, which are by the impulsion of his spirit stirred up in them that pray unto him. We learn also of the Ethnic philosophers, and that in more places than one; that those are reprov'd, which without consideration, and rashly, do require anything of God. But they which profess Christ, even as they believe that he is the author of their prayers: so also do they close up their prayers in this sentence; Thy will be done.

30. But (say they) Ezekiel saith in his 18th chapter; Walk in my ways, and make ye a new heart. And Jeremiah; Be ye converted unto me saith the Lord. Wherefore a man (say they) may of himself prepare himself to the obtaining of righteousness. But these men should remember, that it is no upright dealing, to cite some places of the holy scriptures, and to overhip and leave other some unspoken. Let them go therefore, and see what Ezekiel writeth in the 36th chapter; I (saith the Lord) will bring to pass, that ye shall walk in my ways; And, I will give unto you a fleshy heart, and will take away from you your stony heart. Jeremiah also in the 31st chapter;

Convert me O Lord, and I shall be converted. Wherefore Augustine very well said; Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. They abuse also another place out of the prophet Jonah, to confirm their error: for there it is written, that God regarded the works of the Ninevites. Behold (say they) the afflictions of the Ninevites, whereby they afflicted themselves with fasting's, and cried unto the Lord: the Lord prepared their minds, and made them apt to obtain pardon. As though it behooved not the Ninevites first to believe the word of God, before they could either pray effectually, or else repent them. Seeing therefore they believed, before they did any works; they were justified by faith, and not by works, which followed afterwards. And God is said to have regarded their works, because they pleased him.

Neither did we ever deny, that the works of men, being now justified, are acceptable unto God. So often as we find in the scriptures such places, which serve to attribute righteousness unto our works; we must (according to the doctrine of Augustine) have a consideration, out of what foundation those works proceed. And when we perceive, that they spring out of faith; we ought to ascribe unto that root, that which afterward is added as touching righteousness. And how foully these men err in their reasoning, hereby we may perceive; for that they take upon them to transfer those things, which are proper to one kind of men, unto another. Which thing human laws will not suffer to be done: for, as we find in the Code, as touching testaments or last wills; If rustical and unlearned men, which dwell out of cities, and have not store of wise and learned men, do make their last wills without a solemnity required thereunto, and without a sufficient number of witnesses prescribed, which yet otherwise should be necessary; such testaments ought to be allowed. Now if a man would

transfer this prerogative unto citizens, who, for that they have their abiding in cities, have store of men of understanding; he should exceedingly err: for if their testaments be so made, they are refused; neither are they counted firm. So we say, that the works of men justified may please God: but this notwithstanding neither can nor ought to be granted unto them, which are without faith, and without Christ.

31. Further, let us mark the accustomed sophistical and deceitful kind of reasoning of the adversaries; which the Logicians do term, *A non causa ut causa*; to wit, From that which is not the cause, as though it were the cause. For they always appoint good works to be the causes of righteousness; when as in very deed, they are effects of righteousness, and not causes. For it is as though a man should say; The fire is therefore hot, because it maketh hot: but it is clean contrary; for therefore it maketh hot, because it is hot. So also we, because we are justified, therefore we do just things: and not because we do just things, therefore we are justified. Sometimes also they object, that God will render unto every man according to his works: wherefor works (say they) are the cause of our felicity. But here also, as their wonted manner is, they are very much deceived: for, unless they devise some new Grammar unto themselves; undoubtedly this word According, signifieth not the cause. But Christ (say they) in his last judgment, seemeth to express these to be as it were causes, for the which the kingdom of heaven is given unto them: for thus will he say; I was hungry, and ye fed me; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink.

But Christ doth not in very deed rehearse these things, as causes: but rather those things which went before; Come ye blessed of my father, possess the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For the true cause of our felicity is, because we are elected and

predestinate of God to the eternal inheritance: for they which are in this number, are in their time adorned with faith, whereby they being justified, have right unto eternal life. But because this faith is hidden, neither can it be seen; and that Christ will have all men to understand, that none but the just are received into the kingdom of heaven; therefore rehearseth he these outward works, that by them it might plainly be perceived, that righteousness is given unto men by faith. For there is no man which can be so ignorant, but that he knoweth that there are two foundations and principles of things; the one whereby they are; the other whereby they are known.

Again, they object out of the first of Samuel; Those that honor me, I honor; and those that love me, I love. Here (say they) the promise is made unto the work. But if they would make a distinction between the promise of the gospel, and the promises of the law; they should easily understand, that that place is nothing repugnant unto our saying. For if we could of ourselves satisfy the commandments of the law, then might it be the cause, why the promise should be given unto us: but forsomuch as no man is able to perform it, all men fly unto Christ, and are through faith in him justified. Then, by a certain obedience begun, we begin to work: which although it be not exactly done, according unto the rule of the commandment; yet it pleaseth God: and he of his mere liberality performeth the promise which was adjoined unto that work. And so those conditions, which are adjoined unto the precepts, are not unprofitable: for they that are justified attain unto them.

Neither are these men ashamed to cite these words out of the 25th Psalm; Look upon my humility and my labor, and forgive me all my sins: as though our labors and afflictions are the causes of the remission of sins. But in this

place David, being in most grievous calamities, desireth of God to forgive him all his sins; that if he were angry for his sins, the cause of punishments might be taken away. For here is not entreated of labors, which a man taketh upon him of his own voluntary will; but of punishments laid upon men by God. We see also, that children, whilst they are beaten of their masters, do desire forgiveness and pardon. If thou give an alms unto one that is leprous, the leprosy cannot properly be called the cause of thy compassion or mercy; for otherwise, all that passed by the leper, should do the same: but the true cause thereof, is the loving affection in thy mind.

32. But they say moreover, that in the holy scriptures, much is attributed unto repentance: which thing we deny not. But we, on the other side, would have them to understand, that repentance is the fruit of faith; and that no man can profitably repent him of his sins, unless he first believe. They also boast of many things touching confession. But thereof we make a distinction; for either it is separated from hope and faith, as it was in Judas, which confessed that he had sinned, in betraying the just blood: and that confession is so far off from bringing any profit, that it is a preparative unto desperation, and also to destruction. Or else it is joined with faith and hope, as it was in David and Peter; and so it is not the cause, but the effect of justification: for it followeth faith, and goeth not before it. The auricular confession also of the papists, is altogether superstitious; wherefore we utterly condemn it: for they obtrude it, as a thing necessary unto salvation, and a cause why sins should be forgiven; which they are never able to prove by any testimony of the holy scriptures. They violently wrest this also out of the Lord's prayer; Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. Again; Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: Ergo (say they) the forgiveness of injuries, is the cause why our sins are forgiven us.

This their reason (as the common saying is) with the one hand stroketh the head, and with the other giveth a blow. For if the forgiveness of injuries, should (as these men would have it) deserve remission of sins, then that remission should be no remission; for after thou hast once paid the price, there is nothing can be forgiven thee: but then hath remission place, when the price is not paid. And as touching that place; we first desire that our sins should be forgiven us. And because that by benefits received, men are encouraged to hope, that they shall receive other greater benefits; therefore this is the meaning of that sentence: O Father, which hast of thy fatherly goodness, given us grace to forgive injuries unto our trespassers, forgive unto us also our sins. Now by these words is not signified a cause, but a similitude, although that similitude be not perfect and absolute. For none that is wise, would have his sins so forgiven him of God, as he hath forgiven his neighbor the injuries that he hath done unto him. For everyone, by reason of the flesh, and that infirmity which it carrieth about, forgiveth much less unto his brother than he ought: for there sticketh always in his mind some offense, which although it burst not forth, yet his own conscience is a sufficient witness unto himself, that his mind is not very perfect, and entire towards him, by whom he hath been hurt. But the former exposition teacheth, that the similitude is to be referred, not unto remission; but unto the liberality of God: that even as he hath given the one, so also he will vouchsafe to give the other. But whereas it is said; Forgive, and it shall be forgiven: that is a commandment, and therefore it pertaineth to the law. But thou wilt object, that this sentence was written in the Gospel, and not in the law. That maketh no matter; for the law and the Gospel are not separated asunder, by volumes or books: for both in the Old Testament are contained the promises of the Gospel; and also in the Gospel the law is not

only comprehended, but also most perfectly by Christ expounded. Wherefore by those words, we are commanded to forgive injuries done unto us.

And forsomuch as we are bound to do that, according to the prescript of the law, and that law dependeth of this great precept; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: according to the form thereof, we ought to forgive our enemies. Which thing, because no man hath at any time performed, neither can perform; it followeth, that we ought to fly to Christ, by whom we may by faith be justified; afterward being justified, we may after a sort fulfill that which is commanded: which though we do not perfectly perform, yet it pleaseth God. And he freely giveth unto us the promise that is added, not because of our works, or of our merits; but only for Christ's sake. They go about also to blind our eyes with the words of Daniel, when he exhorteth the king, To redeem his sins with alms. But in that place, by Sins, we may understand, the pains and punishments due unto sin: for the scripture useth oftentimes such phrases of speech, which thing we never denied. Yea rather we willingly grant, that in respect of the works, which proceed from faith, God is wont to forgive many things; especially, as touching the mitigation of plagues and punishments.

33. They object also this sentence out of the first chapter of John; God gave them power to be made the sons of God: wherefore (they say) that those, which have already received Christ, that is, have believed in him, are not yet justified, and regenerate, and made the children of God; but only have received power to be made the children of God (as they think) by works. And in this argument, Pighius, the great champion and Achilles of the papists, putteth great affiance, but yet in vain: for he thinketh, that he of

necessity, to whom power is given to have anything, as yet hath not the same. As though we should here deal philosophically, that power excludeth act: which yet even amongst the philosophers also is not universally true. — For when they define the soul; they say, that, It is an act of a body natural, having members or instruments, and also having life in power. By which definition appeareth, that our body hath life in power; when nevertheless it hath life in act, in very deed. But that word Power, here signifieth, that the body hath not life of itself, but of another; namely of the soul. Which thing we may here also at this present affirm; to wit, that those which have received the Lord, and have believed in him, are regenerate, and made the children of God: and yet not of themselves, but some other way; namely, of the spirit and grace of God. For so signifieth this word Power: although the evangelist in that place spake not Peripatetically; but simply, and most plainly: for a little before he said, that His received him not. By this word [His] he meant the Jews, which peculiarly professed the knowledge of the true God: but when they had refused the truth offered unto them, God would not be without a people; but appointed them to be his peculiar people, which should believe and receive Christ. Wherefore he gave unto them Power, that is, a right and a prerogative; that when they had received the Lord by faith, they should be made, and be indeed the sons of God. And therefore Cyrillus expounding the place, saith; that This Power signifieth adoption and grace.

Further, Pighius, although he think himself very sharp of wit; yet seeth not, that when he thus reasoneth, he speaketh things repugnant. For how is it possible, that any man should have life in himself, and not live? Assuredly, if they in believing have received Christ, it must needs be, that straightway they have righteousness: for as Paul writeth in the first epistle

to the Corinthians; He is made of God unto us, wisdom, righteousness, and redemption. But what need we so long a discourse? The evangelist himself declareth unto us, who those be, which have received such a power; namely, Which are not born of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And if they be born of God, then followeth it of necessity, that they are justified and regenerated. They object also unto us a servile fear, which goeth before charity; as though by it we should be prepared unto justification, and the more easily to receive charity. Unto whom we answer; that such a fear without charity, is sin. They reply again, and say; that Christ commanded that fear. But God commandeth not sin. And he commanded such a fear (say they) when he said; I will show unto you, whom ye ought to fear: fear him, which when he hath killed the body, can also cast the soul into hell-fire.

And that this fear prepareth unto justification, they think may hereby be proved; for that Augustine expounding that, out of the first epistle of John; Perfect charity casteth out fear; saith, This servile fear is not unprofitable: for even as a bristle being put in by the shoemaker, draweth the thread after it: so this fear draweth with it charity. As touching the first, I answer, that their ground is false; namely, that God hath ever in any place commanded such a fear as wanteth charity and faith; which thing, I know right well, these men are never able to find. But as touching Augustine, we answer, that in that place of John; Herein is charity perfect in us, that in the day of judgment, we have confidence, that even as he is, so are we: in this world there is not fear in charity, but perfect charity casteth out fear: by charity is not to be understood, our love towards God, but the love of God towards us: for he speaketh of perfect charity, such as we have not in this life. And the meaning of John is, that after we be persuaded of the perfect love of God,

wherewith he embraceth us; we have confidence, that in the day of judgment we shall be in safety. And this perfect charity of God, after we once know it, casteth out fear; because it suffereth us not to fear. Wherefore that interpretation of Augustine, touching our love towards God, maketh nothing to the purpose.

But suppose that John spake of our love towards God, as that place is commonly taken; in that sense also may the words of Augustine be true, but yet not universally, that charity always followeth such a fear: for we know, that it otherwise happened in Cain and Judas; but it so happeneth only in men that are to be justified. For God useth this mean; first, to pierce them with great fear of their sins, and then by it, to bring them unto faith and charity. In the meantime yet, we nothing doubt, but that such a fear is sin; and yet nevertheless, that fear may be called profitable; not by his own merit, or of his own nature; but because of the order instituted by God, whose will is so to use it to our salvation. And this thing also we add, that that charity, the more it increaseth in us, so much the more and more doth it cast out fear; not only servile fear, but also the fear which men justified have. For whosoever is thoroughly persuaded of the love of God towards him, can never fear his own damnation: for that doubting, whereby we fear eternal punishments, is sin: And yet that doubt somewhat always sticketh in our minds; for we never in this life believe so much as we ought, nor so much as we should: and by reason of this weakness of charity, wherewith we should love our neighbors: and because of the feebleness of persuasion, whereby we ought to believe in God so long as we are in this life, we never put off all this corrupt fear.

34. They also take hold of this saying, and object the same against us; Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be

opened unto you. But they ought to remember, that prayers proceed from faith, and cleave unto it only; for otherwise they cannot be heard. But I marvel why they left this unspoken of; Whatsoever ye shall ask believing, it shall be given you. For by these words it appeareth, that whatsoever is given unto them that ask, is given unto faith. Hereunto also they add a sentence out of Luke; Give alms, and all things be clean unto you. But these words may be expounded three manner of ways, of which yet never a one serveth for their purpose. The first way is, to say, that that kind of speech was a taunt: as if Christ would have said unto the Pharisees; Ye give alms, and ye think straightway that all things are clean unto you, which is not so: for we ought first to make clean those things which are within. Another way is (which Augustine followeth in his Enchiridion to Laurentius) certain had persuaded themselves, that if they gave alms, they should be saved, though they ceased not from sinning: and their chiefest anchor-hold was these words of Christ. Augustine answereth, that those words of Christ are to be understood of the true and approved alms, whereof it is written in Ecclesiasticus, the thirty chapter; Have compassion of thy soul, and please God. Wherefore thou oughtst to begin true alms at thine own self, that having compassion of thyself, thou mayest be converted unto God, and cease off from sins; and afterward have thou compassion of others.

The third way is this, which in my judgment more agreeth unto the purpose: Christ being at dinner with the Pharisees, began to eat with unwashed hands; for which thing when they were offended, Christ began to reprove their ignorance, which would have their dishes, hands, and all outward things clean and beautiful; but as touching that which they had inwardly, that is, in their mind, they were nothing careful. Wherefore, he first exhorteth them to purify the heart, which is inwardly. Which thing is

done by faith: for in the Acts it is written; By faith purifying their hearts. Afterward as touching outward things, he addeth; Give alms, and so all things shall be clean unto you. Further, as Theodorus Beza, a man of great learning and judgment, hath in his annotations very well considered, Christ spake not of all manner of cleanness; but of that which pertains unto meat. Whereunto Christ applieth a double commandment; one is, that they should eat nothing gotten by robbery or stealth; another is, that of those things, which are within, that is, which are contained in the dishes, somewhat should be taken out for the alms of the poor, whereby whatsoever is left might be cleansed and sanctified. But of this there is nothing, which may further our adversaries opinion.

35. There are others, which think to establish this their error by the ministry of the keys, whereby they think that men are absolved from their sins. But they are deceived; for they understand not what those keys are, that which Christ commended unto his church. The preaching of the word of God, touching the remission of sins, to be obtained by Christ, is the only key to open the kingdom of heaven. And if he which heareth his word, do also adjoin a true faith, and give full assent unto those words; then cometh also the other key. With these two keys is the kingdom of heaven opened, and the forgiveness of sins obtained. Wherefore Christ, sending forth his apostles, said; Go ye, and preach the Gospel: then he addeth; He which believeth, shall be saved. By these few words he expresseth the keys, which he delivered unto the church. In the which words thou shalt find no work wrought, as they call it: for Christ spake only of the faith of the hearers, and of the word of God, which is preached. But how shall we at length confute this sentence, which is never out of their mouth; Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much; if the place be diligently pondered, it will be

an easy matter to do. We ought to know, that some reasons are taken of the causes; and some of the effects. Christ in a few words afterward sheweth the cause of salvation; when he saith unto the woman; Thy faith hath made thee safe. But because that faith was hidden in her mind, neither could it be seen of those which were present, therefore putting forth a parable, he sheweth; that they love more, which receive greater gifts of any. And that this woman received a very great gift, (that is, justification) he sheweth by the effects; namely, because she washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with her hair; because she kissed them, and because she anointed them. Which things, forsomuch as that Pharisee did not, it may be a very great token or sign, that he had not received the like gift.

They cite also out of the epistle unto the Romans; Not the hearers of the law shall be justified, but the doers. But Paul in the place, when he reproveth the Jews, because when they had received the law, and boasted thereof, yet lived contrary to the law; meant thereby nothing else, but that if righteousness were to be sought for by the law, it is not sufficient either to have it, or to hear it: but it behooveth both in acts and deeds to perform it. And this we never denied, but that a man may be justified by the law, if he do perfectly and fully accomplish it: but forsomuch as the same is by no means possible, we say, that by it righteousness cannot be hoped for. That also which they object out of the epistle unto the Philippians; With fear and trembling, work your salvation, doth nothing help them. Undoubtedly, they which know that they have all that they have from God, are of a moderate and humble mind; and are evermore afraid of themselves: for they see that in themselves, there is nothing that is good, but that help is to be looked for at the hands of God only; and therefore Paul biddeth a godly man always to fear and tremble. But they which think, that it lieth in their own power to

justify and save themselves, (such be they, which in this matter contend against us) have nothing whereof they need to be afraid, or to tremble. For they boast, that their salvation consisteth in themselves: which salvation, though Paul do in this place name; yet he thereby understandeth not justification: for he writeth unto those which were already before justified. Wherefore this place maketh nothing for them. But Paul calleth salvation, a renewing, by which we always profit, and go forwards unto things better and better. Lastly, as it were to make up their army, and assure themselves the victory, they object this out of the third chapter of the Apocalypse; Behold I stand at the door, and knock: and if any man open unto me, I will enter in, and sup with him. Now we do fully consent unto them, that by these words is signified; that God, at the beginning, calleth, stirreth up, and instigateth us to salvation; unto which no man by his own strength can be led, without the impulsion of God: but that we of our own accord, without the grace of God piercing and changing the mind, can open our heart unto God, we utterly deny; neither can these men prove it by the holy scriptures.

36. But because we have certain adversaries, which pass very little, or else nothing at all upon the holy scriptures; but measure all their religion by Fathers and Councils, so that they may rather be called Humans, than Divines; and Father-speakers, than Scripture-teachers, and that (which is more intolerable) they gather certain pretty sentences out of the writings of the Fathers, and obtrude them unto the people; and the easier to obscure the truth, and to blind poor simple men, they add taunting speeches; and especially, forsomuch as certain of them think themselves cunning craftsmen in Rhetorical speech, and have in that kind of study spent the greatest part of their life time: for these causes (I say) I shall desire the indifferent reader, not to judge anything rashly against the truth; but rather attentively

to consider those things, which we also will allege out of the Fathers: for by that means he shall easily understand, that the Fathers make not so much on our adversaries side, as they do on ours. But least we should cite any sentence out of the Fathers, confusedly and rashly, we will use a method or compendious way; which method, that it may be easily understood, it shall be good, first to put forth a demonstration, or a certain proof out of those testimonies of the holy scriptures, which we have before cited: which shall be in this manner. They which do work according to the prescript of the law, that is, as the very law requireth, are justified by works; But none, and especially before regeneration, do such works as the law requireth; Wherefore none are justified by works. The Major, or first proposition is so plain, that it needeth no exposition: for he which doth anything, contrary unto that which the law prescribeth, undoubtedly committeth sin; so far off is it, that he can thereby be made just. But the Minor, or second proposition, although it be proved by testimonies of the scriptures, yet will we expound it out of the Fathers. Then, seeing the conclusion is, that justification is not of works, it must of necessity be of grace. Wherefore, we will secondly show out of the Fathers, that men are justified freely, and without all consideration of merits. And because we reject not good works, but say that in their degree, they ought to be had in estimation, as they which by a most strict bond follow justification already obtained; we will lastly teach this also, out of the sayings of the Fathers; that good works follow justification, but go not before. And we will specially cite out of the Fathers those places, which are founded upon the holy scriptures.

37. And first cometh to mind Basilius, who in his first book *De baptismo*, bringeth these words out of the Gospel; Many shall say in that day, Lord, in thy name we have prophesied, we have cast out devils, we have done many

miracles. But these men (saith he) God will not only cast out of his kingdom, but also will call them workers of iniquity. Wherefore they which work miracles, and seem to observe the commandments of God, and his justifications; if they do it to any other end and purpose, than they ought to do, are said to sin: namely, because they follow not the precept of God published by the apostle Paul; Whether ye eat or drink, or whether ye do anything else, do all things to the glory of God. And it is most certain, that this cannot be done without faith and charity; which faith and charity, forsomuch as men not yet regenerate do want; it necessarily followeth, by the words of Basilius, that their works are sins. Of the very which sentence he writeth in his second book *De baptismo*, the seventh question: and purposely he demandeth, Whether any man, so long as he abideth in sin, can do anything that is acceptable before God? Which thing he affirmeth to be impossible, and that by reasons, both many in number, and also taken out of the holy scriptures. First (saith he) the holy Ghost testifieth; that He which worketh sin, is the servant of sin. Further, Christ saith; Ye cannot serve God and mammon: for no man can serve two masters. Paul also saith, that Light hath no fellowship with darkness, neither hath God any agreement with Belial. The very same also he proveth out of Genesis, although he follow the translation of the seventy interpreters. Thus (saith he) spake God unto Cain; If thou offer well, and dividest ill, thou hast sinned: be content. The sense (saith he) is; If thou offer sacrifice, as touching the outward show, and thy mind be not right, neither regardest thou the end, which thou oughtest to do; then is thine oblation sin. With this saying agreeth that also, which Isaiah writeth in the 66th chapter; He which killeth an ox, is as if he should kill a man: and he which sacrificeth a beast, is as though he should kill a dog. It is not enough to do a work, which is

goodly and beautiful to the eye; but it behooveth also, that thou apply it unto the prescript of the law of God: which is, that whatsoever thou doest, let it be done in such manner, and in such condition, as the law requireth. And therefore (saith he) Paul said; that None shall be crowned but he which hath wrestled lawfully. Now it is not sufficient to wrestle, unless thou wrestle lawfully. Christ also in the Gospel saith; Blessed is that servant, which when his Lord cometh, he shall find him thus doing. By which words it appeareth, that it is not sufficient to do, but it behooveth also to do even so as he hath commanded. Moreover, he sheweth out of the Old Testament, that he had committed sin, which did sacrifice unto the true God out of the temple, or not in that place where the tabernacle was: for, although that were sacrificed which was commanded in the law; yet was the condition as touching the place unperformed, which the law also required. And if any man had either in the temple, or in that place, where the tabernacle was, killed an offering which had any spot; the same man also had committed sin: because he neglected a necessary condition. He also citeth that saying in the gospel, which is taken out of the prophet; This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. And he thinketh, that to the same end tendeth that which Paul writeth in the epistle to the Romans; They have indeed the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. And that which he writeth of himself unto the Philippians; that he counted for off-scourings, dung, and losses, all those his works which he did when he lived under the law; yea and that without blame. Seeing therefore the affection and scope is taken away from works, which ought to be in them; what let is there then, but that they are sins, and are displeasing unto God?

And to this end he thinketh that doth serve, which Paul writeth unto the Corinthians; If I deliver my body to be burnt, and if I distribute all my goods

to the poor, yet if I have not charity, I am nothing. Wherefore unless these men will ascribe unto men not yet regenerate, faith and charity; they must of necessity grant, that they can do nothing, which is not sin; or is not displeasing unto God. And thus far out of Basilius. Gregorius Nazianzenus, in that oration which he made after he returned out of the country, the things being ended which were done against Maximus, saith; that There is no works accepted or allowed before God, without faith; whether it be done through the desire of vainglory, or by the instinct of nature: in that respect that a man doth judge it to be honest. Here this is worthy to be noted, that the work which is done by the instinct of nature, that is, in that respect, because it seemeth to be honest, is dead, neither can it please God. The self-same sentence hath he in his oration *De sancto Javacro*, toward the end: and in both places he addeth; Even as faith without works is dead, so a work without faith is dead also. And if it be dead, how can it (as these men would have it) merit justification? But by this we see, that these two Fathers, although otherwise they were great exacters of works, and patrons of freewill; yet as touching this thing, they were altogether of the same mind that we be of.

38. But Augustine most manifestly of all teacheth the same, in his fourth book against Julianus, the 3rd chapter: in which place he entreateth upon these words of the Apostle; The Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature those things which are of the law. These words (saith he) are to be understood, either of the church converted unto Christ, who now fulfilled the law, by the grace of the gospel. And so, that which he saith, By nature, is no otherwise to be understood, than that the law is excluded: but he meaneth such a nature, as is now corrected and amended by the spirit which regenerateth. Or else (saith he) if thou wilt have those words to be

understood of the Gentiles being yet unbelievers, thou must say, that they by nature fulfilled the law, not indeed so much as it required, but after a sort: neither did that outward and civil righteousness any further profit them, but to be more tolerably punished than others; which utterly casting away all discipline, lived wickedly and beastly. For we judge, that Fabricius is less punished than Catiline; unless peradventure (saith he) the Pelagians have prepared for the *Fabricij, Reguli, Fabij, Camili, and Scipios*, some middle place, between the kingdom of heaven, and the hell of the damned: even such a place (saith he) as they have framed for young infants, which depart without Christ. In brief he concludeth, that forsomuch as Without faith it is impossible to please God; Infidels can by no means have true virtues. Which sentence the Pelagians so derided, that they said, If the chastity of Infidels be not true chastity, neither are their bodies true bodies; neither is the corn which groweth in their fields true corn.

Augustine confuteth them, and sheweth; that this is no apt similitude: for the bodies of Infidels, forsomuch as they are made by God, are true bodies; their corn also (seeing it is his work) is very corn: but their chastity, forsomuch as it proceedeth out of their corrupt and defiled will, can by no means be counted true chastity. And he addeth that universal sentence, whereof we have much spoken before; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. The same Augustine, upon the 30th Psalm, expounding these words; Deliver me in thy righteousness: Who (saith he) is saved freely? Even he, in whom our savior findeth not anything worthy to be crowned, but findeth much worthy to be condemned; in whom he findeth no merits of good things, but deserts of punishments. Hereby we see, what is the nature of human works before justification. The same father in his first book and 30th question to Simplicianus, saith; that We are commanded to live uprightly,

and that by a reward set before us, that we may attain to live blessedly forever. But who (saith he) can live uprightly and work well; unless he be justified by faith? Here we are taught, that in men there might be a merit and deserving of happy and eternal life, if they could accomplish that which is commanded: but forso much as that is impossible for us to do, therefore we fall away from merit. The same Augustine in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, the 121st chapter; The end (saith he) of the commandments, is charity, out of a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned. The end of every precept is charity, and hath relation unto charity: and whatsoever is done without such charity, is not done as it ought to be done. Wherefore if it be not done as it ought to be, it cannot be denied, but that it is sin.

39. Chrysostom expounding these words of Paul; The end of the law is Christ: If the end of the law (saith he) be Christ, it followeth, that he which hath not Christ, though he seem to have the righteousness of the law, yet hath he it not in very deed. By these words we gather, that he which is without Christ, may doubtless have works seeming to be good, which yet in very deed cannot be just. And straightway he saith; Whosoever hath faith, the same also hath the end of the law; and whosoever is without faith, is far from either of them. Hereby we gather, that they which have not faith, are strangers, not only from Christ, but also from the righteousness of the law; which herein consisteth, even to do that which is commanded. And straightway; For what doth the law tend unto? To make a man just. But it cannot: for no man hath fulfilled it. But because a man might object; Although a man not regenerate, cannot fulfill the law; yet if he take pains therein, and endeavor, and travel, he may attain unto righteousness? This objection also Chrysostom excludeth. And a little before, when he

expounded these words; Being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and willing to establish their own righteousness, they became not subject unto the righteousness of God. Thus (saith he) he calleth the righteousness of God; which is of faith: because it is altogether of the heavenly grace, wherein we are justified; not by our labors, but by the gift of God.

This self-same thing also writeth Ambrose, when he expoundeth these words of David; Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. He calleth them blessed (saith he) of whom God hath decreed, that without labor, or any observation, shall be justified by faith only. And upon these words of Paul; Being justified freely by his grace: They are justified freely (saith he) because by the gift of God they are justified by faith only: they themselves working nothing, nor making any recompense. The same Ambrose also upon these words of Paul; Wherefore death hath reigned upon them which have not sinned, after the similitude of the transgression of Adam: He wrote this (saith he) because it is impossible for a man not to sin; which thing, seeing peradventure he spake of men regenerate, what is it to be thought of men that are strangers from Christ? Cyprian also, *Ad Quirinum*; We ought (saith he) to boast in nothing, because we have nothing of our own. I suppose it sufficiently now appeareth, that the same which we affirm, is true; namely, that men before justification cannot frame their works to the prescript of the law; and therefore are they sins, and cannot merit justification.

But if our adversaries will say, that they affirm not, that those works, which they call preparatory, do merit justification; but only are certain preparations, whereby men are made apter to attain to justification: we may thus answer them; If they merit not, why do you falsely attribute to them that your merit of congruity? Further, why call ye them good, seeing (as we

have taught) they neither please God, nor are done according to the prescript of the law? Lastly, forsomuch as they want their end, and not only are, but also are of good right called sins; how teach ye, that men by them are prepared unto righteousness; when as they are much rather by them prepared, unto punishments? Wherefore let them once at the length cease to adorn them with these goodly titles. For though peradventure, God sometimes by these works, bringeth men to salvation, he doth it, because of his mercy towards them; which mercy is so great, that he will use sins and works also, which are evil, unto the benefit of them.

40. Now let us see, if justification be not attributed unto works, how the same is then given. It is given freely, and it wholly dependeth of the mere grace of God: for it no manner of way dependeth of merits. Which thing Origin saw; for he, upon the epistle to the Romans, expounding these words; Unto him which worketh, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt: But I (saith he) when I desire excellency of speech, whereas he saith, that unto him that worketh, is rendered a debt, can scarcely persuade myself, that there can be any work, which can of duty require a recompense of God: forsomuch as even this, that we can do or think, or speak anything, we do it by his gift and liberality. What debt then shall he owe unto us, seeing his grace hath prevented us? A little afterward, he rendereth a reason of his saying; which reason Augustine oftentimes used: for he bringeth that place of Paul; The wages of sin is death, but the grace of God is eternal life. For here the apostle said not; But the stipend of righteousness is eternal life, which yet the nature of the Antithesis required. For Paul's meaning was to declare, that our wicked works do of duty deserve death, and that everlasting death; but eternal life is not given, but only by grace: wherefore in the second part, he left out the name of stipend

and of righteousness, and instead of them, put in the name of grace. Neither do I greatly pass, that Augustine in another place writeth, that Paul might have said; The stipend of righteousness is eternal life: but yet would not say so, least he should have given occasion of erring. For undoubtedly, I see no cause why Augustine did think, that Paul might have said it; unless peradventure by righteousness he understood the works of men regenerated; forsomuch as with those works, the merits of Christ are joined: for so it might be true, that eternal life is the stipend of such a righteousness.

Further, Origin goeth on, and showeth, that Men are so justified freely, that good works are not required to go before. For, expounding this sentence; Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven: The soul (saith he) whose sins are forgiven, must needs now be in good state; for it is called blessed. Wherefore it hath the righteousness, which God imputeth unto it, although it have not yet done any works of righteousness: but only for that it hath believed in him which justifieth the ungodly. Out of these words we gather many things; first, that God, for works sake, is not made debtor unto any man; secondly, that not only justification, but also eternal life is given freely; lastly, that righteousness is imputed unto the minds of them that believe, although no good works went before in them. Basilius, upon these words of the 116th Psalm; Turn thou unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee: For (saith he) eternal rest is set forth unto them, which in this life have wrestled lawfully; which yet is not rendered according to the merits of works, but is given according to the grace of the most liberal God, unto them which have hoped in him. Seeing these things are spoken of the works of men already justified, as touching eternal felicity; then are they to be counted much more true, if they be referred unto the works of them which are yet strangers from Christ. Wherefore, even as those do not merit

an eternal reward; no more can these merit justification: for both these things are given freely.

41. Augustine in his book *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, the 48th chapter; If by the law (saith he) cometh righteousness, then died Christ in vain: so also may we say; If by nature come righteousness, Christ died in vain. This spake he against the Pelagians, who affirmed, that The liberty of man was so great, that by nature only it could do things acceptable unto God. And Augustine warily transferreth that unto nature, which Paul spake of the law, and sheweth, that the self-same absurdity followeth both the one and other; namely, that the death of Christ is made in vain. For in very deed, there is no cause why the law bringeth not righteousness; but only because nature is corrupt and weak: wherefore, that which is spoken of the one, may rightly agree with the other. The same Augustine, upon the first chapter of John, expounding these words; Grace for grace: What is grace, saith he? He answereth; Even that which is freely given. What is grace freely given? That which is not rendered (saith he) as due: for if it were due unto thee, then it is a reward rendered; if it were due, thou wast good before. And also in his book *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, the seventh chapter: Let no man extol himself, as it is customably said; Therefore deserved he to believe, because he was a good man, and that before he believed: which thing seemeth to be written of Cornelius, since that he had faith, when he did good works. These words are so plain, that they have no need of declaration.

Chrysostom in his second homily, upon the first epistle unto the Corinthians; Where grace (saith he) is, there are no works; and where works are, there is no grace: wherefore if it be grace, why are ye proud? By what reason are ye puffed up? Chrysostom, according to the manner of Paul, doth

so oppose grace against works, that the one excludeth the other: so far it is off, that he will have grace to be given for works. Jerome upon the epistle to Philemon; It is grace (saith he) whereby ye are saved, and that by no merits or works. The same Jerome upon the epistle unto the Ephesians, expounding these words; By grace ye are made safe, through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God: Paul (saith he) therefore spake this, least that some secret thought should creep in unto us; if by our works we be not saved, yet undoubtedly by faith we are saved: so that in another kind, it is our own, as it were, and cometh of ourselves, that we are saved. All these testimonies sufficiently declare, that justification is given freely: neither can it be gotten by any merits or works going before.

Now resteth to declare out of the Fathers, how good works are to be esteemed. Undoubtedly they follow justification, as the fruits thereof, which spring and bud forth out of a true faith. Wherefore Origin saith in the same place, which we before cited, expounding these words unto the Romans; But unto him that worketh, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt: Wherefore (saith he) the root of righteousness, cometh not out of works, but works grow out of the root of righteousness. Which self-same thing Augustine affirmeth unto Honoratus, saying; From hence spring good works, because we are justified: and not because good works went before, therefore are we justified. And in his first book, and second question, *Ad Simplicianum*; Yea, and works (saith he) if there be any that be good, do follow that grace, as it is said, and go not before it. And therefore he addeth; If there be any good: because even the works of the regenerate, have in them much imperfection; and unless the righteousness of Christ, which is imputed unto the believers, were joined with those works, certainly they should not be good. The same father, in his 26th

chapter, *De spiritu & litera*, at large handleth that place to the Romans; Not the hearers of the law shall be justified, but the doers: and by many reasons he proveth, that good works follow justification, and go not before. To this also tendeth that, which Basilius writeth in his second book, *De spiritu sancto*; the 7th chapter, out of the words of the Lord; that First it behooveth that the tree be good, and then his fruits to be good: and that the Pharisees were to be reprov'd, which in their dishes and cups, made clean that which was without; Make ye clean (saith he) that which is within, and that which is without will be clean: otherwise, ye shall be compared unto painted sepulchers, which indeed without seem beautiful, but within are unclean, and full of dead men's bones.

42. Now let us come to the Councils, which nevertheless must be heard with choice and judgment. We ought to receive and reverence those councils only, which have framed their doctrine to the rule of the holy scriptures. Demosthenes in an oration against Androtion saith; that Decrees of the senate ought not to be made, but according to the prescript of those things, which are already determined in the laws. So in ecclesiastical councils there ought no new decrees to be made, as touching doctrine; but of those things only, which are either expressly named in the word of God, or else may assuredly and evidently be gathered out of it. First, we will begin with the African council, where, in the 80th chapter, a curse is pronounced against the Pelagians, who said; that The grace of justification is therefore given, that by grace we may the easilier fulfill that which we were commanded. As if even without grace, (although with more difficulty) we might by our freewill fulfill the commandments of God: when as yet the Lord speaking of the fruits of the commandments, said not: Without me ye can hardly do anything: but; Without me ye can utterly do nothing.

By these words are reproved the Papists of our time, which are not ashamed to say; that A man, before justification, may do the works, which are commanded in the law, and which do please God; and do prepare to regeneration. For what thing else is this, then with the Pelagians to say; that A man may even before justification perform the law, although not so fully and easily as after he is justified? And that is nothing which they say; to wit, that they put a certain grace preventing; whereby men not yet regenerate, may do those works which they call preparatory. For in speaking after this manner, they differ in name only from the Pelagians: for they also taught no less than these men do; that a certain grace of the law, and of the knowledge of the will of God, and of illumination goeth before, whereby a man understandeth what he ought to do. But as for the rest, they do attribute it to freewill; which thing these men do also. And that the Pelagians were of that opinion, the Milevitane council declareth, wherein it is thus written in the 4th chapter; We curse all them, which say, that the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, helpeth us only; for that by it is revealed and opened unto us the understanding of the commandments of God, that we may know what we ought to desire, and what to avoid: and that by it also is not given unto us to love, and to be able to do that which we know ought to be done. For whereas the Apostle saith; Knowledge puffeth up, but grace edifieth: it is a very wicked part to believe, that we should have the grace of Christ unto that which puffeth up, and not to that which edifieth: especially, seeing it is written in the 4th chapter of the 1st epistle of John; that Love is of God.

43. Moreover, in the second Arausicane council, the 4th chapter, it is thus written; that They resist the holy Ghost, which say, that the Lord waiteth for our will, seeing Solomon saith; The will is prepared of the Lord: and also in that Paul saith unto the Philippians; It is God that worketh in us both to will,

and to perform, according to his good will. And in the 5th chapter are reproved those, which affirm, that by the grace of Christ is given an increase of faith, but not the entrance or beginning thereof. For the beginning also of faith cometh by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, which correcteth our infidelity, bringing it from infidelity to faith; and from ungodliness to godliness. And the proof hereof is brought out of sundry places of the scriptures: for Paul saith unto the Philippians; I trust that he, which hath begun a good work in you, shall accomplish it in the day of the Lord. And again, in the same epistle; Unto you it is given, not only to believe in him, but to suffer for him. And unto the Ephesians; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God.

Moreover, they were accursed, which said; that The mercy and grace of God is given unto the willing, to the believers, to them that desire it, to them that endeavor to have it, to them that labor, to them that watch, to them that study, to them that ask, to them that seek, to them that knock; but would not confess, that by the infusion and inspiration of the holy Ghost, and by the gift of God is given unto us to have a will to believe, to endeavor ourselves, and to labor. They cite these testimonies out of the holy scriptures; What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why boastest thou, as though thou hast not received? And the Apostle writeth of himself; By the grace of God I am that I am. In the 7th chapter are condemned those, which deem, that by the strength and power of nature, we can think or attain unto anything that serveth to salvation; or that we can, without the illumination of the holy Ghost, give credit unto the words of God preached. This may be confirmed by the scriptures: for Paul saith; that We cannot think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God. Christ also saith; Without me ye can do nothing.

Also; Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee.

They also are cursed, which grant, the freewill is after some manner weakened and hurt; yet not so, but that men by it may be turned to salvation. Against these men the scriptures do openly reclaim: for the Lord doth say; No man cometh unto me, unless my father shall draw him. Paul also to the Corinthians; No man can say, The Lord Jesus, but in the spirit of God. This is an excellent sentence; God loveth us, being such as we shall be by his gift; and not such as we are by our own merit. And in the 13th chapter it is thus written; Freewill being lost in the first man, cannot be repaired; and because it is lost, it cannot be restored, but by him, by whom it was given at the beginning. Wherefore the truth itself saith; If the son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed. Further, in the 17th chapter is decreed, that The strength of the Ethnics cometh of worldly lust: which words declare, that their virtues (as we have before showed out of Augustine, and other fathers) were not true virtues; chiefly, forsomuch as they sprang out of an evil ground. But human lust comprehendeth whatsoever is possible to be found in men not regenerate. It followeth in the same chapter, that The love of God maketh the force and strength of Christians; which love is poured in our hearts, not by freewill, but by the holy Ghost, which is given to us, whereas no merits go before that grace.

And in the 25th chapter; We ought to preach, and to believe, that by the sin of the first man, freewill is so decayed and diminished; that no man afterward can either love God as he ought to do; or believe in God, or for God's sake work that which is good; unless the grace and mercy of God prevent him. Wherefore, just Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the saints in the old time, are in the epistle unto the Hebrews, said to have done

those things, which in the holy scriptures are mentioned to have been done by them: which faith we have before taught to come of God. And Paul writeth of himself; I have obtained mercy, that I may be faithful. But he saith not; I have obtained mercy, because I was before faithful: but contrariwise. And in the self-same chapter; This also we profitable confess, and believe, that in every good work, it is not that we ourselves do first begin, and afterward are holpen with the mercy of God: but that he first inspireth into us, both faith, and the love of him, and that without any of our merits going before. Wherefore we must without all doubt believe, that both Zacchaeus, and the thief, and also Cornelius, attained not to believe through nature, but by the gift of the bountifulness of God.

44. These things have I alleged out of the Arausican Council, peradventure more largely, than may seem to be convenient for this place. But for this cause have I the willinglier done it, for that I saw, that all those things, which are there affirmed, are confirmed by the holy scriptures, and do very much serve for our purpose. Such Council's (gentle reader) must be harkened unto, which cleave unto the word of God: for whatsoever commodity, or discommodity the church hath, the same ought wholly to be ascribed unto the observation, or contempt of the word of God. For in the old and ancient Council's, how were Arius, Eunomius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and other pestiferous heretics overcome, otherwise than by the word of God? For without doubt, they could never, by any other engines, be overcome and vanquished. And contrariwise, when began the church to give place unto abuses, and to superstitions; but when the word was contemned? And now in our times, unless the word of God had been sought for, and called again in a manner out of exile, how could we ever have been delivered from the tyranny of the Pope? Let these few things be a warning

unto us, not rashly to believe every Council: but let us receive those Council's alone, which have soundly confirmed the decrees of their doctrine by the scriptures. But that the thing, which I affirm, may be more manifest; let us bring forth the Council of Trent: that by the contrary, the truth may the better be understood.

In that Council, the fifth Session, from the fifth chapter unto the eleventh chapter, is entreated of justification. There these good holy Fathers, the hirelings of the Pope, do thus decree; that The beginning of justification is of grace. But what they there understand, they straightway make it plain. For thus they say; It calleth, and it stirreth up: they which are to be justified, are so holpen by it, that being called and stirred up, they give assent unto this grace; and work therewith, and are made apt to regeneration. But this assent and working together with it, they do attribute to free will, as the words do show. What else would Pelagius say, if he were now alive? For even he doubtless denied not grace, if thou take it for an admonition, calling, and stirring up. He also attributed this unto free will, that it had power to assent, and to obey the commandments of God. But the grace, which the holy scriptures set forth unto us, reneweth our understanding and will; and instead of a stony heart, giveth us a fleshy heart: for it doth not only counsel our reason, but also fully persuadeth it, and bendeth and changeth the will. Our men of Trent do grant indeed, that God toucheth the heart of man, by the illumination of the holy Ghost: but least a man himself should do nothing, they add; that man admitteth the inspiration, as he which may also refuse it. Wherefore, they fully conclude, that it pertaineth to man, to admit or receive; although they confess, that he cannot do that, unless he be called and stirred up by grace.

But how can the heart of man, unless it be renewed by the spirit and grace of God, receive those things, whereunto it is enemy, by reason of his nature, being yet corrupt and defiled? Assuredly, though it be never so much stirred up, taught, and moved; yet, unless it be utterly changed, it will continually refuse it, and resist. Wherefore Augustine, *Ad Simplicianum*, writeth very well; that, It is not in our power, to bring to pass, that those things, which are set forth unto us, should be acceptable and pleasant unto us. But that thing, which is neither acceptable nor pleasant, we choose not; though we be urged by admonishers. As if there should be offered unto a sick man, good healthful meats, and very pleasantly dressed; yet, because they are neither pleasant, nor acceptable unto him, he refuseth them: though there stand many by, which say unto him, that those meats are wholesome, and very well dressed. The self-same thing undoubtedly happeneth unto a mind not regenerate; except that, as touching the receiving of the grace of God, there can no violence be done unto the mind: but the sick person may be compelled to take meats, that are to him unpleasant. Wherefore, so long as our will and understanding is not changed by the spirit of God, it will not admit any healthful admonitions. And even as a sick person, before he be restored to health, neither abideth, nor gladly receiveth any meats, when they are offered him: even so the mind of man, unless it be changed from infidelity to faith, from impiety to godliness, (as saith the Arausican Council) it neither obeyeth, nor giveth place unto grace, which calleth, and stirreth it up: which thing nevertheless, the good Fathers of Trent do affirm.

45. But least they should seem to speak without scriptures, they bring forth two testimonies: the one out of the first chapter of Zechariah; Be ye converted unto me, and I will be converted unto you. This (say they) hath a respect unto the man, who is commanded; that even as touching

justification he should do somewhat. And Jeremiah saith; Convert us, O Lord, and we shall be converted: by which words is declared, that unto this conversion is also required the help of God. And by this means they divide the whole matter between God and man. But Augustine, and many other of the fathers, ascribe the whole act of our justification unto God only. But as touching this place of Zechariah, it may be expounded two manner of ways; first, that those are the words of the law commanding, and yet by them cannot be proved, that a man may be converted, unless God convert him. For of it Augustine thus writeth; Lord give that which thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Another exposition is this; In justification are two inward motions, whereof the one pertaineth unto reason, which (as we have said) hath need not only to be taught, but also to be persuaded, and to be forced to yield to the intent of the holy Ghost: the other motion pertaineth unto the will, that the same may be bowed to receive all those things which the holy Ghost promiseth and offereth. And this is the faith, by which we are justified, and whereby our sins are forgiven us.

But forsomuch as these things were done secretly in the inward parts of the mind, the prophet speaketh not of them, but rather spake of those that follow: for man, after he is once justified, beginneth to be converted unto good works. Wherefore he which before lived dissolutely and wickedly, now behaveth himself well and orderly: and being renewed with grace and the spirit, worketh together with the power of God. Of this conversion the prophet speaketh, when he saith; Be converted unto me. And God promiseth to heap up great benefits upon them: which is signified by this; And I will be converted unto you. For before, when he withdrew from them his benefits, and afflicted them with captivities, and other miseries, he seemed to be turned away from them. Wherefore the prophet spake not of the

inward justification, but of the outward conversion unto good works. But Jeremiah, when he said; Convert us Lord, and we shall be converted, had a respect to this inward motions of the mind, which we have now described. But our men of Trent, when they thus say, although they feign that they differ from the Pelagians, yet in very deed they can never prove it. They say, that they deny not grace, but in very deed they mean such a grace as the Pelagians would never have denied.

46. But let us see what degrees and what preparations these men appoint to justification. First (say they) a man which is to be justified, called, and stirred up by the grace of God, beginneth to believe those things, which are written in the holy scripture; then is he both smitten with the fear of sins, which he hath committed; afterward looking upon the mercy of God, he beginneth to hope well; this hope being conceived he loveth God, which love breedeth in him a certain detestation of sins, and a purpose to live well; lastly he receiveth baptism, or the sacrament of penance: and herein say they consisteth justification. For other things, which went before, were only preparations. But these men see not, that we ought far otherwise to judge of baptism. For the holy scriptures do teach, that Abraham was first justified by faith in uncircumcision; and then he received circumcision, as a seal of righteousness already received. This selfsame consideration, according to the analogy, must be kept in baptism: for our baptism answereth unto the circumcision of the fathers of the Old Testament. When these men say, that faith, the fear of God, hope, charity, detestation of sin, a new purpose of honest life, are only certain preparations unto justification; they decree that a man may be perfect, before he be justified.

Then they add the causes of our justification, and begin at the final cause; and that (say they) is the glory of God, and our salvation. The efficient

cause, they say, is God himself of his mere mercy. The meritorious cause (as they call it) they add to be Christ Jesus, by his death upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood: and hitherto indeed not amiss. The formal cause, they say, is the justice of God; not that justice, whereby he himself is just; but that which he communicateth unto us, whereby we truly both are counted just, and also are so indeed. By which words they understand the renewing of a man now regenerate, and his new forming by grace and the holy Ghost. The which things, that they are done in a man already justified, we deny not: but that justification consisteth therein, we cannot grant. For Paul hath affirmed it to stand in this point, that Our sins are forgiven us, and that they are no more imputed unto us. And to confirm this, he citeth a testimony out of David; Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. And also that saying in Genesis; Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. And to the end he might express the thing more plainly, he oftentimes in the self-same place useth this word [Imputation.] And therefore we say, that in that righteousness and instauration, (whereby we are fashioned anew by God) cannot consist justification, because the same through our corruption is imperfect, so that we cannot stand therewith before the judgment seat of Christ.

Further, they say, that this righteousness, whereby they will have us to be justified, is distributed unto every man by the holy Ghost, as it pleaseth him. This indeed may be; for the holy Ghost is the disposer and as it were the administrator in the distribution of the gifts of God. But they go on further, and say; According to the measure of the preparation: but this can by no means be borne withal. For we have before showed out of the fathers, and chiefly out of the holy scriptures, that all those things, which are done before justification, are sins; so far is it off, that they can merit, and prepare

unto justification. Further, these men do teach, that if justification be received, men can never be sure and certain of the same; but must needs be evermore doubting and full of care. And when we object, that this is to derogate from the truth of the promises of God, and the dignity of grace, they deny that to be true. For they say, that they doubt not of the promises of God; but when they look upon their own indispositions (as they call them) then at the length they begin of necessity to doubt. Certainelie, this is not to be marveled at: for if a man have a regard to his own unworthiness, he shall not only doubt of the promises of God, but also shall be most assured that he cannot be justified.

But the holy scriptures teach far otherwise: for they set forth unto us the example of Abraham, how that He, contrary to hope, believed in hope; and that he, when now he was well-near an hundred years of age, had no regard, either to the barrenness of his own body, or else unto the womb of Sara being past child-bearing: and that he stood not in a mammering through distrust, but was by faith confirmed, and most certainly persuaded, that God was able to perform whatsoever he had promised. This example teacheth us, that we ought not to have regard unto those things, which either may or seem to hinder our justification; but our faith ought utterly to be fixed in the words and promises of God. But contrariwise, these men will call us back to our own indispositions (as they call them,) and will have us therefore always to be in doubt of our justification. Indeed we ought not to dissemble, whatsoever imperfection or fault is in us; and that because it may be daily corrected and amended: yet ought we not therefore to be in doubt and wavering touching our justification, and the grace of God.

47. Now have we to prove the second proposition; namely, that a man is justified by faith: which we intend first to prove by testimonies of the holy

scriptures. Paul in the 1st chapter of the epistle to the Romans defineth the Gospel; that It is the power of God to salvation, to everyone that believeth. In these words is touched the efficient cause of our justification; namely, The power of God; and the end, which is, Our salvation; and also the instrument, whereby it is received, namely, Faith: for he addeth; Unto everyone that believeth. And this he confirmeth by a testimony of Habakkuk the prophet; in which sentence he was so much delighted, that he useth it both to the Galatians, and also to the Hebrews, in the self-same sense. He addeth moreover; The wrath of God was revealed from heaven, by reason of the knowledge of the philosophers, which did with-hold the truth of God in unrighteousness, and who, at such time as they knew God, glorified him not as God, but fell to the worshipping of idols. But contrariwise, in the Gospel is revealed the righteousness of God; namely, that righteousness, whereby men are justified from faith to faith: which phrase of speech, we have in his due place sufficiently expounded. Upon the third chapter; Now is the righteousness of God (saith he) made manifest without the law, the righteousness (I say) of God, by the faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all them which believe in him. And a little afterward; Wherefore, being justified freely by his grace, by the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a reconciliation, through faith in his blood.

Here also is not only showed the grace, by which God freely justifieth us; but also Christ and his death is set forth, that it may manifestly appear, that he is the reconciliator and the mediator. Whereunto is added faith, whereby we receive the fruit of his redemption, for the setting forth also of his righteousness in this time, that he himself might be just, justifying him which is of the faith of Jesus Christ. If men could by their works get unto

themselves righteousness, the righteousness of God should not then in such sort be declared: but seeing we perceive it is communicated to us by faith, without any preparation of works: it must needs seem unto us very great. And amongst other things, which God requireth of men, this is the chiefest; that they should not anything glory of themselves. But if justification consist of works, men might boast of their own travel and endeavor: but seeing we are freely justified by faith, there is no place left for boasting. Wherefore Paul saith; Thy boasting is excluded. By what law? By the law of works? No, but by the law of faith. Wherefore he concludeth after this manner; We judge that a man is justified by faith without works. And that we should not think that proposition to be particular, he declareth that it is universal; God (saith he) is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also the God of the Gentiles? Yes of the Gentiles also: for it is one God, which justifieth uncircumcision through faith, and circumcision by faith. Wherefore, even as there is but one God over all men; so justifieth he all men by one and the self-same way.

48. And in the fourth chapter he saith; But unto him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, faith is imputed unto him unto righteousness. By this sentence both works are excluded, and also faith is set forth; by which is imputed righteousness unto men. And straightway he addeth of Abraham, that He is the father of all them that believe, being uncircumcised; that it might also be imputed unto them, and that he is the father of circumcision, not only unto them which are of circumcision, but also unto them which walk in the steps of faith, which was in the uncircumcision of Abraham our father. Afterward by the nature of the promise he sheweth, that justification is by faith: for he saith; By the law was not the promise made unto Abraham and unto his seed, to be the heir of

the world, but by the righteousness of faith: for if those, which are of the law, should be heirs, then should faith be abolished, and the promise made void. In these words are two excellent things to be noted. The first is, that the promise is free, neither it is joined with the condition of works: and therefore, seeing faith, as a correlative, is referred unto the promise; it must needs follow, that it is such as the promise is: and therefore it hath a respect unto the promise by itself, and not to the condition of our untowardness, or indisposition, as the holy Fathers of Trent do teach. The second is, that if the inheritance and righteousness should depend of that condition of works, then had there been no need of the promise: for men might have said; Why is that freely promised unto us, which we may claim unto ourselves by our own endeavor and labor? Or why is it so necessary, that we should believe, seeing by our own works we can attain unto righteousness?

Afterward Paul addeth the final cause, why justification cometh by faith; By grace (saith he) that the promise might be firm: for if by our own works and preparations, we could be justified, the promise should always be unsteadfast, neither could we appoint any certainty of it. Afterward he putteth the example of Abraham, (who as it is before said) Contrary to hope, believed in hope: neither had he a regard unto those things, which as touching his own part, might have been a let unto the promise of God; namely, His own body (being now as it were dead, and a hundred years old) and the age of Sara his wife. These things sufficiently declare, what manner of faith that was, by which unto Abraham was imputed righteousness: so that thereby we may also understand the power and nature of faith, which justifieth. Paul also addeth, that by such a faith, is much advanced the glory of God. For when as nothing is attributed unto our works and merits, it must needs be, that the whole glory redoundeth unto God. Therefore Paul saith of Abraham; He gave the glory unto God, knowing this most fully, that whatsoever he had promised, he was able also to perform. And the more to express the certainty of faith, he useth this participle πληροφορηθείς; whereby he signifieth, that Abraham, with a certain most full assent, embraced the promise of God. And lest any man should think, that this was a proper and peculiar prerogative given unto Abraham; the apostle addeth an universal rule, and saith; that, It was not written for him only, that it was imputed unto him for righteousness: but also for us, unto whom it shall be imputed, so that we believe in him, which raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, which was delivered for our sins, and rose again for our justification.

Further, out of the fifth chapter, we have also another testimony; Wherefore (saith he) we being justified by faith, have peace towards God, through Jesus Christ, by whom we have access through faith, into this grace

wherein we stand. Here are two things to be noted; the one is, that we are justified by faith, and that by grace; the second is, that unto this grace is not an entrance made open by preparations, or works which dispose us; but only by faith. In the eighth chapter are set forth, as it were certain steps and degrees, by which we must come to eternal salvation; Whom he hath foreknown (saith he) those also hath he predestinated, that they should be like fashioned unto the image of the son of God, that he might be the first begotten amongst many brethren. And whom he hath predestinated, those also hath he called; and whom he hath called, those hath he justified; and whom he hath justified, those will he also glorify. Here are reckoned up five degrees; foreknowledge, predestination, vocation, justification, and glorification: in which, as touching our purpose, let us consider what cometh between vocation, and justification. And that is nothing else but faith: for as much as vocation is wrought by the promise of justification, and of salvation, the same is received by faith, giving assent thereunto.

49. Towards the end of the 9th chapter, there is set forth, the difference between the Jews and the Gentiles; and a reason is given, why the Gentiles obtained righteousness, and not the Jews. For thus Paul saith; What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, which followed not righteousness have taken hold of righteousness, which is by faith? But Israel, which followed righteousness, attained not unto the law of righteousness, because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by works. What can there be more manifest than these words? For they declare, that they, which will be justified by faith, do obtain righteousness; but those, which do aspire unto it by works, do labor in vain. This self [same] thing he proveth, even from the beginning of the tenth chapter, where he describeth two kinds of righteousness; the one, which he calleth ours, which consisteth of works;

the other, which he calleth the righteousness of God, which is taken hold of by faith. And thus he writeth; They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own, did not submit themselves to the righteousness of God. Hereby it is manifest that they which will establish their own righteousness; that is, the righteousness of works, do fall away from the righteousness of God. Paul goeth on, and more plainly openeth the nature of these two kinds of righteousness; Moses (saith he) thus writeth of the righteousness, which cometh of the law: The man, which doth these things, shall live by them. By these words he showeth, that the righteousness of the law consisteth in works.

But of the righteousness, coming of faith, he thus speaketh; Say not thou in thy heart, Who shall ascend up into heaven, to fetch Christ from thence? Or who shall descend into the deep, to fetch up Christ again from the dead? But what saith he? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart? The same is the word of faith, which we preach, which word he that believeth in his heart, and with his mouth confesseth the Lord Jesus Christ, shall be saved. Hereby we see, that not the righteousness of the law, which is had by works; but the righteousness of faith is it which bringeth salvation. And this is by the latter words more manifestly confirmed: for in that there is added; With the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth is confession made unto salvation. The latter clause touching confession, which seemeth to be an outward work, is therefore added; least we should think, that the faith, whereby we are justified, should be idle: for it is not a vain and barren faith, such a one as our adversaries dream that we obtrude. It hath most plentiful and most abundant fruits, amongst which the profession of godliness obtaineth the first place, and is most necessary.

Hereunto Paul addeth a testimony out of the prophet; He which believeth in him, shall not be made ashamed. They are commonly ashamed, which, contrary to their expectation, are frustrated of that, which they hoped to have obtained. Wherefore the meaning is; He which believeth in Christ, and by this faith waiteth for salvation, shall not be put to shame: because he shall not be frustrated of his hope. He addeth also another testimony, taken out of the prophet Joel; Whosoever doth call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: in which words the promise of salvation seemeth to be ascribed unto invocation. But Paul profitably teacheth (as I have before oftentimes said) when promises seem to be adjoined unto works, we must always run from them, unto the root and foundation, namely unto faith. So Paul in this place, when he had said; Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved, straightway addeth; How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed? So he resolveth the whole matter from invocation, into faith. And that we should not think, that faith by his own power hath anything, whereby it can justify; he again passeth from it unto the object, saying; How shall they believe without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? Also; Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Wherefore the uttermost point of the resolution, is the word of God, and the promise touching Christ; from whence, as from the fountain, is derived our salvation and justification.

In the 11th chapter is set forth the Antithesis or contrary position between incredulity and faith; which seemeth very much to confirm that which we now teach. The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in: this was an objection of the Gentiles against the Jews. Paul answereth; Thou sayest well, because of unbelief they were broken off: but thou standest by faith. Here is given the reason of the fall and destruction of men; and on the

other side, of salvation and constancy: namely, unbelief, and faith. And of the Jews, which should one day be restored, he addeth; And if they abide not still in their unbelief, they shall be again grafted in; for God is of might to graft them in. Here we see that by departing from unbelief, which consisteth in believing; men that have fallen are restored. This maketh very much against the error of those, which although they after a sort confess, that the first justification is given freely, without any works going before; yet unto men that have fallen, they grant not restitution unto justification, but by satisfaction and many works preparatory.

50. These things out of the epistle unto the Romans. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter it is thus written; Because the world, in the wisdom of God, knew not God by wisdom, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Because the wise men of this world (saith the apostle) by their natural searching out, could not take hold of the wisdom of God, whereby they might be saved; God of his goodness hath instituted a contrary way: namely, the preaching of the Gospel, which unto the flesh seemeth foolishness, that by it salvation should be given unto men; but yet not to all sorts of men, but to those only that believe. Wherefore in the second to the Corinthians, the 1st chapter, it is thus written; By faith ye stand: by which words we understand, that the foundation, whereby we are confirmed and established in the way of salvation, is faith. Further, Paul to the Galatians, the 2nd chapter, where he reproveth Peter for his simulation, whereby he seemed to lead the Gentiles to observe the ceremonies of the Jews, thus speaketh; If thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews; why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? For we, which are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not

justified by the works of the law, even we believe in Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. Here we see, that the apostles therefore followed Christ, that they might be justified by faith; which they could not obtain by works. And afterward; In that that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith in the son of God: which is all, all one, as if he should have said; As yet indeed sin sticketh in my flesh, and in it I carry death about: but yet notwithstanding I have life, not through mine own merit, but by the faith of the son of God.

In the 3rd chapter he thus writeth; I would know this of you, Received ye the spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? And straightway he addeth; He which ministereth unto you the spirit, and in you worketh miracles, doth he the same by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? By these words we see, that it is faith, and not works, whereby we take hold of the gifts of God. And he addeth; Ye know that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham: and that undoubtedly, for no other cause, but for that in believing they do follow and resemble him. Wherefore (saith he) The scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, showed beforehand glad tidings unto Abraham, saying; In thee shall all nations be blessed. This blessing spread not abroad unto them, because they had their beginning of the flesh of Abraham; but because they followed the steps of his faith. Otherwise of Abraham, as touching the flesh, came not (as far as we can read) any other nation than the Ishmaelites, Edomites, and Israelites. Then followeth the conclusion; Therefore they which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham. But To be blessed, in the Hebrew phrase is nothing else, then To receive the gifts of God; amongst which, justification is the most principal.

Wherefore it followeth, that Unto the Gentiles, through Christ, might come the promise made unto Abraham, that we might receive the promise of the holy Ghost through faith. So then we see, that the promise of the holy Ghost is not taken hold of by works, as many fain it is. Which thing even reason sufficiently declareth: for, seeing the Lord (as it shall a little afterward be declared) had by promise given this blessing unto Abraham; we must see what is referred unto the promise as a correlative; which (as we have said) can be nothing else, but faith: for faith setteth forth unto itself the promises of God as an object.

51. Paul furthermore addeth, that The scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ should be given to them that believe. This is the cause why the holy scriptures so diligently show unto men, how they be guilty of sins; namely, that they should the more be stirred up to embrace the promises of God by faith: at the least, when they have not good works, whereby they might take hold of them. And this understand we by that, which is afterward written; The law is our schoolmaster unto Christ, that we should be justified by faith. These words signify nothing else, but that the law therefore showeth sins, and setteth forth unto men their infirmities, and stirreth up their lusts, whereby sins are more and more increased; that they being thus admonished, should return unto Christ; and might from him, thorough faith receive righteousness. Which thing they undoubtedly did, of whom it was said; Ye are all the children of God by the faith of Jesus Christ. For what is it to be the sons of God, but because we have already obtained adoption; which we obtain only by regeneration or justification? And in the fourth chapter; Brethren (saith he) we are, after the manner of Isaac, children of the promise. But to be children of the promise, is nothing else, but to believe those things which

God promiseth; whereby we are made his children, according as he hath promised we should be. For so was Isaac born unto Abraham, not by the strength of nature, but by the benefit of the promise of God.

In the fifth chapter he writeth; We in the spirit look for the hope of righteousness by faith. In this place are two things touched; the spirit of God, whereby we are new fashioned and renewed unto salvation; and faith, whereby we apprehend righteousness. Wherefore in this matter of our justification, although there be in our minds many other works of the holy Ghost; yet none of them, except faith, help to justification. Whereupon the apostle concludeth; Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but only faith, which worketh through love. Hereof only dependeth justification, of this faith (I say) not being dead, but living, and of force. And for that cause Paul addeth; Which worketh by love. Which yet ought not so to be understood, as though faith should depend of love; or hath of it (as they use to speak) her form: but for that, when it bursteth forth into act, and will show forth itself, it must of necessity do this by love. So the knowledge of any man dependeth not hereon, for that he teacheth other men; but by that means it is most of all declared. But if any perfection of these actions of loving and teaching redound unto faith and knowledge, that cometh of another cause; and not for that they depend of it, or thereof have their form, as many Sophisters have dreamed.

52. In the epistle to the Ephesians the 2nd chapter, it is thus written; By grace ye are made safe through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God. And after that, in the third chapter; That according to the riches of his glory, he would grant you, that ye may be strengthened with might in the inward man by the spirit, that Christ may dwell in your heart by faith. He that hath Christ in him, the same hath without all doubt righteousness:

for of him Paul thus writeth unto the Corinthians, in the former epistle, and the first chapter; Who is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, holiness, and redemption. Here therefore it is showed, by what means Christ dwelleth in our hearts; namely, by faith. Again, Paul in the third chapter to the Philippians; That I might be found (saith he) in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is of the faith of Jesus Christ. Here that righteousness, which is of works, and of the law, he calleth His: but that which is of faith, and which he most of all desireth, he calleth The righteousness of Jesus Christ. Unto the Hebrews also it is written in the eleventh chapter; The saints by faith have overcome kingdoms, have wrought righteousness, and have obtained the promises. These words declare how much is to be attributed unto faith: for by it the saints are said, not only to have possessed outward kingdoms; but also to have exercised the works of righteousness; namely, to have lived holily and without blame, and to have obtained the promises of God.

And Peter, in his first epistle, and first chapter; By the power of God (saith he) are ye kept unto salvation through faith. In these words are signified two principal grounds of our salvation; the one is, the might and power of God, which is wholly necessary for us to obtain salvation; the other is faith, whereby, as by an instrument, salvation is applied unto us. John, in his first epistle, and fifth chapter; Everyone (saith he) which believeth that Jesus is Christ, is born of God: but, To be born of God, is nothing else, than to be justified, or to be born again in Christ. It followeth in the same chapter; This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our faith. By which testimony is declared, that the tyranny of the devil, of sin, of death, and of hell; is by no other thing driven away from us, but by faith only. And toward the end of the self-same chapter, it is said; And these

things have I written unto you, which believe in the name of the son of God, that ye might know, that ye have eternal life, and that ye should believe in the name of the son of God.

53. Now let us gather out of the evangelists, as much as shall serve for this present question. Matthew, in his eighth chapter, saith; That Christ exceedingly wondered at the faith of the Centurion, and confessed, that he had not found such faith in Israel: and turning unto him, said; Even as thou hast believed, so be it unto thee. Here some reply, that, This history, and such other like, entreat not of justification; but only of the outward benefits of the body, given by God. Howbeit, these men ought to consider, that sins, which are in us, are the causes of the griefs and the afflictions of the body. For, only Christ excepted, who utterly died an innocent; all other, forsomuch as they are subject unto sin, do suffer no adversity without just desert. And although God, in laying of his calamities upon us, hath not always a respect hereunto, (for oftentimes he sendeth adversities, to show forth his glory, and to the trial of all those that are his:) yet none, whilst he is so vexed, can complain that he is unjustly dealt withal: for there is none so holy, but that in himself he hath sins, which are worthy of such like, or else of greater punishments. And where the cause is not taken away, neither is nor can the effect be removed. Wherefore Christ, forsomuch as he delivereth man from diseases of the body, manifestly declareth, that it was he which should justify men from sins.

And that this is true, the self-same evangelist teacheth us in the 9th chapter: for when he that was sick of the palsy, was brought unto Christ to be healed, he saith that Christ answered; Be of good cheer my son, thy sins are forgiven thee. At which saying, when as the Scribes and Pharisees were offended, to the end they should understand, that the cause of evils being

taken away, even the evils themselves are taken away: He commanded him that was sick of the palsy to arise, and take up his bed and to walk. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth, that Christ, by the healings of the bodies, declared himself to be even he that should forgive sins: and that even as those healings were received by faith, so also by the same faith are men justified, and receive the forgiveness of sins. And in the same 9th chapter it is declared, that Christ answered unto the two blind men, which were very importunate, and most earnestly desired to be healed; Do ye believe that I can do this for you? And when they had made answer that they believed, he said; Even as you have believed, so be it unto you. And when our savior was going to the house of the ruler of the synagoge, to raise up his daughter from death, there followed him a woman, which had an issue of blood; which woman was endued with so great faith, that she thought thus with herself; that If she might but touch the hem of his garment, she should straightway be made whole. Wherefore Christ answered her; Be of good confidence daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. But why Christ adjoined confidence to faith, we have before declared in the beginning of this question, when we declared the nature of faith: for we taught, that that assent, wherewith we take hold of the promises of God, is so strong and so vehement; that the rest of the motions of the mind, which are agreeable unto it, do of necessity follow. In Luke also is set forth the history of that sinful woman unto whom the Lord thus answered; Thy faith hath made thee safe: signifying that he, for her faith sake, had forgiven her, her sins. And that the faith of this woman was very fervent, she declared by the effects; In that she loved much, in that she kissed his feet, in that she washed them with her tears, and wiped them with her hear.

54. In the Gospel of John, the third chapter, Christ said unto Nicodemus; So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that he which believed in him, should not perish, but have eternal life. And in the self-same chapter, John Baptist thus speaketh of Christ He which believeth in the son; hath eternal life; but he which believeth not, hath not life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. Out of which place we gather, not only that we presently entreat of; but also this: that they, who are strangers from Christ, and believe not, can do nothing that may please God: and therefore they cannot merit of congruity (as they call it, and as our adversaries affirm the grace of God.) And in the sixth chapter, Christ saith; This is the will of him that sent me, that he which seeth the son, and believeth in him, hath eternal life: and I (saith he) will raise him up at the last day. And when he had before said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father draw him: also; He that hath heard of my father, and hath learned, cometh unto me: afterward he addeth; And he which believeth in me, hath eternal life.

In the eleventh chapter, when Christ should raise up Lazarus, he saith unto Martha; He which believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and he which liveth, and believeth in me, shall not die forever. And in the 17th chapter; This is eternal life, that they acknowledge thee the only true God, and whom thou hast sent Jesus Christ. But this is to be noted, that here he speaketh not of a cold knowledge, but of a mighty and strong faith: wherefore if it be eternal life, then shall it also be justification. For justification and life are so joined together, that the one is oftentimes taken for the other. And in very deed, justification is nothing else than eternal life now already begun in us. And in the 20th chapter; These things (saith he) are written, that ye should believe, that Jesus is the Christ; and that in believing ye should have eternal life. In the Acts of the apostles, the 15th

chapter, it is thus written; By faith purifying their hearts. In which place Peter speaketh of the Gentiles, that they should not be compelled unto the works of the law of Moses, forsomuch as Christ had without them given unto them the holy Ghost, and had by faith made clean their hearts from sins. Paul also in his oration to king Agrippa said, that He was called of Christ to be sent unto the Gentiles which should by his ministry be illuminated, and by faith receive remission of sins, and lot amongst the saints. And these testimonies hitherto we have gathered out of the New Testament.

But if I should out of the Old Testament rehearse all that which maketh to this purpose; I should then be over tedious. And if there be any of so obstinate a heart, that those things, which we have already spoken, cannot force them to confess the truth; neither should it anything profit such men, if we should bring many more testimonies: wherefore a few shall suffice. And besides those testimonies, which Paul cited out of the 15th chapter of Genesis; Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness: out of Habakkuk; The just man shall live by his faith: out of David; Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven: out of Isaiah; Everyone that believeth in him, shall not be confounded: and a few other such like. Besides these testimonies (I say) I will cite the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, wherein Christ by most express words is painted forth. For there He is said, to have taken upon him our sorrows, and to have borne our infirmities, to have given his soul a sacrifice for sins; and many such other things: which are so plain, that they can be applied unto none other, but only unto Christ Jesus our savior. And it is said moreover; And by the knowledge of him, shall my righteous servant justify many, and he shall bear their iniquities. These words do teach, that Christ justifieth many;

namely, the elect by the knowledge and perfect understanding of him: which knowledge undoubtedly is nothing else, but a true faith; and that he also in such sort justifieth them, that he taketh upon himself, and beareth their iniquities. And Jeremiah in the fifth chapter writeth; O God, have not thine eyes a regard unto faith? As if he should have said; Although thou seest all things, and there is nothing pertaining unto man hidden from thee, yet hast thou chiefly regard unto faith, as unto the root and foundation of all good actions. And as touching the oracles of the scripture, this shall suffice.

55. Now will I answer such objections, as are commonly brought against this second proposition. And we will begin first with Pighius, because our adversaries count him for their Achilles, or chief champion; and think, that he only, by his subtle sharp wit, hath pierced even into the secretest mysteries of the truth. And this man useth this cavillation: Ye are not justified by that, from which this justification may be separated; for it is not possible, that the causes should be pulled away, or separated from their effects: But faith is separated from justification; for many that believe, do notwithstanding live most shamefully; so far is it off, that they seem to be justified. But because he thinketh that this may be denied; he bringeth a reason to prove, that it is not against the nature and definition of faith, but that justification may be separated from it. And he maketh an objection, out of the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. By these words he concludeth, that faith may be separated from charity; and therefore from all good works. He citeth this also out of Matthew; Many shall come in that day, and shall say, Lord in thy name we have prophesied, and have cast out devils, and have wrought signs. But unto them shall answer be made; I know you not. These signs (saith Pighius) cannot be

done without faith. Wherefore, seeing that they are shut forth from the kingdom of heaven, which do yet these things; it is clear, that they were not justified: wherefore in them faith was separated from righteousness.

But this he thinketh, is much more plainly confirmed by John: for he saith; That many rulers of the priests believed in Christ, which yet durst not openly profess him. But they, which fly from the confession of the name of Christ, are far from salvation: for Christ himself saith; He that is ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my father. These arguments, although at the first sight, they seem to have some show; yet if a man more narrowly examine them, he shall see, that that well agreeth with them, which Epictetus pronounceth of his books τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ ὄνειρων νέρθερων φαντάσματα; that is, These are but sights, or ghosts of the dreams of hell. Wherefore we must diligently ponder these reasons, and not judge of them by the first sight. And even as in coins of money, we use not so much to have a regard unto the inscriptions, or images; as to the goodness and weight of the matter: so also in arguments ought we to weigh and regard, not so much the show and color of them; as the thing itself, and the strength of them. We first deny, that faith can be separated from justification. And whereas Pighius saith, That that is not repugnant unto the nature and definition of faith; we in no wise admit it: for against that opinion are all the holy scriptures, and the true sense of the definition of faith, and also the Fathers.

For as touching the scriptures, John saith; He that believeth that Jesus is Christ, the son of God, is born of God: and he which is born of God, sinneth not. For so long as faith beareth sway in our hearts, we commit not those sins, which destroy the conscience, and alienate us from God. How then saith Pighius, that it is not against the nature of faith, to be separated from

justification, and from good works; especially, seeing John saith; He which sinneth, knoweth not God? This thing also saw the Fathers: for Cyprian, *De simplicitate praelatorum*, (where he complaineth of the ungraciousness of his time, for that charity, fear, good works, and such like were waxen very cold) thus writeth; No man thinketh upon the fear of things to come, no man considereth the day of the Lord, and the wrath of God, and that upon the unbelievers shall come punishments, and that everlasting torments are appointed for the unfaithful: of which things our conscience would be afraid, if it believed; but because it believeth not, therefore is it utterly without fear; and if it believed, then also would it beware; and if it did beware, then also should it escape. These words declare, that with true faith is joined the fear of God, and the eschewing of eternal punishments, and avoiding of sins. Now let Pighius go and say, that true faith can be separated from holy motions of the mind, and from good works. This self-same thing doth Jerome together with Cyprian affirm against the Luciferians; And if (saith he) I believed truly, I would cleanse that heart, wherewith God is seen; I would with my hands knock my breast, I would with tears water my cheeks, I would have in my body a horror, I would be pale in mouth, I would lie at the feet of my Lord, and would wash them with weeping, and wipe them with my hairs: I would undoubtedly cleave fast unto the stock of the cross; neither would I let go my hold thereof, before I had obtained mercy. Hereby also it is manifest, that with true faith are joined good works and repentance.

56. But as touching the definition and nature of faith, it may easily be proved, that it cannot be separated from justification, and from good works; that is, from his effects. For faith is no common, but a firm and vehement assent, and that proceeding from the holy Ghost. And if a poor caitiff being

condemned to die, should receive a promise only at the hand of a man, that he should be delivered, and should give credit unto those words; straightway his mind would wholly be changed to mirth, and would begin inwardly to love the man that promised him such things, and would pleasure him in what thing so ever lay in his power. How much more is to be attributed to the true faith, which is given to the word of God, and is inspired by the spirit of God? Wherefore if that human faith do draw with it wonderful motions of the mind; how can we say, that the true and Christian faith is naked without good works, and destitute and alone? Wherefore we now plainly see, both by the holy scriptures, and by the fathers, and by the definition and nature of faith; that it cannot be separated from righteousness, and from godly works. Now let us come to Paul: he saith; If I have all faith, &c. But how knoweth Pighius, that Paul there speaketh of that general faith, which cleaveth unto the promise of God, and justifieth: and not rather of a particular faith, whereby are wrought miracles, and which is a free or gracious gift of the holy Ghost? This faith is not applied to all things which are found in the holy scriptures; but only is a certain vehement confidence, whereby we certainly believe, that God will do this miracle, or that miracle. Of this faith Chrysostom interpreteth Paul in this place.

And to the end that of this distinction either part might have a peculiar name; the one they call The faith of doctrine; the other, The faith of signs and miracles. And unto this latter faith, Chrysostom applieth these words; If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain; Get thee hence, and hurl thyself into the sea: and it shall be done. Neither undoubtedly can it be denied, but that there is such a kind of faith: for Paul, in the 22nd chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, when he

rehearseth up the free gifts which the holy Ghost distributeth unto every man, as pleaseth him, thus writeth; Unto one is by the spirit given the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit, and to another is given faith by the same spirit, and to another the gifts of healing by the same spirit. Here we see, that amongst the free gifts of the holy Ghost is reckoned faith, and that in the third place: the which Paul would not have spoken of the general faith, whereby we are justified. And if we diligently piece these things, we shall see that Paul keepeth the self-same order in the 13th chapter of the 1st to the Corinthians. For as here in the first place he putteth the word of wisdom, so there he putteth prophesying: and as here in this second place he putteth knowledge, so there also in the self-same place he putteth knowledge: and as here, so also there he putteth faith in the third place: and as here the gift of healings and of miracles followeth faith, so doth it there the removing of mountains. And therefore those things, which Paul hath spoken of a particular faith, ought not to be wrested to the universal and justifying faith: for that is to make a false argument, which they call *A secundum quid, ad simpliciter*; to wit, From that which is in some respect, unto that which is absolutely. As if a man should say, This faith may be separated from justification, which is called faith *Secundum quid*; to wit, in some respect: Ergo, the true faith, and the justifying faith, which is called faith *Simpliciter*, that is, absolutely, may be separated from justification. If a man should so compare two several kinds, that he will ascribe one, and the self-same property unto either of them, he shall soon be deceived.

57. But Pighius saw, that by this easy and plain exposition, all his reasoning might be overthrown; and therefore he went about to wrest it out of our hands, forgetting in the meantime, that the author and patron thereof

is Chrysostom. And to infringe it, he useth this argument; Paul manifestly saith, All faith; wherefore we may not understand it of any singular faith. For the Apostle maketh an universal proposition. But this man ought to know, that universal propositions are to be strictened and abridged unto that matter, whereof the words are meant and spoken. And although this might be declared by many examples, yet at this present only one shall suffice us. Paul in that self-same epistle unto the Corinthians, the 1st chapter, saith; that He giveth thanks unto God for them, that they were enriched in all kind of speech, and in all knowledge. And it is not very likely, that they were by the spirit of Christ endued with natural philosophy, with metaphysical and mathematical knowledge, with knowledge of the law, and with other liberal sciences; but only with all knowledge which should pertain unto piety, and unto the gospel. Neither is it likely, that they by the power of the holy Ghost were adorned with all kind of Rhetorical, Logical, Poetical, and Historical speeches; but only with those which should pertain unto the edification of the church, with sound doctrine and godly admonitions. Wherefore propositions, although they be universal, yet are they not always to be understood simply; but ought sometimes to be abridged unto the matter, which at that time is entreated of.

So likewise that, which Paul saith; If I have all faith, we understand of all that faith, which serveth unto the working of miracles. And that in this sort they must be taken of necessity; the words following do declare: for Paul straightway addeth; So that I can remove mountains. Chrysostom also saith; that He in that universality saw, that this particular sentence is of necessity to be understood: for he saith; that It may be doubted, how Christ saith; that to remove mountains, a little faith is sufficient, which is in smallness of quantity resembled to a grain of mustard seed, when as Paul saith; If I have

all faith, so that I can remove mountains: as though to bring that to pass is required a wonderful great faith. He thus expoundeth the question, and saith; that Christ spake of the truth and nature of the thing: for the gift of faith, although it be never so small, sufficeth to work miracles, be they never so great. But Paul had a respect unto the common opinion and judgment of men: for they, when they look upon the greatness and hugeness of a mountain, think that it cannot be removed without a certain incredible efficacy and greatness of faith.

Neither helpeth it much Pighius his cause, that Erasmus making answer unto the Sorbonical doctors, rejecteth this our interpretation. For first his reason is very weak, and secondly false: for he saith, that The purpose of the apostle was to praise charity by comparison. But what praise should that be (saith he) if it should be compared with faith, which is one of the free gifts of the holy Ghost; and may light as well upon the wicked, as upon the godly? For he should but coldly praise a man, which would say, that he is better than a dog or a bear. First, this is false, that Paul compareth not charity with free gifts of God: for he maketh mention of prophesying, of knowledge, and of the gift of tongues; and preferreth charity before them. Secondly, it is weak that he saith; that if our interpretations be received, the apostle should compare charity only with free gifts: for we confess, that toward the end, he compareth it with the true faith. For Paul saith, There are three things; faith, hope, and charity: but the chieftest is charity. And he bringeth a reason why; For it abideth, and the other shall cease. Further, it is a full comparison, if (as we have said) we begin at the free gifts, and so afterward come in order to the virtues Theological; yea rather by that, that Paul, toward the end of the chapter, compareth charity with true faith, it is most likely that he did not so before.

But if we should fully grant this unto Pighius, that that faith, whereof Paul speaketh, is the general faith, whereby men are justified; yet neither so undoubtedly should he obtain his purpose. For the apostle going about by all manner of means, to set forth charity, thought to amplify that same by a fiction or feigning; which is a figure of Rhetoric, known even unto children. And yet doth not Paul therefore bring a false proposition: for he useth a conditional proposition, which may not resolve into a categorical proposition; and yet notwithstanding is the truth in the meantime kept. As if I should say unto any man; If thou haddest the life or use of the reasonable soul, without the life or use of the sensible soul; thou shouldest not be troubled with perturbations of the mind. No man could reprove this kind of speech as false: and yet it is not possible, that in a man the life and use of the reasonable soul should be severed from the sensible. Such kind of speeches also are found in the holy scriptures: as for example; If I shall ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I descend down into hell, thou art present; and if I take the feathers of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost ends of the sea, thither shall thy right hand lead me. These sentences are true: and yet it is not possible, that a man should take unto him the feathers of the morning. After the same manner we say; If a man should separate faith from charity, he should make it unprofitable: though in very deed it cannot be separated from charity.

And that Paul in that place used such an excess of speech or fiction, that evidently declareth, which he a little before spake; Though I should speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am like to sounding brass, or a tingling cymbal. But we know, that angels have neither bodies nor tongues; and yet notwithstanding Paul speaketh truth, that If they had tongues, and I should speak with them, yet that should nothing profit

me without charity. And this exposition Basilius confirmeth in an epistle *Ad Neocaesarienses*: for he saith, that The apostle minded in this place, to commend charity; and he saith, that he useth those reasons, not that all those things, which he here maketh mention of, can be separated from charity. Wherefore, of the former interpretation, we have Chrysostom for an author: and the later interpretation Basilius confirmeth. Let Pighius go now, and of this saying of the apostle conclude, if he can, that which he contendeth so much about.

58. But as touching those words of Matthew; Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied, and in thy name cast out devils, &c. Which things Pighius denieth, can be done without faith; and yet they which have done them, are not justified; seeing they are excluded from the kingdom of heaven. We may answer with the self-same solution, which we have now brought; namely, that they, whom Matthew maketh mention of, had the faith of signs, or a dead faith, but not a true and justifying faith. Moreover, I see not how true this is, that miracles cannot be done without faith: for God sometimes worketh miracles, not for his faiths sake, by whom they are done; but either to advance his glory, or to give testimony unto true doctrine. Undoubtedly, Moses and Aaron, when they stroke water out of the rock of strife, wavered in faith; and yet God, that he might stand to his promise, with a great miracle, gave water unto the people, and reprov'd Moses and Aaron of infidelity. And Naaman the Syrian doubted of recovering his health, in the waters of Jordan; yea also, he would have gone his way, for that he said, that the rivers of his country were much better than Jordan: and yet notwithstanding, God left not his miracle undone. And when the dead body was cast into the sepulcher of Elisha, by a great miracle it came to pass, that at the touching of the dead bones of the prophet, life was restored unto it.

But there was no faith there, neither in the dead corps, nor in the bones of the prophet, nor in them which brought the dead man thither.

And yet not always is it granted unto them that desire to do miracles, that they should do them, when faith is absent: for in the Acts we read, that when the Exorcists, which were the sons of Scaeva the high priest, would have cast out devils in the name of Christ, whom Paul preached, the devil answered; Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye? And straightway he ran upon them. Here we see, that God would not give a miracle, when it was asked; as it is most likely, by wicked and unbelieving men. Howbeit, contrariwise in Mark the 9th chapter, that a certain man did cast out devils, in the name of Christ, who yet followed not Christ: and when John would have reproved him, Christ suffered not John so to do. By this Pighius might have seen, that to the working of miracles, is not always required faith. And yet, if I should grant him, that faith is of necessity required; thereunto were sufficient, either the faith of signs, or else a dead faith. Wherefore Pighius, in his second confirmation, proveth nothing: for it hath nothing in it that is found.

59. Now let us examine his third proof. John saith; Many of the princes believed in him, but they confessed him not, for fear they should be cast out of the synagoge: and therefore they were not justified by faith. This reason is but a waterish reason, and not so strong, as he thinketh it to be: for we deny, that they believed truly. For that assent of theirs was nothing, but a human assent: for when they saw, that by Christ were wrought wonderful works, and that his doctrine was confirmed by most evident signs; they began by a certain human persuasion to give credit unto him. The devil also, for that he certainly knoweth many things done by God, assenteth unto the truth, and believeth it: and yet it is not to be thought, that he is by a true

faith induced to believe. And that these rulers had not the true and lively faith, hereby it is manifest, that Christ said unto them; How can ye believe, when ye seek for glory at man's hand? By which words we understand, that they, which more esteem human glory, than godliness, cannot believe truly in God. And those princes were to be numbered amongst them: for they so much did set by their estimations, and the judgments of men; that rather than they would be cast out of the synagoge, or yet be noted of any infamy with the people, they would forsake the confession of the name of Christ. Wherefore, when as the Lord saith; that Such cannot believe; and John affirmeth, that They did believe: it is manifest, that they spake of a diverse and sundry faith; unless we will say, that two contradictories, may both at one and the self-same time be true. Wherefore John spake of a human faith, but Christ of the sincere and true faith: which true faith ought to be joined with confession, as Paul declareth, saying; With the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth, man confesseth to salvation. He which seeth the connection between righteousness and salvation; must needs also see the conjunction, which ought to be between faith and profession. Wherefore we say, that their faith was a dead faith; but a dead faith is not a faith, no more than a dead man, is a man.

60. Although Smith, in a certain little book of justification, which he wrote against me, contendeth that a dead faith is a faith: which he proveth, chiefly by this argument; for that he by body of a dead man, although it be dead, is notwithstanding a body. And this good wise man wonderfully delighteth in this his similitude: in which yet he hath uttered a sophistical argument, not disagreeing from his study and skill. For let us a little examine this notable similitude. I would have him to answer me, whether a carcass be the body of a dead man, or simply the body of a man? I think he

will not answer, that it is the body of a man: for the body of a man, and a dead carcass, do differ much the one from the other; and that in very deed, more than two particular kinds, which are of one, and the self-same general: for that they are contained under diverse general kinds, from which they come next, and as it were lineally descend. I grant, that the carcass of a dead man is a body, in the general nature of substance, as are stones, stocks, and such other like; but that it is in very deed the body of a man, I utterly deny. For death taketh away from the body of a man the proper form and nature, which he had before; but it leaveth the general nature only, so that it may be called a body. Even so, true and justifying faith, when it is lost, or ceaseth to be a true and proper faith, it may indeed, as touching the general word, which doth betoken all kind and nature of faith, be called a certain cold assent, sprung of human persuasion; and not such as cometh of the holy Ghost, and which hath the self-same strength and efficacy that it had before. Wherefore, if on either side be kept the self-same proportion of the similitude, this wonderful subtle shift shall make nothing against us: for as we confess, that a dead body is a body; so we grant, a dead faith is a faith: so that by faith we understand the general kind, which comprehendeth all sorts of faith; and not that lively and true faith, whereby we are justified.

This reason is, as they call it, *Paralogismus aequiuocationis*, that is, a false argument coming of a word of diverse significations. He addeth moreover, that faith cannot justify; because of his own nature it is a thing dead, and receiveth life of another thing; namely, of charity, and of good works. These objections are vain and trifling: for none that is in his right wits will grant, that true faith is a dead thing; for, The just man is said to live by his faith. And if out of faith we draw life, how can it then unto any man seem dead? But that it taketh life of another thing, we deny not: for it

hath it partly of those things, which it believeth; namely, of Christ, and of the promises of God; and partly of the holy Ghost, by whose breathing it is inspired. In this sort we will grant, that it hath life of another thing, but not in that sort that this man will; namely, that it hath it either of charity, or of good works. For what man, that is well in his wits, will ever say, that either the stock of a tree, or the branches, or the fruits, or the flowers, do give life unto the roots? And faith is before either hope or charity; therefore of them it receiveth not life: for in very deed, faith cannot be the matter of these virtues. And even as that faculty or power of the soul, whereby we live, and are quickened, which they call Vegetative, giveth life to the body, and receiveth not life of the faculty or power sensitive, whereby we feel; or rational, whereby we understand; the which doth follow: even so faith giveth life unto the soul, but taketh not that life either of charity, or of good works. Howbeit, I grant, that that life of faith is made so much the greater and ampler, as it hath more and better works, and more fervent charity breaking forth of it: not that it is increased by doing of many actions, as they say of virtues, which they call moral; but because God, of his grace and mercy, multiplieth the talent, for that it was not idle: and because God by his power bringeth to pass, that faith, when it worketh through love, is stronger than itself, when it doth not so.

61. But omitting these things, let us return again to Pighius. He, as much as lieth in him, laboreth to prove, that a man cannot be justified by that faith, which is in Christ, and in the remission of sins: for that faith (saith he) whereby Abraham was justified, was not applied unto these things. For God promised unto him only a plentiful seed, and possession of a country: and straightway is added, that Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. In this argument, Pighius doth scorn and triumph in

words, against the truth, and utterly derideth this our opinion and judgment: but this is nothing else, then to deride Paul himself. For he, by most express words, affirmeth; that We are justified by faith in Christ, and by the remission of sins. Neither is there anything else in Pighius, then a mere madness, and a wicked desire to contend. But let Paul come forth, and answer for himself, what he thought to be understood by the seed promised unto Abraham. Undoubtedly, in his epistle unto the Galatians, the third chapter, he calleth that seed, Christ; Unto Abraham, (saith he) were the promises made, and unto his seed. He saith not, And unto the seeds, as speaking of many; but, as it were of one, and in thy seed, which is Christ. And this testament, I say, was confirmed by God towards Christ. Let Pighius now yet believe Paul, that in that seed, which was promised unto Abraham, was Christ comprehended and meant: neither let him from henceforth with such malapertness, and desire of victory, take upon him to say, that the faith, whereby Abraham was justified, was not faith in Christ. But as touching the remission of sins, forsomuch as unto us is promised the blessing; we ought to remember, that the chief and principal point thereof, consisteth in this; that we should be received of God into favor, and that our sins should be forgiven us. But Pighius goeth on manifestly to oppugn the doctrine of the apostle touching the justification of Abraham: for he saith, that Before Abraham was circumcised, and had a testimony of the scripture, that his faith was imputed unto him unto righteousness. He believed God, as it is manifest in the 12th chapter of Genesis: wherefore (saith he) according to this opinion of yours; he was then justified: neither was his righteousness deferred, until that history which is written in the 15th chapter. It is wonderful to see, how much he attributeth unto these his arguments; as though by them were taken away from us all possibility to answer.

What I beseech you letted, but that Abraham might be justified at that first time, when God spake unto him first; to go out of his country, and from his kindred? For even in the self-same place at the beginning of the 12th chapter, we read the self-same promises, which are in the 15th chapter. For thus God promised him; I will make of thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing: I will also bless those that bless thee, and will curse those that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. Undoubtedly in these words is contained the promise of Christ, and the remission of sins. And therefore there shall be no absurdity, if we say that Abraham, by believing of those words, was also justified. But because the scripture in that chapter did not plainly set forth this; therefore Paul with great wisdom hath cited those words which are spoken in the 15th chapter where it is expressly written; that Faith was imputed to him for righteousness: which saying was most necessary to confirm the sentence of the apostle, namely, that A man is justified by faith. But why God would renew the self-same promises, it is not hard to see; so weak is our mind, that except the words of God be repeated, and again and again driven into us, it easily starteth back from faith. Neither doubtless is justification once only taken hold of, but is so often apprehended, as we truly and mightily assent unto the promises of God: for seeing we continually slide, and fall into sins; we have need evermore that our justification should be renewed.

62. Afterward he cavileth, that in the epistle unto the Hebrews, are many things found touching faith; and many wonderful acts spoken of, which have been obtained by it: but yet not one word spoken, that justification is to be ascribed thereto. But this man with an unjust pair of balance weigheth the words of the holy scripture; neither sufficiently considereth what those

words mean; The just have by faith overcome kingdoms, have wrought righteousness, have obtained the promises: for these are so to be resolved, that from the last effect, we must return unto the first. The last is, To overcome kingdoms; the next, To work righteousness; the first, To obtain the promises: among which promises, are reckoned blessing, life, remission of sins, and such other like, which serve to justification. Wherefore that which is first made mention of, faith apprehendeth, and by it we are justified: afterward follow good works, and therefore it is said; And they wrought righteousness: lastly, by the self-same faith we obtain temporal good things, and for that cause it is said; They have overcome kingdoms. So then Pighius falsely affirmeth, that in the epistle unto the Hebrews, among the effects of faith, is no mention made of justification: for, although that word be not there read; yet it is of necessity and manifestly gathered of those things that are there written. For we verily are not Arians (as some wickedly belie us) that we will grant nothing but that which is by plain and express words read in the holy scriptures: for we grant those things also, which are by evident and plain arguments gathered out of them. But Pighius afterward demandeth, Why we take away from works, the power of justifying? Unto this we could make answer in one word, that we do it, because the holy Ghost in the scriptures so teacheth us; namely, that Men are justified by faith without works.

But to the end we should not so briefly dispatch it, he hath laid a block in our way: for he answereth unto himself, that the cause thereof, is, for that our works are imperfect; neither satisfy they the law of God, neither also can they stand sure before the judgment seat of God. But by this means also (saith he) we may affirm, that justification is not of faith: for it also is imperfect; for there is no man believeth so much as he should do. But unto

this we answer as we have in other places oftentimes answered; that faith, as it is a work, justifieth not: for it hath that effect and fruit, not by any power of his own, but by his object, that is, by that which it doth regard, and layeth hold upon: for from the death of Christ, and the promises of God, is righteousness derived unto us. So a beggar receiveth alms with a leprous, weak, and sore hand; and yet not in that respect that his hand is in such sort weak and leprous. But thou wilt say; Why do not other good works also by their object (namely, by God, for whose sake they are done) apprehend righteousness, as well as faith? I answer, that faith was to this use made and instituted by God: for even so in the body of a man, although it have diverse and sundry members; yet the hand only taketh hold and receiveth. And so is easily dissolved that common, lewd, and false reason; We are justified by faith; Faith is a work; Ergo, we are justified for works sake. Here, in the conclusion, is stuffed in this word For, which was not in the former propositions; and therefore the collection is not good. Further, the form of the reason is, as they call it, *Ab accidenti*, so that it is faulty: for it is an accident, or happeneth to faith, to be out work, in that it justifieth us. Wherefore it is a fallacy or deceitful reason (as the Logicians term it) of the accident.

Besides, Pighius objecteth, that charity justifieth rather than faith; for that it is the nobler and more excellent virtue. But this reason we have before confuted as ridiculous; Charity is more nobler than faith, Therefore it justifieth rather than faith. For nobility or dignity serveth nothing to justification. For it is all one, as if a man would thus reason; The eyes are more excellent than the mouth, and the hands; Ergo, meats are to be received with the eyes, and not with the mouth or the hands. Which also we see happeneth in natural things, that things which follow, are of more

perfection, although they give not life. In the child conceived, nature ascendeth, as it were by degrees, from the power of quickening, to the power of feeling; and from the power of feeling, to the power of understanding: and yet doth it not thereof follow, that the powers of understanding or of feeling, for that they are more noble than the power of quickening, do therefore give life unto the child. And that to justify, rather pertaineth unto faith, than unto charity (besides that the holy scriptures do teach the same) it may also be showed by good probable reasons: for the power of knowledge, which pertaineth unto understanding, consisteth in perceiving. And therefore they, which are taught anything, after they once understand it, are accustomed to say; *Accipio*, or *Teneo*; that is, I take it, or, I hold it. For in very deed, by knowledge a thing is after a sort received into the mind; wherefore it ought not to seem strange, that by faith we are said to take hold of the promises of God, and the merits of Christ. But charity consisteth in pouring out, bestowing, and communicating our goods unto others; which thing ought to follow justification, and not to go before: for, before that we are regenerate, we are evil; neither can we uprightly, or in such sort as God will allow of it, communicate any good thing unto others.

63. Hereunto Pighius addeth, that If so be faith, which justifieth, suffereth not with itself heinous sins, which may spoil the conscience, and alienate a man from God; it must needs follow, that if a man which believeth, do chance to fall into any grievous and wicked crime, he is straightway destitute of faith, and ceaseth to believe that there is a God: when as yet notwithstanding we see, that wicked men do not only believe that there is a God, but also do confess all the articles of the faith. This argument at the first sight seemeth to be very terrible: but suffer not thyself gentle reader to be deceived with a vain show; examine it well, and try it diligently, and

thou shalt find it is a weak and ridiculous argument. We grant, that a man that is by sins and wicked facts alienated from God, may assent unto the articles of the faith, and believe that there is a God. But this good man should have taught further, that the same is done by the motion and impulsion of true faith. There may indeed be left to a wicked man, a certain human persuasion, either by education, or by opinion; because he thinketh it to be most likely. But least any man should think, that this that I say, is of mine own inventing; namely, that a man which grievously sinneth, is destitute of the true and justifying faith; let him rather consider what Paul saith. For he unto Timothy saith; He which hath not a care over his own, and especially over his household, hath renounced faith, and is worse than an infidel. Doubtless, he which renounceth faith, hath not faith. And unto Titus he saith; They confess they know God, but in deeds they deny him. To confess, and to deny, are things contrary: wherefor it must needs be, that forsomuch as both are spoken of the same men, they are to be taken in diverse senses. Wherefore they may have faith, that is, a certain human opinion, such as it is: but yet not that firm and forceable assent, inspired by the holy Ghost, whereof we now entreat.

John saith in his first epistle, and second chapter; He which saith that he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. So then the true faith, whereby we believe truly in God; is not without good works. Neither ought it to seem unto any man absurd, that one and the self-same thing may be known diverse ways: for the devil also, as well as we, both knoweth and confesseth many things touching Christ: whom yet Pighius doubtless (as I suppose) will not grant to be endued with the true faith, whereby we are persuaded to believe those things, which we confess of Christ. It is possible also, that one skillful in the Mathematics,

may assent to someone conclusion confirmed and proved by demonstration; which demonstration if he chance afterward (as oftentimes it happeneth) by reason of age, or some disease to forget, he will not yet for all that cease to affirm that proposition, which he before knew: but this he will do by opinion, or some probable argument; and not (as he before did) by demonstration. Therefore the knowledge of one, and the self-same thing, doth not of necessity infer the self-same ground and principle of knowledge. And let these things be spoken only as it were by supposition, as though we granted that opinion, which held, that after a man hath committed any great, heinous, and wicked fact, true faith is lost; which yet in the elect is afterward, by the benefit of God, again recovered: otherwise it may be said, that in men justified, and also appointed of God unto salvation, faith cannot, through the committing of any heinous crime, be utterly extinguished, but as it were cast into a sleep, and lie hidden; neither break out to show his life by good actions, unless it be again stirred up by the holy Ghost: for in such men as have so fallen, the seed of God still abideth, although for a time it bringeth not forth fruit.

But Pighius goeth on, and saith; Faith is the foundation; Therefore it is far from the perfection of the building; so then it justifieth not: for unto justification many other preparations are required. If by this perfection of the building, he understand the blessed resurrection, and chief felicity, wherein we shall see God face to face; we grant that faith is very far from it: for we must, by many tribulations, adversities, and grievous labors, come to the kingdom of heaven. But after the self-same manner we may say, that justification also is only the foundation of that eternal salvation; and that it is also far from the blessedness which we look for. For the first degree unto salvation, is to be received of God into favor, and to be regenerated through

Christ: and afterward do follow other degrees, whereby we come unto that chief and sovereign blessedness, which we look for. But where this man found, that faith is only the foundation; he cannot teach out of the holy scriptures: except peradventure he will bring the same out of the epistle unto the Hebrews; Faith is the substance of things that are hoped for. But by those words is nothing else meant, but that those things, which we hope for, are by faith upholden and confirmed in our minds; which would otherwise waver, neither should they by any means stand fast. But this maketh nothing at all to this purpose. And if in case he will cite this also; that, He which will come unto God, ought to believe; we have already before answered thereunto: and peradventure we will afterward in due place speak somewhat more as touching the same.

64. Well, now when he by so many means hath gone about to overthrow our doctrine; let us hear at the length what he himself affirmeth, and unto what things he attributeth the power of justifying. There are (saith he) many preparations, and dispositions required in us that we may be justified. First (saith he) we believe the words of God; afterward we are afraid of his wrath; after we hope for mercy; then we detest sins. To be brief, he reckoneth up all those things, which we before declared, under the name of the Council of Trent. But lastly he saith, that there succeedeth a sincere and pure love of God, which altogether beareth dominion in our hearts: and unto this he saith, is ascribed justification. I cannot enough marvel at the devise of this man: for he affirmeth, that a man is in a manner perfect, before he can be justified: for he which believeth, feareth, hopeth, repenteth, and sincerely loveth God; what wanteth he to perfection? But this man affirmeth, that a man being without Christ, being a stranger from God, and not yet justified; is able to accomplish those things. Which undoubtedly in

no wise agreeth with the holy scriptures, for they teach, that a man, before he is justified, is occupied in evil works, and wandreth in the hatred of God: as it is manifest in the epistle to the Colossians, the first chapter: and to the Ephesians, the second chapter. But how can they, by whom are wrought so excellent works, as this man maketh mention of, be the children of wrath? How can they be sinners? How can they, as it is written to the Romans, be the enemies of God?

But omitting these things, let us see what are the grounds of this opinion. First he citeth out of John; He which loveth not, abideth in death: and thereby he concludeth, that of love is had justification and life. This is all one, as if a man should say; He which cannot laugh, is not a man: therefore, by the power of laughing, a man obtaineth to be a man. But how absurd this is, every man may perceive: for, to be men, we have it of the soul endued with reason; unto which soul, forsomuch as the power of laughing is of necessity joined, this proposition which we have brought, is ever true: He which cannot laugh, is not a man. So is that most certain, which John saith; that He which loveth not, abideth in death: although he have not life, of love, but of faith, wherewith love is of necessity joined. He citeth also those words of Christ; If ye had God to your father, doubtless ye would love me: Therefore (saith he) of love we have the adoption, whereby we are made the children of God. But here also he useth the self-same form of reasoning: for they, which love not Christ, are not the children of God: and yet are we not the children of God, in respect of that love; but for faiths sake, from whence love springeth. After the self-same manner, a man might say; If thou wert liberal, thou shouldest also be prudent; and this indeed is a true proposition: and yet it followeth not, that a man is by liberality made prudent: yea much rather, of prudence springeth liberality. To be brief, these arguments, and

such other like, do conclude nothing else, than that justification cannot consist without love, and other Christian virtues. And, yet it cannot thereof be rightly gathered, that a man is justified for these virtues sake.

Pighius addeth moreover this sentence of Christ; If any man love me, he will keep my commandments, and I and my father will come unto him, and make our abiding with him. By these words it appeareth (saith he) that justification followeth of love, and the observing of the commandments of God: for those being observed, Christ promiseth, that he will come with his father, and abide with us. For he meaneth, that, To receive and to retain Christ, is nothing else, then To be justified. And we grant, that when Christians being now regenerate and justified, do live uprightly, and by good works show forth their faith; God cometh unto them and plentifully poureth in them greater gifts, and more ample grace. For God, although otherwise he be everywhere; yet it is expressly said, that he cometh unto them, in whom he beginneth to work new works. And since he daily increaseth and adorneth his, which behave themselves uprightly and godly, and faithfully exercise the talents committed to them; it is very well said, that he daily cometh unto them, by reason of new gifts. And this is that kind of visiting, whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel of John. But if we will know the first access of God, and the coming of Christ into our hearts to dwell in them, Paul teacheth it us unto the Ephesians: for thus he writeth; That Christ may through faith dwell in our hearts. Wherefore this sentence of Christ teacheth not, that justification cometh of love: for justification goeth before it, although not in time, yet in order.

65. Pighius goeth on, and maketh such a distinction of testaments; that some he saith are absolute and free, whereby the heir may straightway enter upon the inheritance; other some are conditional, which make no heir, but

upon certain conditions: and to this latter kind he referreth the testament of God. And therefore he earnestly affirmeth, that except those conditions be performed, none can be justified. Here we deny that which he affirmeth; namely, that the testament, touching the remission of sins in Christ, hath any condition joined with it. Which thing Paul testifieth in his third chapter to the Galatians, when he thus writeth; Brethren, I speak according to the manner of men: though it be but a man's testament, yet, when it is confirmed, no man doth abrogate it, or add anything thereunto. Now to Abraham were the promises, and to his seed: he said not To the seeds, as speaking of many; but as of one, and in thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, that the law, which began four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul the testament, before approved of God, towards Christ, that it should make the promises of none effect. These words most plainly declare, that the testament, which God made with Abraham, was pure and absolute, and without any condition of the law. And this do the very words of Genesis declare: For God once promised unto Abraham the blessing. Afterward was given the law, which unto those promises should add conditions of precepts; so that if men would be justified, and obtain them, they should know that they ought to perform and accomplish all the commandments of God. But this latter way of justification, although it can by no means be accomplished, cannot let, or make void the first way. But that first way was nothing else, but the Gospel through Christ; and that men should the more willingly come unto it, there was set forth also the latter way of justification by works, that men, when they understood that they were not able to perform them, should fly unto Christ, of whom, when they being justified endeavored themselves to live uprightly, they might freely receive the promises set forth in the law.

Now let us see what those conditions be, which this man doth add unto the testament of God. In the 103rd Psalm it is written; The mercy of the Lord is from generation to generation upon them that fear him; and his righteousness upon children's children upon those that keep his testament, and are mindful of his commandments to do them. Of these words Pighius gathereth, that the fear of God, the mindfulness of the testament of God, and the endeavor to perform his commandments, are the conditions of the promises of God. But here I do not a little marvel, that Pighius would affirm, that a man is justified by love; when as he confesseth, that the holy scriptures do attribute the same unto fear. But we will not let Pighius to be against himself. Howbeit if we will hearken to the scriptures in the 32nd Psalm, mercy is promised unto them that hope: for thus it is written; And him that hopeth in God, mercy shall compass about. Also in another place it is written; He which believeth, shall not be confounded; and he which calleth upon the name of the Lord, shall be made safe. But who seeth not, that all these virtues are in a man already justified; and that God hath mercy upon him? But here lay all the controversy, unto which of these virtues chiefly justification is to be ascribed. Undoubtedly by the testimony of the scriptures the same must be attributed unto faith. Pighius saith moreover, that in that condition which David named, is said that they should be mindful of the commandments of God, to do them. There (saith he) is not added; To do all the commandments: God receiveth a man which endeavoreth himself to do them, and of his mercy he forgiveth many things. But this that is written; To do them, must of necessity be understood of all: for doubtless in the law, which this man calleth the testament, are written all. And if God forgive or remit anything, he doth it unto men already regenerate; and not unto them that are strangers from him, and children of

wrath: such as they must needs be, which are not as yet justified, but do still prepare themselves, and are bent to perform the conditions; unto these (I say) nothing is remitted: wherefore they are bound unto all. And therefore Moses said, as Paul testifieth; Cursed be he which abideth not in all things which are written in the book of the law.

66. Further, he maketh a contention also about the springing as it were, and bringing forth of faith: and demandeth from whence it hath his beginning in us. We in one word easily answer, that it hath his beginning of the holy Ghost. But he feigneth himself to wonder, how we grant the holy Ghost unto a man before he doth believe: for he thinketh that to be absurd. First, I cannot devise, how this man should so much wonder at this: but afterward I perceive, that he manifestly teacheth and maketh with the Pelagians, that faith is of ourselves, and that it is gotten by human power and strength: for otherwise, if he believe that it is of God, and of the holy Ghost, he should not separate the cause from his effects. But that he may not think that we, without good reason, do attribute unto the holy Ghost the beginning of faith; let him hearken unto the most manifest testimonies of the scriptures. Paul saith in the first epistle unto the Corinthians; Not in the words, which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost teacheth; that your faith should not be of the wisdom of men, but of God. And in the same place; The carnal man understandeth not the things that are of God, neither can he: for unto him they are foolishness; for they are spiritually discerned. But how can they be spiritually discerned, except the spirit of God be present? Children also know, that from *Conjugata*, words that are coupled as it were in one yoke, are derived firm arguments. And to the Galatians; God (saith he) hath sent his spirit into our hearts, whereby we cry; Abba, Father: for by the spirit we believe, and in believing we call

upon God; yea and The spirit himself (as it is written to the Romans) beareth testimony unto our spirit, that we are the children of God. And unto the Ephesians; Be ye strengthened by the spirit, in the inward man, that Christ may by faith dwell in your hearts. Here we see, that that faith, whereby we embrace Christ, cometh of the spirit of God; whereby our inward man is made strong. The apostles, when they said; Lord increase our faith, manifestly declared, that it sprang not out of their own ableness and strength; but by the inspiration of almighty God.

And Paul in the 1st to the Corinthians, the 12th chapter; Unto one (saith he) is given the word of wisdom, unto another the word of knowledge, unto another faith, and unto another the grace of healing. And then he addeth, that It is one and the self-same spirit, which worketh all these things, dividing unto every man as pleaseth him. And if thou wilt say, that this place, and the foresaid petition of the apostles pertaineth unto the particular faith, by which are wrought miracles; doubtless I will not be much against it. And yet, if thou wilt needs have it so, I will reason *A minori*, that is, From the less: for if these free gifts are not had, but from the spirit of God; much less can that universal and effectual faith, whereby we are justified, be had from elsewhere. Further, Paul unto the Romans; Unto everyone (saith he) as God hath divided the measure of faith. And in the last to the Corinthians; Having (saith he) the self-same spirit of faith, even as it is written; I have believed, for which cause also I speak. We also believe and speak, that God, which raised up Jesus from the dead, shall through Jesus raise up our bodies also. Unto the Galatians are reckoned up the fruits of the spirit; Charity, joy, peace, patience, lowliness, gentleness, faith, meekness, and temperance. Faith here is numbered among the fruits of the spirit; wherefore it proceedeth of the spirit. But unto the Ephesians he saith more

manifestly; By grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God. And in the Acts of the Apostles it is thus written; The Lord opened the heart of the woman that sold silks, to give heed unto those things which Paul spake. And in the 13th chapter; They believed, as many as were predestinate unto eternal life. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that faith is engendered in our hearts by the holy Ghost: who indeed may for all that be had of them, which believe not; but yet as persuading only, and not as sanctifying them. And although into the elect he suddenly poureth in faith; yet forsomuch as he is the cause of faith, he is therefore before it both in dignity and in order.

67. Now let us see what absurdities Pighius gathereth out of this our sentence and judgment. If the spirit (saith he) be the author of our faith, and useth the instrument of the word of God, and may be also in them that believe not; how cometh this to pass, that when as there are many at one and the self-same sermon, whereas both the spirit is present, and the word preached, yet part do believe, and part believe not? We answer in one word; that that cometh, because the spirit is not of like efficacy in all men; neither doth after one and the self-same manner teach all men inwardly, and in the mind. But of his will we cannot render any cause; although we nothing doubt, but that it is most just. If the matter be so (saith he) the hearers will easily content themselves; neither will they put to their endeavor or study: for they know, that that is in vain, when as it wholly dependeth of the spirit of God. This is not only a very common, but also an envious objection. But we answer, that all men are bound to believe the word of God; and therefore their bounden duty is diligently and attentively to hearken thereunto, and with all their strength to assent unto it: and if they so do not, they shall then incur the punishments of the law. Neither are they to be hearkened unto, if

they shall say, that they could not obey it; or if they would have gone about to have proved what their strength could have done; their endeavor, for that they were not as yet justified, should have been in vain and sin. As if a master should bid his servant, which is lame, to walk; and he would excuse himself, and say, that he were lame, and could not go without great deformity: it is not to be thought, that therefore he is excused. We are not of that mind, to think, that all sins are alike: nay rather, we teach that they, which omit or neglect those outward works, which they might perform, and put not to their endeavor and study to do well; do much more grievously sin than they, which according to their strength and power, observe some outward discipline. And as Augustine saith; Cato and Scipio shall be much more tolerably dealt with, than Catiline or Caligula.

But I would have Pighius himself, whom our opinion so much misliketh, to declare, when he thinketh that the holy Ghost is given unto men. He will answer; when as now these preparations have gone before, when a man hath believed, feared, hoped, repented, and sincerely loved. What thing else would Pelagius say? As though to believe, to love, and such other like, do spring of man's strength. He alledgeth this also, and thinketh it to make for his purpose; Come unto me all ye which labor, and are laden, and I will refresh you. For he thinketh, that labors, burdens, contrition, confession, and (as they call it) satisfaction, fasting's, tears, and such other like, do make to the obtainment of justification. But this place is to be understood far otherwise: for Christ calleth them laboring and laden, which were oppressed with the law, and felt their own infirmity, and the burden of their sins; and which had now long time labored under human traditions. These men being now weary, and in a manner without all hope, the Lord calleth unto him: for they are more apt and fit for the kingdom of heaven, than are

other blessed and quiet men, which by their own works and good deeds, do think themselves very just. God (saith Pighius) requireth works preparatory; and then he promiseth not to fail them of his grace. This was wholly the opinion of the Pelagians. Against which the holy scriptures are utterly repugnant: for they teach, that It is God which giveth both to will, and to perform, according to his good will; that it is God which beginneth in us the good work, and accomplisheth it even unto his own day; that it is God from whom only we have sufficiency: when as otherwise we are not able to think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves. Wherefore it is manifest, that Pighius confoundeth the laws of God, and describeth those things which are well set forth in the holy scriptures.

68. Further, when as we say, that unto justification, it is not sufficient to have an historical faith; he feigneth himself to marvel what manner of historical faith we understand. For if (saith he) they call all those things, which are written in the holy scriptures, an history; will they bring to us another faith, whereby we may believe those things which are not written in the holy scriptures? But we reject not an historical faith, as though we would have some new objects of faith, besides those which are set forth in the holy scriptures, or are not out of them firmly concluded. But we require not a vulgar or cold assent, (such as they have, which are accustomed to allow those things which they read in the holy scriptures, being thereto led by human persuasion, and some probable credulity; as at this day the Jews and Turks do confess and believe many things, which we do) but an assured, firm, and strong assent; and such as cometh from the moving and inspiration of the holy Ghost, which changeth and maketh new the heart and the mind, and draweth with it good motions and holy works. In this manner we say, that that faith, which is of efficacy, differeth very much from an

historical assent. And that we are by that faith, which we have now described, justified; we have three manner of testimonies: the first is of the holy Ghost; Which beareth witness unto our spirit, that we are the children of God: the second is of the scriptures: the third is of works. But contrariwise, they which hold and cry, that a man is justified by works, have no sufficient testimony: for the holy Ghost testifieth it not, the holy scriptures deny it: only works are brought forth, and those without godliness and faith; such as were in times past the works of the old Ethnics, and are at this day the works of many, which believe not in Christ, and be strangers from God.

But it is worthy to be laughed at, that he hath cited also a place out of the 66th chapter of Isaiah, by which only, though there were no more places than it, his cause is most of all overthrown; Unto whom (saith God) shall I look, but unto the poor man, unto the contrite heart, and unto him that trembleth at my words? By these words Pighius thinketh are signified those works, whereby God is drawn to justify us. But the matter is far otherwise: for the scope of the prophet was, to detest the superstition of the Jews; for they neglecting the inward godliness of the mind, trusted only to outward ceremonies. Wherefore this did God by the voice of the prophet condemn, and declared how odious it was unto him; Heaven (saith he) is my seat, and the earth is my footstool. As if he should have said; I nothing pass upon your temple, which ye so much boast of: for Heaven is my seat, such a seat as you cannot frame to make; And the earth adorned with all kind and variety of plants, living creatures, herbs and flowers, is my footstool. Where then shall be that house, which ye will build for me? And where shall be my resting place? And straightway, to declare that it is not the temple built with hands; All these things (saith he) hath mine hand made, and all these things

are made, saith the Lord. By which words we learn, that God delighteth not in these things, and in outward ornaments, and sumptuous buildings for their own sakes: but chiefly requireth faith and inward godliness of the minds, that he may dwell in them.

And who be indeed faithful and godly, is declared by their certain and proper notes. Whosoever is poor, and seeth himself to want righteousness; and whosoever is contrite of heart, that is to say, afflicted in this world; whosoever is of a mild and humble spirit, and not of an arrogant and proud spirit; whosoever with great reverence and fear receiveth the words of God, he most justly may be numbered amongst them. These are sure tokens, and as it were the proper colors of faith and true godliness. Afterward the prophet declareth, how much God esteemeth the works of men that believe not; and are not as yet regenerate, though these works be never so goodly to the show. He which killeth an ox (saith he) it is all one, as if he should kill a man; and he which sacrificeth a sheep, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's flesh; and he that maketh mention of incense, as if he blessed iniquity. All these kinds of oblations and sacrifices were commanded, and appointed in the law of God; which yet being done of an unclean heart, and one that is estranged from God, were counted for most grievous sins. Wherefore Pighius hath nothing out of this place, whereby to defend his error: but we by the self-same place do most aptly and most truly confirm our own sentence. Now this is a notable and sharp disputer, which bringeth for himself those things which make so plainly and manifestly against himself.

69. But he snatcheth at this also out of the epistle unto the Hebrews; that He which cometh unto God, ought to believe, that there is a God, and that he rewardeth them which seek unto him. By these words it seemeth, that he

would conclude, that justification is given unto them who seek God; by good works. But he ought to have made a distinction of them that seek God, which thing Paul also did; to wit, that some seek him by works, and other some by faith. This distinction Paul sheweth; neither leaveth he unspoken what followeth of it: for thus he writeth unto the Romans; Israel, which followeth after righteousness, attained not unto the law of righteousness; because they sought it of works, and not of faith. Wherefore they which seek God, to be justified of him by faith, as the apostle teacheth, do attain unto that which they desire: but they which will be justified by works, do fall away from justification. And that God rewardeth works, which are done of men regenerate, and by which they hast forward to the crown of eternal salvation; we deny not. But that pertaineth not to this question: for at this present the contention is not about this kind of works; but only about those things, which are done before regeneration. Those Pighius laboreth to prove, that they have their reward, and to be merits (after a sort) of justification. Neither, doth this anything help his cause, when he affirmeth, that this kind of merit redoundeth not unto God; or maketh him debtor unto us, or is equal unto that which is rewarded: for these things, although unto him they seem to serve only to extenuate the dignity of merits; yet do they utterly take away all the nature of merit. For whatsoever good thing men do, yea even after justification, the same is not properly theirs, for God worketh it in them. Moreover also, all that, whatsoever it be, was already before wholly due unto God: neither can we do anything that is good, or give anything unto him which is not his. Wherefore we must take away all merit, not only in them which are not as yet justified; but also in them that are justified.

But Pighius, the easilier to persuade, putteth forth a similitude of a certain master, which hath many servants; unto whom, to the end they should the more diligently and speedily accomplish some work, which he setteth them to do, he appointeth a reward. Who (saith he) will deny, but that those servants, which speedily and diligently have finished their work, have deserved the reward that was promised? We will briefly examine what may be concluded by this similitude. If by servants we understand men regenerate in Christ, we will grant, that God setteth forth prices and rewards, whereby we are stirred up to live holily. Neither will we deny, but that such may be said to receive a reward: but yet we will not grant, that they truly and properly merit the crown of eternal felicity. And certain of our writers, to declare, that this thing pertaineth unto the justified, do use a similitude, not of a master and his servants, but of a father and his children. For fathers are wont oftentimes, with some certain condition to promise a gown, a cap, or money unto their children; which although otherwise they would freely give unto them, yet with some condition they do it, to quicken their endeavor: as for example; that they shall have this or that thing, after they have once thoroughly learned this or that book. Here no man, that will speak as he should do, and properly, will say, that these children, when they have finished their work, have deserved the gifts which were promised unto them: for the father freely and of his free liberality giveth and bestoweth the same upon them. But Pighius entreateth of servants, that is, of men not as yet regenerate. But that unto such are by God set forth any rewards of good things, I marvel out of what place he can declare it; or whereby will he prove, that the works of such men, seeing they are yet, as we have taught, sins, can please God? And seeing the matter is so, unto them is set forth, not a reward, but a punishment. Howbeit, to make the thing more plain, let us

compare children and servants together. Children, though they do nothing, yet they enter upon their father's inheritance; only if that they will receive it: but servants, though they labor never so much, yet they have no inheritance with the children. This is so plain, that it needeth no further declaration.

70. But to wrest from us that which we do affirm; namely, that if works be required unto justification, the honor of Christ should be diminished, as though his merit alone could not be sufficient to reconcile us unto God; I (saith he) do take away nothing from Christ, but do leave unto him his honor whole and safe. But I beseech thee, how dost thou take away nothing, when as thou requirest works unto our justification; and so requirest them, as thou sayest, that God more regardeth them, than faith? But he thus expoundeth his own subtle riddle, that Christ, in that order of his, is a sufficient cause: as if he should have said; If we speak of the reconciliator, and of that sacrifice, whereby we are reconciled unto God, Christ only is sufficient. But we cannot be prepared, and be made apt unto that benefit, but by many works. I cannot doubtless but marvel, where is become the wit of this so great a Sophister. As though they forsooth, against whom the apostle disputeth, ever said, that works are required unto justification, as outward principles or grounds. Undoubtedly they also went about the same which Pighius doth; that works are certain purging's, and preparations of the minds. Further, who seeth not, that a general proposition being true, it is lawful to apply unto all the particular propositions thereof, that which is either affirmed or denied in it? Wherefore, seeing Paul denieth, that a man is justified by works, he excludeth all kinds of works, in what order soever they be put. But Pighius saith further, that God requireth these works, that he may freely impute unto us justification. Whosoever is but even slenderly

exercised in the holy scriptures, shall easily see, that this man is even directly repugnant unto Paul: for he in the epistle to the Romans saith; Unto him which worketh not, a reward is imputed according to grace. But Pighius saith; Unto him which worketh, God imputeth righteousness freely. But to impute freely, and not to impute freely, every child may see, that they are contradictory.

But weigh (gentle reader) this reason of two contrary branches. These works, which he speaketh of, either profit to justification, or else profit not: if they profit not, why calleth he them preparations? For amongst causes are reckoned also causes preparatory. But if he will say, that they profit, and are in very deed causes preparatory; with what face can he affirm, that he plucketh away nothing from the honor of Christ; but appointeth him to be the whole and absolute cause of our justification? But peradventure this two-membered argument, a man will turn upon us, touching those works which follow justification. For (he will say) either they are profitable to obtain salvation, or they are not profitable: if they be not profitable, why are they required, and why are promises made unto them? But if they be, why do we not allow merit to be in them? I answer, that such works are profitable unto men regenerate; for that they living uprightly and orderly, be renewed and made more perfect. But that is nothing else, but a certain inchoation, and as it were a participation of eternal life. Further, it hath seemed good unto God, by such means, or rather by such spaces, to bring men to eternal felicity. But we cannot call these works, merits: for Paul expressly teacheth; that The reward of sin is death, but eternal life is grace. But that which is given freely, utterly excludeth merit. And in the mean time we ought to remember, that there is a great difference (as we have oftentimes taught) between their works, which are as yet strangers from

Christ and from God; and their works, which are now by grace grafted in Christ, and made his members.

71. Afterward also he goeth about to confute that which we say; that a man is justified by that faith, which hath a respect unto the promises of Christ, and of the remission of sins: as though we hold, that faith is the proper correlative of such promises. For he saith, that faith hath equally a respect unto all the things, which are set forth in the holy scriptures: yea (saith he) he doth unto God a thing no less acceptable, which believeth that he created the world, or believeth the three persons of the divinity, or the resurrection to come; than he, which believeth that Christ was given to be our mediator, and that by him is to be obtained the remission of sins: for that faith is of no less worthiness than the other. And if we be justified by faith, he affirmeth, that that faith no less pertaineth unto the other articles, than to the remission of sins, by Christ. And this he thinketh may be proved by that, which Paul writeth in the fourth chapter unto the Romans; And not for him only were those things written, but also for us, unto whom it shall be imputed; so that we believe in him which hath raised up Christ from the dead. Behold (saith he) that faith is imputed unto us unto righteousness, whereby we believe that God raised up Christ from the dead; and not that faith, whereby we believe that sins are forgiven us by Christ. First, here we confess, that our faith assenteth unto all the things, which are contained in the holy scriptures. But forsomuch as amongst them, there is but only one principal and excellent truth, unto which all the other truths are directed; namely, that Christ the son of God suffered for us, that by him we might receive forgiveness of sins; what marvel is it, if our faith have respect unto this one thing chiefly? For this that we say, Paul proveth: for he saith; that Christ is the end of the law. Wherefore, seeing he is the end of all the

scriptures; he is also the sum and principal object of our faith: although otherwise, by our faith, we also embrace all other things, which are contained in the holy scriptures.

And whereas he addeth, that the faith, which is of the other articles, is no less acceptable unto God, than this faith which concerneth Christ, and the remission of sins; we may first say, that is not true, if a man rightly weigh the dignity of the action of faith: for the dignity of faith, as also the dignity of other like kinds of powers and qualities, is measured by the objects. For as those objects differ one from another, in excellency and dignity; so the consents which faith doth yield unto them, ought, according to the same, to be counted inferior, or of more excellency. Seeing therefore God would in such sort have his son to die, and men by him to be reconciled; that for this he hath instituted all the other things to be believed, which are set forth in the holy scriptures: we cannot put any doubt, but that this pleaseth him much more than the other; for that the other are directed unto this, as unto their end. And this is a common rule amongst the Logicians: That thing itself is much rather of such condition and quality, by means whereof another thing hath such condition and quality. Wherefore this action of faith, whereby we assent unto this most noble truth, ought to excel all other actions of faith, whatsoever they be. And so it is not by anything like acceptable unto God, whether a man believe this or that. If we should use this answer, I know Pighius were never able to confute it.

But we say moreover, that he in vain contendeth about the greater, or less dignity of faith; as touching this or that article: for we are not justified by the dignity of faith; for it is in every man, weak and feeble. But we therefore say, that we are justified by faith; because by it, as by an instrument unto this end given unto us, and by God appointed, we apply

Christ unto us, and take hold of the forgiveness of sins. Wherefore the worthiness or unworthiness thereof, is to no purpose considered. But that which he bringeth out of the 4th chapter to the Romans, he bringeth cut and maimed: for if a man read the full and perfect sentence, he shall easily see, that plain mention is there made of the death of Christ, and of the remission of sins, which by it we have obtained. For Paul saith; that Unto us it shall be imputed, as it was unto Abraham; if we believe that God raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, which was delivered for our sins, and rose up again for our justification. Is it not here most manifestly said, that we ought to believe, that that Jesus Christ, whom God raised up, was dead, and rose again, that we should be justified, and have all our sins forgiven us? Doubtless it is a thing most uncomely for a man, that professeth divinity, so willfully not to see things that are most manifest.

72. Afterward he maketh a caviling about the particular faith, whereby we say, that everyone that believeth truly in Christ, ought to be most assured with himself, that his sins are forgiven him. He denieth, that there is any such faith found in the holy scriptures; and that therefore this is only our devise and invention. Here undoubtedly I cannot hold myself, but I must needs say, that Pighius lewdly lieth: for I would have him to tell me, what did Abraham believe, when he was justified, but that unto him should one day be rendered those promises of God? For whom is it likely that he believed they should be rendered unto, but unto himself? The self-same thing may be said of Moses, of David, and of many other; of whom it is most certain, that they believed, that the promises, which God made unto them, should particularly be rendered unto them. And what (I beseech you) meant Christ; when he said unto the man that was sick of the palsy; Son, thy sins are forgiven thee: and when he said unto the woman; Thy faith hath

made thee safe? And doth not Paul to the Galatians thus speak of Christ; Who hath loved me, and delivered up himself for me? What can be more manifest than these words?

Let Pighius go now, and make his vaunts, that we were the first finders out of this proper and singular faith: and let him cry, that every Christian man ought to believe, that the promises are made only indefinitely; and that it is not meet, that everyone of us should apply them severally unto himself. For we ought to believe of ourselves, and not of others; for we may as concerning others, be deceived, whether they believe or no: but touching ourselves, we may be assured and certain of it. Let every man believe the promises of God indefinitely, as touching others: for we know not who is predestinate, and who is reprobate. But none which is faithful, ought in any wise to doubt of himself, but to believe, that the promise is particular as touching himself; when he perceiveth himself to believe truly. Further, when promises are set forth in a general proposition, we may most assuredly of them gather their particular proposition. And Christ saith in John; This is the will of my father, that everyone that seeth the son, and believeth in him, should have eternal life. Wherefore we thus infer; But I believe in the son of God; Therefore I have now, and shall have that which he hath promised.

73. Pighius still goeth on, and (to prove that the faith of every other article, and not that only, which is referred unto Christ, touching remission of sins, justifieth) he useth the example of Noah: for he saith, that He believed only those things, which pertained to the safeguard of his family, and to the destruction of the world; and by that faith he saith he was justified. Here (saith he) is no mention made of Christ, or of the remission of sins. But it seemeth unto me, that this man hath not very diligently read

that, which Peter writeth in his first epistle, and third chapter: for Peter saith; When once the long suffering of God expected in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved, through the water (unto the figure whereof baptism now agreeing, maketh us also safe:) whereby not the filth of the flesh is put away, but thereby is brought to pass, that a good conscience is well answering unto God. That which Peter saw was signified by the ark, and by those things, which Noah did; can we think, that the patriarch himself saw not? This undoubtedly were too much derogation unto him: and if he saw those things, which Peter maketh mention of; he believed not only those things, which were then done; but also those, which were looked for to be accomplished by Christ. And therefore of good right it is written unto the Hebrews, that He was by such a faith made the heir of righteousness.

But Pighius nothing passeth upon this; who (so that he may be against us) is nothing afraid to fight even against the apostles themselves: for he is not afraid to affirm, that our first father Adam was justified; but yet not with that faith, which we speak of, which concerneth the remission of sins through Christ: for he saith, that thereof he had no promise, as touching that, so far as may be gathered out of the scriptures. But doubtless this man is both far deceived, and also hath forgotten his fathers, whom he would seem to make so much of. Was not the self-same thing said unto Adam, which was by God promised unto Eve his wife; namely, that his seed should bruise the head of the serpent? Christ was that seed, and he hath so broken the head and strength of the devil; that now neither sin, nor death, nor hell can anything hurt his members. This place all the fathers in a manner thus interpret.

But Pighius, which yet is less to be borne withal, is not afraid to say, that justification is not given unto us by the promise. In which thing doubtless he is manifestly against Paul: for he unto the Galatians thus writeth; God gave unto Abraham by the promise. And there is no doubt, but that unto us it is given, after the self-same manner that it was unto Abraham. But this is to be known, that this word Promise, is taken two manner of ways: either for the thing promised; and so it is not to be doubted, but that we are justified by the promise, that is, by Christ, and by the forgiveness of sins, which is promised unto them that believe: or else it is taken for the very words of God, in which he through Christ promiseth unto us remission of sins. And in this manner also we may be said, to be justified by the promise: for although the cause of our justification be the mere will and mercy of God, yet is not the same offered or signified unto us, but by the words of the promises, and by the sacraments; for these have we as sure testimonies of the will of God towards us. And so, unless faith be wanting, whereby we apprehend the things that are offered, we are justified by the promises.

74. Afterward Pighius, to prove that God attributeth more unto works, than unto faith, citeth a place out of the 22nd chapter of Genesis. There is described that excellent work of Abraham, that he refused not to slay his only son, and to offer him unto God: and therefore God said unto him from heaven; Because thou hast done this thing, I have sworn by myself, that in blessing, I will bless thee; and in multiplying, I will multiply thy seed, that it shall be as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea. It shall possess the gates of his enemies, and in thee shall all nations be blessed. Behold here (saith he) are promises given for works sake, and thereunto is added a most faithful oath; but there is no mention at all made of faith: wherefor (saith he) God hath more regard unto works, than unto faith. This speaketh

he with a wide mouth: but (according to that proverb;) The mountains will be brought a bed, and out will spring a seely mouse. For if you ask what I think as touching this matter, I will answer, that it is a notable and most excellent history; whereout that cannot yet be gathered, which this man exclaimeth. First, here is no mention made of justification: what serveth it then to that matter whereof we now entreat? So often as anything is called in controversy, we must run to such certain and assured places, in which the self-same thing is entreated of: and not unto those places, wherein it may be answered, that they entreat of another matter. Of this nature is that place which Paul citeth, as touching this thing; Abraham believed in God, and it was imputed unto him unto righteousness.

But as concerning this history, I willingly grant, that Abraham by that work obtained a certain more ample benefit, than he before had by faith: howbeit not in substance, or number, or quantity of the promises; but in a sound and firm certainty. For although he doubted not, but that whatsoever things he believed, God would faithfully render unto him; yet afterward, when he had done those excellent deeds, he was more fully persuaded of the verity of his faith, and constancy of the promise, and strength of the righteousness imputed unto him. I deny not, but that, by that excellent work, Abraham obtained these things. What is then here, that Pighius should boast of? What new thing is here promised? What covenant not heard of before, or new oath is here set forth: Nothing is here rehearsed, which was not before made mention of. For the covenant, which is here made, was before ordained; partly when circumcision was appointed; and partly in that sacrifice, wherein it was commanded, that the beasts should be divided, partly on the right hand, and partly on the left: as though they which should swear, and make the covenant, should pass through the midst.

For that manner (to touch it by the way) was also used among the men of Athens, as Demosthenes declareth in his oration against Aristocrates. Further, we cannot deny, but that Abraham was justified before: for even before it was said; Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him unto righteousness. And seeing the matter is so, although afterward were added some promise; yet will that make nothing against us: for we deny not, but that those works which follow justification, are both good, and also do please God; and are of him, although freely, yet with great and ample gifts recompensed.

Now resteth only to declare another way, how to understand this cause; Because thou hast done these things, &c. And this pertaineth unto the certainty, whereof we before made mention; which (as we have said) is from the effects, and (as they use to speak) *A posteriori*, that is, From the later. The which that you shall not think to be of mine own invention, go and read Augustine in his questions upon Genesis: for he diligently pieceth these words; Now I know thou fearest God. Was God (saith he) ignorant of this before? Had he any need of this trial, when as he is the searcher of the reins, and of the heart? Nothing less (saith he:) for here this word [I know] is nothing else, but, I have made thee to know, or, I have made plain and manifest. Wherefore here is not rendered a reason of the promises by the cause; but after the self-same manner undoubtedly, by which it was said of the sinful woman; Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much: of which place we have so largely before entreated, that now there is no need at all of any repetition.

75. Pighius hath scraped another objection out of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel; If the wicked man (saith the prophet under the person of God) shall repent him of all his iniquities, and shall do all my commandments, I will

no more remember all his iniquities. Here (saith Pighius) we see that justification, which is the forgiveness of sins, is not promised unto faith; but unto perfect repentance, and unto the observation of the law of God. And here his bristles so arise, as though we must needs give place. But this argument, if it be more narrowly considered, is both vain and trifling: for we easily grant, that if a man perfectly repent him of all his iniquities, and do all the commandments of God; he shall have justification by works. None of us ever denied this. But here lieth all the matter, here were a hard work, to find such a one, who being not yet justified, hath performed this. And where I pray you master Pighius, is that your interpretation, wherein you said before, that God required not that we should perform all the commandments; but that he of his mercy remitteth many things? For here you have brought a most manifest testimony against yourself.

But to return to the matter: forsomuch as man neither performeth, nor also can perform those things which are set forth, both of the prophet, and of the law: what resteth there then, but that he should come humbly unto Christ; and having through faith freely received justification of him, should by grace, and the spirit, now given unto him, perfectly repent, (so much as this life will suffer) and with an obedience (such as in this life we may begin) to obey the law of God. Intreating of this argument, there came to my remembrance the old Philosopher Antisthenes: for when a certain glorious young man, which was one of his scholars, boasted that he had a ship laden with excellent merchandize; and when it were arrived, he would give unto him an excellent gift. This song was common evermore in his mouth, that he was troublesome to him who heard him; insomuch that Antisthenes brought him forth into the market place, and in a certain shop asked a few ells of cloth. Which cloth when Antisthenes had in his hand, not having paid

the money, he made a proffer to go his way: the Merchant called him back again; Ho good fellow (saith he) before thou depart pay me my money. Then Antisthenes showing him the young man; This man (said he) will pay you so soon as his ship is arrived.

Even so will I answer unto Pighius; When you shall show me one, which being not regenerate, by his own strength repenteth him of all his iniquities, and observeth all the commandments of God; we will say, that he is justified by his works. But when will this ship arrive? Wherefore, let him cease to boast of the words of the law: for those words, whatsoever they be, whether they pertain unto promises, or unto precepts; we will after this manner interpret. But he saith moreover, that Christ also said; He that doth the will of my father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but the Lord said not (saith he) He which believeth. Yea, but I say that in another place he did, and maketh no mention of any work; for This (saith he) is the will of my father, that he which seeth the son, and believeth in him, hath eternal life. Let not Pighius then from henceforth deny, that the Lord ever spake this. But least any man should think, that the scriptures speak things contrary; I answer, that these two sentences are not repugnant, but agree very well together. Pighius, by the will of the father, understandeth a great heap of good works: but Christ saith; This is the work of God, that ye believe. And after this action of believing, do follow many other good works: wherefore the holy scriptures are not repugnant one to another. And Pighius his argument is left weak, and of no efficacy.

But Pighius, for that he seeth himself urged with God's word, because so oftentimes is read in the holy scriptures, that Man is justified by faith; he therefore saith, that that is to be understood of a lively and strong faith, which hath other virtues joined with it: as though we ever spake of any

other faith. If he spake this from the heart, he believeth the self-same thing that we believe: wherefore lay aside the contention; and the controversy being ended, let us all agree in one. But Pighius cannot abide, that this agreement should take place: for afterward, when he would expound how we are justified freely, he saith; that that is nothing else, but that God will freely impute unto us unto righteousness, the works of faith, hope, and charity. What have we here to do? Doubtless, it seemeth unto me, that this man doth not with a sound judgment read the scriptures; but doth with a corrupt affection wrest them at his pleasure. For where works are, there Paul denieth that there is a free imputation; for these two are repugnant one to another: wherefore in that Pighius goeth about to join them together, doth he not seem most manifestly to be against the apostle?

76. Thus much of Pighius; unto whom our Smith, the eighth wise man of Greece, and the first wise man of England joined himself a companion, as Theseus did unto Hercules. But in very deed he bringeth nothing else, but that which he hath drawn out of the sinks of this man, and other such like. First he saith, that faith is not for the remission of sins; and that therefore we fondly fain that justification is had by it. For the faith (saith he) whereby Christians are discerned from no Christians, is in Jesus Christ: which thing also (as though it made much to the purpose) he goeth about to prove by the holy scriptures, and by a testimony of Jerome. But I would have this man to answer me, if ever he learned the Hebrew tongue, what is the signification of this name *Jesus*? Undoubtedly, amongst all the Hebrews, this word *Jascha* signifieth, To save: wherefore Jesus may in Latin rightly be turned *Servator*, that is, A savior. But if (which thing I think true) he be ignorant of the Hebrew tongue; yet he ought at the least, to have believed the angel, which so interpreted that name; Thou shalt call his name (saith he) Jesus,

for he shall save his people from their sins. How then can faith be in Christ Jesus, unless it be also touching the remission of sins, through Christ?

Afterward he is not afraid to cite that also, out of the epistle of Peter; Charity covereth the multitude of sins: Behold (saith he) forgiveness of sins is here ascribed, not unto faith, but unto charity. He that will have a fit axe to cut these knots asunder; let him attentively consider the holy scriptures, and diligently see, from whence those places, which are cited in the New Testament, are taken out of the old. This sentence of Peter is had in a manner, out of the 10th chapter of the Proverbs: for there it is thus written; Hatred stirreth up reproachful speeches. For whom a man hateth, he discovereth, and publisheth abroad his faults, as much as in him lieth: but contrariwise, charity hideth and covereth the sins of his brother. For they which truly love one another, are wont to defend one another; and to cover one another's faults, so much as they see by conscience they may. And this is a most true sentence of Solomon. Wherefore Peter going about to exhort Christians unto charity; wisely and aptly borrowed this sentence out of Solomon. But Smith not understanding or considering this, supposeth that Peter thought, that remission of sins is gotten by charity: howbeit he is most foully deceived, as oftentimes he is wont to be.

But passing over these men, let us remember, that if at any time the fathers seem to attribute righteousness unto works; the same is not to be understood of that righteousness, which God freely imputeth unto us through Christ: but of that inward righteousness, which is rooted in us, which we get and confirm by leading continually an upright life. Or if those things, which they speak, do manifestly pertain unto the righteousness imputed, that is, unto the remission of sins; we must always (as we have before taught) run unto the foundation of good works; namely, unto a lively

faith in Christ: which rules, and such like, if our adversaries would consider, they would never so impudently and obstinately defend so many lies. Although, if I should speak anything touching Pighius, forsomuch as I see, that he is neither of dull wit, nor unlearned; I cannot say that he in earnest, and from the heart wrote touching this matter: but when he had once taken the matter in hand, he took these things for pastime and pleasure.

77. Now to prosecute that order, which I have begun; let us come unto the Fathers, and see how much they make on our side. And undoubtedly, for this matter we shall not need any great number of testimonies. For even as to understand what taste the water of the sea is; it is not needful that a man drink up the whole sea: even so, to understand what the Fathers think touching this, we shall not need to go through all their sayings. Irenaeus, a most ancient author, in his 4th book and 30th chapter against Valentine, writeth somewhat touching this matter, although briefly. And I suppose, that he for this cause wrote so briefly of it; because this truth was in those first times so confessed and certain, that it was not of any man called in doubt. But yet by that little, which he hath, it may sufficiently be understood what his judgment was: as the saying is, that Protogenes knew Apelles, by the draught of one line only. Irenaeus therefore saith, that the old Fathers, even those also which were before the law, were justified by faith. For first, when he had spoken of Abraham, he ascended from him unto Lot, unto Noah, and unto Enoch. And afterward he addeth a reason, why in these men's times the law was not written: because (saith he) they were already just, unto whom the law was not given; for the just have the law written in their hearts.

But peradventure you will scarcely admit this testimony; because Irenaeus in that place, when he speaketh there of Enoch, saith, that he was sent a legate unto the angels: which may seem to be apocryphal, so not to be counted of, as of sound authority. But I think the same is cited, not so much out of any apocryphal book, as out of some old tradition: for many things were as it were by hand delivered unto the ancient Fathers, that are not to be rejected; so that they be not repugnant to the holy scriptures. Otherwise, if for that cause we reject this testimony, why do we not also reject the epistle of Jude? For he also citeth a sentence of Enoch, that God shall come with thousands to judgment. But whereas Irenaeus saith, that Enoch was a legate unto the angels; I suppose that it may be thus understood; to say, that those Angels were men, such as were princes and great kings, or such as were born of the family of Seth: for so in Genesis, The sons of God are said to have seen the daughters of men, that they were fair. Peradventure Enoch was sent unto them by God, to reprove them: and thus much of Irenaeus.

Tertullian in his book of baptism saith, that Faith hath a perfect security of salvation. Wherefore it is not we alone that have brought in a particular faith of the remission of sins. Neither ought anything to move us, that in that book he defendeth most manifest errors touching baptism; and exhorteth men to defer baptism, till they come to ripe age, and not to make hast unto it before they marry. For although we allow not these things; yet in the meantime, whilst he entreateth hereof, he hath many things, which ought not to be contemned, which were at that time received in the church. So Cyprian, when he entreateth of rebaptising of heretics, when they returned unto the church, hath yet by the way many true and weighty testimonies which we cannot reject; although in the very state of the question we utterly disagree from him. And what father (I pray you) is

there, amongst them all, which in someone place defendeth not some matter that is not to be allowed; and yet ought not all their works to be contemned? For there is no pomegranate so fair, which hath not in it some rotten kernel.

78. Now let us come unto Origin. He, in his first book upon Job, (if it be Origins work) thus writeth; All things, which men do, whether it be in virginity, or in abstinency, or in chastity of the body, or in burning of the flesh, or in distribution of their goods; all these things (I say) they do *Gratis*, that is, in vain; if they do them not of faith. In this place, whereas he saith *Gratis*; all men understand that he signify - *In vain*. Which thing doubtless Pighius, and his companions will not admit; for they will have these things to be certain preparations unto justification. But that Origin is by express words against them, those words which follow do more plainly declare: for thus he writeth; that All holiness and righteousness, which a man doth without faith, he doth it in vain, and to his own destruction. And he citeth this sentence of Paul; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. I am sure, that neither Pighius can deny, but that Origin in this place maketh on our side, and that he in that sense understood these words of Paul; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Which words yet he crieth out that we are accustomed to abuse, although not only Origin, but also Augustine, Basilius, and other fathers (as we have before taught) expound those words after the self-same manner. Wherefore he doth unjustly and impudently accuse us. But if he will say, that we must not so much regard, what interpretations the fathers give; but must see, whether the place in the text may be so taken: therein we will commend him; for we gladly admit appealing from the fathers unto the word of God. But he ought to have remembered, that it is not the point of a good man, to reprove that in others, which he doth himself. Wherefore he

should suffer us also, on the other side, when the matter so requireth, to appeal from the fathers unto the scriptures.

But as touching the very matter, we have else-where declared, that that sentence of Paul, as it is written in his epistle, is so to be expounded; that of it may be inferred, that the works of men not regenerate, are sins. Origin afterward addeth; Of whom shall he receive a reward? Of him think you, whom he sought not for? Whom he hath not acknowledged? In whom he hath not believed? He shall not (saith he) receive of him a reward, but judgment, wrath, and condemnation. If these things be rendered unto such works, who will deny, but that they are sins? Afterward he bringeth a similitude. Even as (saith he) he which buildeth without a foundation, loseth his labor, and hath only travel and sorrow: even so it is with him, which will build up good works without faith. And even as unto him which believeth, all things are possible, that he may find refreshing at his hand in whom he hath believed: so unto him that believeth not, nothing is possible. Like as the earth, without the sun, bringeth not forth fruit; so, except the truth of God, through faith, doth shine forth in our hearts the fruit of good works springeth not up. For so (saith he) all that whole year, wherein Noah was saved from the flood, for that the sun shined not forth, the earth could bring forth no fruit. Thus much hath Origin in that place, which we have now cited; whereby we conclude, that faith formeth and maketh perfect all good works which follow: and not that it (as these men I know not who have feigned) taketh and borroweth his form of them.

The same Origin, upon the fourth chapter unto the Romans, thus reasoneth; If he which believeth, that Jesus is Christ, be born of God; and he which is born of God, sinneth not: then it is certain, that he which believeth in Christ Jesus, sinneth not. This kind of argument is called

Sorites, and is allowed of the Logicians: for the Stoics were wont oftentimes to use it. The former propositions of this argument cannot be denied; for they are taken out of the holy scriptures. But he addeth afterward; And if he sin, then it is certain that he believeth not. This of necessity followeth of the former conclusion: for if everyone which believeth, sinneth not; then doubtless whosoever sinneth, believeth not. Let Pighius now go laugh; for that we say, that by grievous sins true faith is lost, or is so laid a sleep, that it hath not his force in working and operation. And let him aggravate the matter as much as he can, that he which sinneth grievously; neither believeth that there is a God, nor also the rest of the articles of the faith. Origin both thinketh and writeth the self-same thing that we do. And he saith moreover, that A token of true faith is there, where sin is not committed: as contrariwise, where sin is committed, it is a token of infidelity. Again, he addeth in the same chapter; If peradventure that, which is said of the apostle, To be justified by faith, seem to be repugnant to that, which is said, that We are justified freely, (for if faith be offered first of a man, he cannot seem to be justified freely) we must remember, that even faith itself is given of God: and this he proveth by many testimonies.

But this thing our Pighius cannot abide: for he derideth us, as often as we say, that faith is had by the grace and inward working of the holy Ghost. For he saith, that it is wonderful, that the holy Ghost should have his abiding, and work in them, which do not as yet believe. The same Origin upon Leviticus, in his third book, and third chapter; The holy cycle (saith he) representeth our faith: for if thou shalt offer faith to Christ, as a price to the ram, without spot offered up for a sacrifice; thou shalt receive remission of sins. Here also we have expressly, that remission of sins is obtained by faith; by that faith (I say) which is directed unto Christ, who was delivered

unto death, and sacrificed for us. There can be nothing more manifest than these testimonies, which Origin hath brought for us. But these men are so obstinate, that they will not be led from the opinion, which they have once taken in hand to defend; although thou bring never so great light with thee, least they should seem to any of theirs to have defended an ill cause.

79. Cyprian, beside those things, which we afore spake, touching the conjunction of faith with a good life, writeth also in his third book to Quirinus; that Faith only profiteth, and that we are able so much to do as we do believe. The first part of this sentence pertaineth unto the third article of this question; but the latter serveth very much for that, which we are now in hand with. It is a wonderful saying doubtless, that So great is the force of faith, that by it we are able to do what we will. And yet did not Cyprian think it sufficient, absolutely to pronounce this; but he hath also confirmed it by many and sundry testimonies of the scriptures. As touching Basilus, and Gregorius Nazianzen, that shall suffice, which I have before cited. Chrysostom, in his sermon which he hath entitled *De fide, lege naturae, & spiritu*, saith; that Even faith is of itself able to save a man. And for example he bringeth forth the thief, who (saith he) only confessed and believed: but works (saith he) alone cannot save the workers, without faith. After that he compareth works without faith, with the relics of dead men: for dead carcasses (saith he) although they be clothed with precious and excellent garments, yet they obtain not heat by them; so (saith he) they which want faith, although they be decked with glorious works, yet are they by them nothing holpen.

And the same father, upon the epistle unto the Romans, upon these words of Paul; But the righteousness, which is of faith; Thou seest (saith he) that this is chiefly particular unto faith, that we all treading underfoot the

complaint of reason, should inquire after that which is above nature; and that the infirmity of our cogitations being by the virtue and power of God cast away, we should embrace all the promises of God. Here we see, that by faith we obtain the promises of God: and although by it we assent unto all that which is contained in the holy scriptures; yet it peculiarly hath a regard unto the promises of God. This is also to be considered, that he saith, that The infirmity of our cogitations, in believing, is by the virtue and power of God cast away: for this maketh against them, which contend, that this is done by human power and strength; as though we had faith of ourselves, and that it should go before justification. The same Chrysostom, upon the 29th chapter of Genesis, in his 54th homily; This (saith he) is the true faith, not to give heed unto those things, which are seen, although they seem to be against the promise: but only to consider the power of him that promiseth. Let them well consider this, which will have us to have a regard, not only to the power and promises of God; but even chiefly to our own preparations. And expounding these words in Genesis; Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him unto righteousness: Let us also (saith he) learn (I beseech you) of the patriarch of God to believe his sayings, and to trust unto his promises, and not to search them out by our own cogitation; but to show a great gratitude: for this can both make us just, and also cause us to obtain the promises. Here also are two things to be noted; the one is, that we are made just by faith; the other, that by the same we obtain the promises: which two things our adversaries stoutly deny.

The same father, upon these words of Paul unto Timothy; Of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, which have made shipwreck as concerning faith: So (saith he) he which once falleth away from the faith, hath no place where he may stay himself, or whither to repair; for the head being

corrupted and lost, what use can there be of the rest of the body? For if faith without works be dead, much more are works dead without faith. Here is to be noted, that this is an argument *A minori*, that is, From the lesser unto the greater: for he saith, that works are more dead without faith, than is faith without works. The same author, in his sermon *De verbis apostoli*, upon these words of the apostle; Having one and the self-same spirit of faith: for it is impossible (saith he) yea doubtless it is impossible, if thou live unpurely, not to waver in faith. By this we see, how great a conjunction Chrysostom thought that to be, between faith and good works. The same father, expounding these words of the apostle; Do we then destroy the law by faith? God forbid, nay rather we confirm the law: So soon as (saith he) a man believeth, straightway he is justified; wherefore faith hath confirmed the will of the law, whilst it hath brought to an end even that, for which the law did all things. How then doth Pighius say, that faith is only the foundation, and therefore is very far from the perfection of justification? Or unto what purpose is that, that after faith he putteth so many degrees and means, whereby we come unto justification? For Chrysostom speaketh far otherwise, that a man is justified straightway, so soon as ever he believeth.

Further, he attributeth unto faith even this also; that it maketh men just, when as the law was not able to perform that, although by many ways it did endeavor it. Moreover, when he expoundeth these words; They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, were not subject to the righteousness of God: This righteousness of God (saith he) he calleth the righteousness of faith, which is wholly given by grace from above, and not in respect of our labors. And upon these words; Behold, I put in Zion a stone of offense: Thou seest then (saith he) that faith hath with it confidence and security. Here he manifestly

appointeth a particular faith, and a certainty touching the remission of sins: which thing our adversaries so greatly speak against. Further, when he expoundeth that saying in the 11th chapter; And if they abide not in their incredulity, they also shall again be grafted in: If faith (saith he) could graft thee, when thou wast a wild olive tree, into a good olive tree; it can restore them into their own good olive tree. Here also, the power to be grafted into Christ, by justification, and the power to restore them which are cut off, is attributed unto faith.

I could now pass over to Jerome, if there were not somewhat, which calleth me back again unto Chrysostom: for the self-same man writeth, that Faith only is not sufficient unto salvation. And such sentences are oftentimes read in the Fathers, which our adversaries continually wrest against us: although (to speak the truth) such an objection is not the whirlbat of Entellus, nor so greatly to be feared: for it may easily be answered in one word. For he saith not, that faith is not sufficient unto justification; but only unto salvation: for faith is of itself sufficient unto justification. But after we are once justified, it is not enough to the obtainment of salvation, to say; I believe: we must put to also a holy life, and good works; for by them, as it were by certain degrees, God bringeth us to felicity. And after this manner we may interpret all the sentences of the Fathers, which seem to tend this way. And if their words (as sometimes it happeneth) will not bear such an exposition; then (as it is most right) we will appeal from them writing negligently, unto the self-same Fathers writing in another place more soundly, and more catholicly: as did that woman in ancient time, which appealed from Philip being drunk, unto the self-same Philip being sober.

80. Jerome, upon the epistle unto the Galatians, upon these words; And we knowing that man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ: he saith, that All the forefathers were justified by the self-same faith in Christ, by which we are now at this day justified. And this sentence he confirmeth, by bringing in of many examples. First he reckoneth up Abraham: for of him he saith Christ thus spake; He saw my day, he saw it, and rejoiced. After him, he maketh mention of Moses: for of him (he saith) it is thus written in the epistle unto the Hebrews; that He counted the reproaches of Christ, greater riches than the treasure of Egypt, and that he refusing to be in the court of Pharaoh, did choose rather to embrace the cross of Christ. And he addeth, that John the evangelist, in his 12th chapter most manifestly teacheth; that all those things, which Isaiah hath put in writing, touching the glory of God, when he saw the Lord sitting upon a high throne lifted up, are to be understood of the son of God. He addeth moreover, out of the epistle of Jude; that the Lord Jesus Christ delivered the people of Israel out of Egypt, and after that smote the unbelievers. In which place I very much marvel, that Jerome, a man otherwise excellent in the Greek tongue, turned it thus; The Lord Jesus Christ: when as in our text, is had only this word Lord; unless we will suppose, that his copy was differing from that which we now use. Which I speak not, as though I doubted, whether those things, which at that time happened, were done by Christ the son of God, or no: for John saith; No man hath seen God at any time, but the son, which is in the bosom of the father, he hath declared him.

Wherefore, whatsoever is uttered unto men, touching things divine, is uttered by the son of God, who hath most truly given himself unto mankind, a faithful interpreter of God his father. And Paul in his first epistle unto the

Corinthians, the tenth chapter saith; They drunk of the spiritual rock following them, and that rock was Christ. Again; Let us not tempt (saith he) Christ, as certain of them tempted him. The same Jerome, upon the epistle to the Galatians, where he reckoneth up the fruits of the spirit, when he cometh unto faith, thus he writeth; If charity be absent, faith also departeth away together with it. These words manifestly declare, that his judgment was, that true faith cannot be divided from charity, which thing we also teach and defend. But Pighius, with his fellows, hisseth at it, and crieth out against it; howbeit let him grunt as much as he will, it sufficeth us, that this doctrine agreeth both with the scriptures, and with the fathers.

Ambrose also expounding these words out of the epistle unto the Romans; For it is one God which justifieth circumcision by faith: Because (saith he) there is but one God, he hath justified all men after one and the self-same manner; forsomuch as nothing causeth merit and dignity, but faith. And afterward, upon these words; Therefore by faith, according to grace, that the promise might be firm to all the seed: The promise (saith he) cannot be firm to all the seed, that is, unto all manner of men, of what nation so ever they be; except it be by faith. For the beginning of the promise is of faith, and not of the law: for they, which are under the law, are guilty; but the promise cannot be given unto them that are guilty, and therefore they ought first to be purified by faith, that they may be made worthy to be called the sons of God, and that the promise may be firm. And towards the beginning of the 5th chapter, upon these words; Being justified by faith, we have peace towards God: Faith (saith he) and not the law, causeth us to have peace with God; for it reconcileth us unto God, when our sins are taken away, which had before made us enemies unto God. And afterward upon these words; The law of the spirit of life: It is faith (saith he) which justifieth them that

fly unto it, that it may forgive them, whom the law holdeth guilty, that they living under faith, may be free from sin. And in his 2nd book upon the Gospel of Luke he saith, that Peter wept not, until the Lord had looked back upon him: and he addeth, that the Lord brought forth in him, both repentance, and the power to weep.

81. But Augustine, when he entreateth of this matter, seemeth to be in his own field, so that to hunt in him for testimonies, touching this controversy, is (as the common saying is) to seek water in the sea. Howbeit, it shall not be from our purpose to pick somewhat out of him also. In the sermon of the Lord upon the mount, touching the words of the gospel in Matthew, in his 7th sermon towards the end; If thou presume of thine own work, a reward (saith he) is rendered unto thee, and not grace given thee. I demand now; Believest thou O sinner? I believe. What? Believest thou that thy sins may be by him freely forgiven thee? Then hast thou that which thou believest. In his preface upon the 31st Psalm; Thou hast done no good, and yet remission of sins is given thee. Thy works are considered, and they are all found naught. If God should render unto those works that which is due, doubtless he should condemn thee. And in his book *De spiritu & litera*, the 12th chapter We gather, that a man is not justified by the rules of good life, but by the faith of Jesus Christ. And in his book against the two epistles of the Pelagians, in his 3rd book, and 5th chapter; Our faith (saith he) that is, the catholic faith, discerneth the just from the unjust, not by the law of works, but even by the law of faith.

And Augustine, and Alipius, in the 106th epistle; Righteousness is of faith, whereby we believe that we are justified, that is, that we are made just by the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. The same father against Pelagius, and Coelestinus, in his 1st book, and 10th chapter; It is not

enough (saith he) to confess what grace thou wilt, but that grace whereby we are persuaded, whereby we are drawn, and whereby that which is good itself is given us. This maketh plainly against them, which appoint I wot not what general grace; and will have it to lie in every man's power, either to admit, or to refuse the same. But this grace, whereby we are so persuaded, is nothing else but faith; which faith indeed is necessary to justify. But those works which are done before we be justified, do nothing avail: for the same Augustine, against the second epistle of the Pelagians, the 3rd book, and 5th chapter; Even as works (saith he) which seem good, are unto the ungodly turned into sins, &c. And in his book *De spiritu & litera*, the 28th chapter: Even as (saith he) there are certain venial sins, without which the very just man cannot live, and yet they hinder us not from salvation; so are there certain good works, without which, even the most wicked men can very hardly live, which works yet nothing profit them unto salvation.

And that we should not think, that this faith, whereby we are justified, is a thing common and straying at pleasure, he addeth afterward in the 3rd chapter; Why is this man so instructed, that he is utterly persuaded, and another not so? There are only two things, which I think good to answer; O the depth of the riches, &c! Also; What? Is there iniquity with God? He that is displeased with this answer, let him seek (saith he) men better learned, but let him beware of presumptuous persons. If we should give credit to our adversaries, this had been a very rude and blind doubt: for they would straightway have answered at one word; that the one was persuaded, because he would; and the other was not persuaded, because he would not. But Augustine considering the matter more deeply; namely, that It is God which worketh in us both to will, and to perform, according to his good will; and perceiving that Paul himself (being overcome with the admiration

of this thing) made such exclamation, thought it most meet rather to refer the whole matter unto God, who distributeth unto every man that which seemeth to him good, and that (without doubt) justly: although we see not the reasons of his justice, yea neither is it meet for us to search them out; unless we will have that to happen unto us, which commonly happeneth unto a certain kind of flies, which being allured by the light of the candle, and flying too nigh unto it, are oftentimes burnt with the flame thereof.

The same Augustine *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, in his fifth chapter, reproveth Pelagius, for that he had feigned that common grace unto all the saints; which he would have to be nothing else, but nature. The very which thing our adversaries also at this day do, when as they cry out, that that grace is set forth, as it were openly unto all men; and that it lieth in every man's power to receive it, if so be that he will. The same author *Ad Vitalem*, in his 207th epistle; Unto them (saith he) whose cause is like to theirs unto whom grace is given, yet to them it is not given; that they, unto whom it is given, may understand how freely it was given to them. And in the self-same place, he plainly declareth, that it is God, which of unwilling maketh us willing; and taketh away our stony heart, and giveth us a fleshy heart. This manifestly declareth, that it is faith, whereby we are justified; and that God distributeth it according to his good will. The same father, *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, in the fourth chapter, (for that book, whosoever was the author thereof, beareth the name of Augustine;) To be purged from sins (saith he) God tarrieth not for our will. And in the 44th chapter; The holy Ghost maketh us to choose, think, and consent unto every good thing pertaining unto salvation. And in his 13th book, and 17th chapter *De trinitate*; The word of the son of God (saith he) took upon him the nature of man, without any manner of merit: and after the self-same manner also is

the grace of God given unto us. This comparison is taken of the greater: for if that man, which was made the son of God, obtained it without any merit; much more are we without any merit, either of congruity, or of worthiness, received into adoption.

The same Augustine to Simplicianus, in the first book, and second question; Who (saith he) can live uprightly, and work justly, except he be justified by faith? Who can believe, except he be touched by some calling, that is, by some testification of things? Who hath in his own power, to have his mind touched with such a sight, whereby the will may be moved unto faith? And in his 61st sermon upon John; All sins (saith he) are comprehended under the name of infidelity. And he addeth; that Faith cannot be without hope and charity; which thing also he most plainly teacheth upon the 31st Psalm. The same father, in his first book, and 19th chapter, against the two epistles of the Pelagians, at large entreateth after what manner we are drawn of God: and amongst other things, he saith, that the Pelagians would too much triumph over the Christians, if they had not the word of drawing in the holy scriptures. But forsomuch as that word is expressed in the very Gospel, they have utterly no place to fly unto. There are infinite other places in Augustine, which do confirm this opinion; which now, for brevity sake, I think good to overpass.

82. Cyrillus against Julianus, in his first book; and 14th page, saith; The faith of Abraham and our faith is utterly one and the same. And the same author upon John, in the third book, and 31st chapter, expounding this sentence; This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. For faith (saith he) bringeth salvation, and grace justifieth; but the commandments of the law rather condemn: wherefore faith in Christ is the work of God. In these words we ought to note, that faith is it, whereby is

brought salvation; and that we are justified by grace. And he declareth these things more plainly upon John, in his ninth book, and 32nd chapter, upon these words; And whither I go, ye know, and ye know the way. For we are justified by faith, and are made partakers of the divine nature, by the participation of the holy Ghost. Leo, in his 13th sermon of the passion of the Lord; The fathers (saith he) believed together with us, that the blood of the son of God should be shed. Wherefore, there is nothing (dearly beloved) strange in Christian religion from the things which were of old signified; neither was salvation hoped for at any time of the righteous men, who have lived before us, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, for whom they did look. This, and many other like testimonies, do confute those chiefly, which dare say, that Abraham was indeed justified; yet not through faith in Christ, but by faith touching earthly promises. Albeit this author may seem to make against us, in that we say, that true faith is not found without charity: for in his sermon *De collectione & eleemosyna*, he thus writeth of Satan; He knowing that God is denied, not only in words, but also in deeds, hath taken away charity from many, from whom he could not take away faith; and possessing the field of their heart, with the roots of covetousness, he hath spoiled of the fruit of good works, those whom he hath not deprived of the confession of their lips. These words, if they be deeply considered, make nothing at all against us: for we speak of a true, sound, and lively faith. But Leo understandeth only a certain outward profession of faith: for when he would render a reason, whereby it might appear that faith was not taken from them; he mentioneth only an outward confession of the lips: which we also grant may consist without charity; and be oftentimes boasted of many men, which nevertheless are most wicked. And after this manner I suppose are to be expounded such like testimonies; if any happen in the fathers.

Gregory Bishop of Rome, in his 19th homily upon Ezekiel; We come not (saith he) to faith by works, but by faith we attain unto virtues: for Cornelius the Centurian came not by works unto faith, but by faith he came unto works: for it is said; Thy prayers and alms. But how prayed he, if he believed not? But now because he knew not that the mediator was incarnate, by works he came unto a more full knowledge. Hereby I would have our adversaries to know, that faith necessarily goeth before all good works: for they affirm, that moral works, which are done of Ethnics, and of men not yet believing in Christ, are good; which thing is in this place of Gregory confuted. The same author, in his second book, and 25th chapter of his morals, (speaking of the same matter) thus writeth; Unless faith be first gotten in our hearts, all other things, whatsoever they be, cannot indeed be good, although they seem good. Beda upon the 2nd chapter of James; He only believeth truly, which by working exerciseth that which he believeth: for faith and charity cannot be separated asunder. And this shall suffice as touching the fathers. But what the African, Milevitan, and Arausican council do teach, concerning justification, faith, grace, and works; we have before at large declared in the former article. This only I will now add, that our adversaries, when they say that God offereth his grace unto all men, and giveth his gifts unto men that desire them, and take hold of them, and forgiveth sins to them that do that which they ought to do; for so much as in the mean time they omit the inspiration of the holy Ghost and the power of God, which draweth us, and the inward persuasion of the mind, and also those things which are most chiefly required in this matter: they are most manifestly against those councils, which we have now cited. Howbeit, I cannot leave unspoken, that in the council of Mainz, which was celebrated under Carolus Magnus, in the first chapter is cited Gregory, who thus

writeth; He believeth truly, which by working exerciseth that which he believeth.

83. Forsomuch therefore, as we have now hitherto spoken as touching this article; namely, that men are justified by faith in Christ, and have confirmed the same by scriptures, and have overthrown the objections of our adversaries, and alleged testimonies of the Fathers, to confirm our saying: let us now come to the third article. Wherefore we say, that justification consisteth by faith only. Which saying all those places of scripture do prove, which teach, that we are justified freely; and those which affirm, that justification cometh without works; and those also, which put an Antithesis or contrariety between grace and works: all these places (I say) most truly conclude, that we are justified by faith only; although this word [Only] be not read in the holy scripture. But that is not so much to be weighed: for the signification of that word, is of necessity gathered out of them. Further, this also is to be noted, even as we have already before taught; that we affirm not, that that faith, whereby we are justified, is in our minds without good works: though we say, that the same only is it which taketh hold of justification, and remission of sins. So the eye cannot be without a head, brains, heart, liver, and other parts of the body: and yet the eye only apprehendeth color and the light. Wherefore they, which after this manner reason against us; Faith (as ye say) justifieth; But faith is not alone; Ergo faith alone justifieth not: they commit the fault of a false argument. As if a man should thus conclude; Only the will willeth; But the will is not alone in the mind; Ergo not the will alone willeth. Here even little children may see the fallacy or deceit, which they call; Of composition and of division. And is it not a foul thing, that so great Divines should not see it?

But here Smith (the light forsooth of divinity) setteth himself against us. He of late cried out, even till he was hoarse, that we falsely affirm; that those places of the scripture, which testify that we are justified *Gratis* (that is freely) should signify all one with this, to be justified by faith Only: for this word *Gratis*, is not all one with *Solùm*, that is, Only. O dull Grammatians that we are, which without this good master could not understand this adverb so much used! Howbeit, this Grammatical Aristarchus, least that he should seem without some reason to play the fool: It is written (saith he) in Genesis, that Laban said unto Jacob; Because thou art my kinsman, shalt thou therefore serve me *Gratis*? Here (saith he) put this word, Only, and thou shalt see, what an absurd kind of speech it will be. And in the book of Numbers; The people said, that in Egypt they did eat fishes *Gratis*: and in the Psalm; They have hated me *Gratis*: Here (saith he) cannot be put this adverb, Only; Wherefore we rashly and very weakly conclude, that because in the scriptures a man is said to be justified *Gratis*, he is therefore straightway justified by faith Only. But this sharp-witted man, and one so well exercised in the concordance of the Bible, should have remembered, that this word *Gratis*, signifieth without a cause, or without a reward and price: and therefore we rightly say, that justification consisteth of faith Only; because it is said to be given *Gratis*. For if works were required, there should be a cause, or a reward, or a price to the obtainment of righteousness. But forsoomuch as *Gratis* excludeth all these things, of that word is rightly and truly inferred, Only faith.

And those places, which this man hath alleged, are not hard to confute: for Laban saith, Shalt thou serve me *Gratis*? That is, without this covenant that I should give thee something: which is only to take, and nothing to repay. And the Israelites, when they said that they did eat fishes *Gratis*; meant,

that they did eat them without any price paid. And that saying; They have hated me *Gratis*, is nothing else, then without a cause, or without any my desert. So that if this word *Gratis* take away price and merit, (forsomuch as Paul saith, that we are justified *Gratis*) we must needs understand, that it is done without any our price or merits: which doubtless might not be true, if works should be required, as causes and merits. And because we once brought a place out of the epistle to the Galatians; But seeing we know, that man is not justified by the works of the law, except it be by the faith of Jesus Christ: and of this particle (Except) concluded, that justification consisteth of faith Only; this man therefore according to his wisdom, rageth, and saith, that this word, Except, is not all one with Only. For he saith, that Joseph in Genesis said unto his brethren; Ye shall not see my face, except ye bring your youngest brother: and Christ (saith he) saith; Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, ye shall not have life in you. Who (saith he) will say, that life is had only by eating of the sacraments? Wherefore (saith he) these things cannot be expounded, by this word Only. Yes doubtless, but they may: for in Genesis, what other thing meant Joseph, than to admonish his brethren, that they should upon this condition only, come again into his sight; to wit, if they brought their youngest brother with them? And Christ in the sixth of John, entreated not of the eating of the sacrament: for he had not as yet instituted it; wherefore by this word, To eat, he signifieth, To believe. And he saith, that they which are of full age, herein only have life, if they eat his flesh, and drink his blood: that is, if they believe that the son of God was delivered for them, for the remission of their sins; and that this is the only way whereby they may be saved.

84. But Smith addeth, that from justification is not to be excluded, hope, charity, and other good works. I grant indeed, that those are not to be

excluded from a man that is justified; howbeit I do not attribute unto them the power of justifying. For that which Paul saith; that A man is not justified by works, should not be true, if we should be justified by any kind of works: for if a man should say, that an artificer worketh not with his fingers, and afterward should grant that he to that work which he doth, useth his fingers, he were worthy to be laughed at; although being convict, he would say, that he excepted only the little finger; and not the thumb, forefinger, or middle finger: for he which useth three fingers, undoubtedly useth fingers. But why doth this man say, that hope and charity are not excluded? Because (saith he) even ye yourselves will have us to be justified by a lively faith, which certainly is not without these. We grant that these virtues are always joined with true faith; but yet in them we put no part of our justification before God. In this argument is a fallacy or deceit of the accident: for unto those things which are adjoined, is attributed that which is proper to the same, whereunto they are joined. As if a man should say; The sun is round and high; Ergo, the roundness and height of the sun do make us warm. What works then doth Smith exclude from justification, when as he includeth hope and charity? I suppose surly, that he excludeth outward works, fasting's, alms, and such like. But with what face can he so say or teach, seeing he appointeth and defendeth works preparatory?

But this sharp-witted man thinketh, that he hath trimly escaped, for that he saith, that these things are not of necessity required to justification, and that only they are profitable to justification if they be present. But this is worthy to be laughed at: for we have before most plainly taught, that all works which are done before justification, are sins; so far is it off, that they can serve anything unto justification. And if they should by any means profit unto justification, our glorying should not then be excluded: for we might

glory, that we had done these things, by whose help and aid we were justified. But of this (saith he) we cannot boast, for that they were done by a certain grace of God preventing us. But this is the chiefest thing to be marked, that these men attribute a great part of such works unto free will; and therefore, in that behalf, at the least, we may glory. Neither also shall that be true which the apostle saith; What hast thou, that thou hast not received: and again, Why doest thou boast, as though thou hadst not received? Here some of them answer, that we cannot glory of this liberty of will; for that we have it not of our own: for it is God, which hath endued us with this faculty, and gave us free will, when he created us.

But this is not sufficient to take away glorying: first, for that this were to fly unto the common grace of creation, which thing the Pelagians did; and by that means there should at the least way be left unto us a good use of free will, whereof we might glory. For although we have the same of God by creation, yet the right use thereof is ours; namely, to assent unto God when he calleth us, and to apply ourselves to good works, which of God are set forth to us. And therefore utterly to take away all glorying, it is needful that we ever bear this in mind, which Augustine doth admonish us in his book *De spiritu & litera*, the 24th chapter, that The will and election of well doing, is of God; not only because he hath by creation given choice and free will, but also for that by the persuasion of things he hath made us both to will, and to believe; and that not only by the outward preaching of the gospel, but also by inward persuasion. For he doth not only stir up the heart, but also persuadeth, draweth, and boweth it to believe. I grant indeed, that it is the office of the will, to will and to embrace that which God offereth; for we do not will by understanding, or by memory; but by will. And yet for all

that, I doubt not, but that it is God which maketh us to will, and to follow good things.

85. Further, our adversaries think, that although works concur unto justification; yet is that notwithstanding true, which the holy scriptures teach; that we be justified freely: because (say they) those works are given of God, and are done by grace. If this refuge might help, then had not Paul done well, when as he took away from ceremonial works, the power of justifying: for a Jew might say; Our fathers, which in the old time were circumcised, and performed other observations of the law, did not the same by their own natural strength; but by the grace of God, both helping them and stirring them up thereunto. Wherefore, if other works which were commanded in the law, could profit unto justification, to merit it (as you speak) of congruity; why could not ceremonial works do the same? Neither will this anything help, to say, that Paul taketh not away from them the power of justifying; but only after the coming of Christ. For he manifestly speaketh of Abraham, which was justified by faith, and not by circumcision; and he useth a testimony of David, of whom it is well known that he lived under the law. But whereas this man saith, that charity and hope cannot be excluded; I would gladly know of him, whether the works of these virtues be just or no? I know he will grant that they are just. What will he then answer unto Paul, who unto Titus saith; Not by the works of righteousness, which we have done? But I know these men's fond devises; they answer that such works are excluded, if they be done by the law, and by free will, without grace. But what needeth to exclude that which cannot be; for who will either love God, or hope in him without grace? Further, in what manner so ever they be done, they cannot serve to justification: for we are justified by grace, as it plainly appeareth by the holy scriptures. But between grace

and works is so great contrariety, that Paul saith; If of grace, then it is not now of works; and if of works, then it is not of grace.

Neither ought these men to be so much displeased, for that we use this word Only: for we necessarily conclude it, of that which Paul saith; first, that We are justified by faith; and afterward addeth; Without works. How aptly we thus conclude, I will declare by a similitude. In the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy (if we follow the truth of the Hebrew) it is thus written; Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him thou shalt serve. Here (as you see) wanteth this particle Only; yet because it there followeth; Thou shalt not go after strange gods: the seventy interpreters have thus turned that place; Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, and him only thou shalt serve. These men, of the first proposition being affirmative, that God is to be worshipped; and of the other being negative, that strange gods are not to be worshipped; concluded, that God only is to be served. Whose authority should not be of so great weight with me, but that Christ himself hath cited that place in that sort: for thus he rebuked the devil; Depart from me Satan, for it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him Only shalt thou serve. Here we see, that to disprove the worshipping, which is given unto a creature; this particle Only is necessary: which although it be not had in the Hebrew, yet it is necessarily gathered out of it. Now, when as we also reason after this manner, why should these men be so much offended?

86. Let them consider also, that the best, and the most ancient fathers did not mislike that word. It is a thing ridiculous to see, with how cold toys, and poor shifts Smith goeth about to prevent and answer them. First he saith, that they meant nothing else, but to repress men, that they should not wax insolent. But let Smith in one word, according to his good wisdom, answer

me; Whether the fathers spake this truly or falsely. If they spake it truly, then make they on our side. And why doth this man so much impugn it? But if falsely, this good end nothing helpeth them, to repress the insolency of men. For, even as Evil must not be committed, that good may ensue; so false doctrine must not be avouched, to supplant other false doctrine. But this man undoubtedly, is so far besides himself, as he saith, that this was lawful for the fathers to do. For in his book *De votis*, which not many years ago he set abroad, he saith; that Augustine *De bono viduitatis*, whereas he writeth, that Their matrimones, which had vowed a vow of virginity, or of sole life, are true marriages, and not adulteries; wrote the same for no other end, but to persuade Juliana the widow (unto whom he wrote the book) that marriages in general are not evil. And so a God's name he confesseth, that Augustine setteth forth one false doctrine, to overthrow another false doctrine.

And with the like wisdom, in the same book he feigneth, that Clement Alexandrinus wrote, that Paul had a wife (which he thinketh to be most false;) only to prove that marriage is good and honorable. And if it be lawful so to mingle true things with false, and to confound all things; when then shall we believe the fathers? What thing can at any time be certain unto us, but that we may be deceived thereby? Further, he feigneth, that Paul excluded from justification only the works of the law. But this we have before abundantly confuted, and have taught, that the reasons of Paul are general. Yea, the fathers saw even this also: for Augustine, in many places affirmeth, that Paul entreateth not only of ceremonial works, but also of moral works. But because the authority of Augustine is (I know not how) suspected unto our adversaries, let us see what Jerome saith. He unto Ctesiphon against the Pelagians, upon these words; By the works of the law

no flesh shall be justified, thus writeth: Because thou thinkest this to be spoken of the law of Moses only, and not of all the commandments, which are contained under this one name of the law, the self-same apostle saith; I consent unto the law of God. There are others also of the fathers, which teach the same: but I now overpass them. Let it suffice to show, that this other feigned invention of Smith is vain and trifling.

87. Thirdly he saith, that they meant to exclude works (as he calleth them) penal; those works (I suppose) which repentant men do. But to show how ridiculous this is also, shall need no long declaration. For first, such works were required of men; not that by them they should be justified before God, but only to approve themselves unto the church; that is, least they by a feigned and dissembled repentance should seek to be reconciled. Further, it is not likely, that Paul spake of any such works: for they were not at that time in use. Indeed Ambrose, when he excludeth works from justification, hath hereunto once or twice a respect. But we ought not so much to consider, what one or two of the fathers do say; but what agreeth with the holy scriptures. Smith addeth moreover, that it is certain, that God requireth much more of us than faith: for in Mark, it is thus written; Repent, and believe. Here (saith he) unto faith is adjoined repentance. And in another place; He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved. He addeth also, that in the epistle to the Ephesians; The church is said to be sanctified by the washing of water in the word. And that Peter in his third chapter of his first epistle saith; that Baptism hath made us safe. And that Jerome also thus writeth upon the first chapter of Isaiah; The washing of regeneration doth only remit sins. Behold (saith he) justification, and remission of sins is ascribed, not only unto faith, but also unto the sacraments.

As touching the first, we grant, that Christ requireth more of us than faith: for who doubteth, but that he will have men that are justified to live uprightly, and to exercise themselves in all kinds of virtues; otherwise, they shall not come unto eternal salvation? Howbeit, these are fruits of faith, and effects of justification, and not causes. But as touching the sacraments, we have many times taught, how justification is to be attributed unto them: for they are in the same respect unto justification, as is the preaching of the Gospel, and the promise concerning Christ, which is offered unto us to salvation. And very oftentimes in the scriptures, that which belongeth unto the thing, is ascribed to the sacrament or sign. And because baptism promiseth remission of sins by Christ, and signifieth it, and sealeth it in them which are washed; therefore Jerome, of all other sacraments, attributeth this unto it only. Wherefore the words of the Fathers ought nothing to move us, when as they write thus; that Faith alone is not sufficient to salvation: for they understand this, of that eternal salvation, unto which we come not, except some fruit follow our faith. But of their sayings we ought not to gather, that a man is not justified by faith only. And though at any time, the very same fathers seem to refer their words unto justification; yet are they to be understood, that their meaning was to express the nature of the true and justifying faith: for it in very deed is never alone, but hath ever hope and charity, and other good works, as companions. Sometimes also by justification, they understand that righteousness, which sticketh in us; the which without all doubt, doth not consist or depend of faith only.

88. They think also, that this maketh against us: for that Paul writeth unto the Romans; By hope we are made safe. Neither do they see, that hope is there taken for the last regeneration, which we hope we shall one day obtain

in the heavenly country: for the apostle a little before spake of it. And undoubtedly, we possess that salvation only in hope, not as yet in very deed. If there be any peradventure, whom this most just and most true answer will not suffice; let him follow the interpretation of Origin: for he upon that place saith; that Hope is there put for faith: which is no rare thing in the holy scriptures. But they have found out yet another fond devise, whereby (as much as lieth in them) they do go about to qualify this word Only, which is so often used of the Fathers; namely, that faith only hath the beginning, and as it were, the first degree of justification: which afterward is made perfect and full, when other good works come unto it. But how vain this is, Paul himself sufficiently teacheth: for he doth not only say, that We are justified by faith only, but also he addeth, without works. Further this also maketh against these men, which is written in the book of Wisdom; To know God is full righteousness. In which place it is a sport to see, how Smith wringeth himself. First he dares not deny the sentence, for he counteth that book for canonical: but as he is of a sharp wit, at the last this he deviseth; that God is not known by faith only, but also by love. But whoever would so say, but only this man? Undoubtedly, by love, we do not know, but we do love.

But that which is spoken in the book of Wisdom (which yet with me is not of so great authority) Christ himself hath most manifestly testified in the Gospel, saying; This is eternal life, that they know thee, the only true God. Although of this saying also of our savior; Gardener the Bishop of Winchester, devised of late, I wot not what; namely, that to know God, is not properly eternal life, although it somewhat help forward thereunto. But forsomuch as neither the Fathers, nor Paul, nor Christ himself can satisfy these men; there is no hope that we shall anything prevail with our reasons.

They add moreover, that the Fathers say, that only faith justifieth; that is, it is the principallest thing whereby we are justified. I confess indeed, that Only sometimes signifieth Principal. But this sense cannot agree with Paul's purpose: for if charity be compared with faith, charity (as Paul saith) is more excellent and better. Wherefore, if both of them justify (as these men will have it) then should charity have the chieftest part, and not faith. And this also is a great let unto these men, which I have oftentimes spoken of, that Paul so ascribeth justification unto faith, that he saith; Without works. But Augustine (say they) unto Simplicianus writeth; that By faith we begin to be justified. Unto this we may answer two manner of ways; first, that that beginning is such, that in very deed it hath the very full and whole justification. So that Augustine's meaning is, that we are justified so soon as we have faith. Or if this please them not, we will say (as the truth is indeed) that Augustine meant of the righteousness which sticketh in us.

They cite also Ambrose, upon the fifth chapter unto the Galatians; In Christ, &c. For (saith he) we have need of faith only, in charity to justification. Behold (say they) unto justification we have no less need of charity, than of faith. But they are far deceived: for by those words Ambrose meant nothing else, but to make a distinction between true faith and vain opinion: therefore he saith; that we have need of faith only, namely, that which is joined with charity. But Jerome upon the fifth chapter unto the Galatians, saith; that It is charity only, which maketh clean the heart. What other thing else shall we here answer, but that this his saying (if it be sharply and sincerely urged) is false? For it is faith also which purifieth the hearts, as it written in the Acts of the apostles. And Paul unto Timothy saith; Charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, &c. By which words it is plain, that the heart must of necessity first be pure, before charity can

come. Wherefore we will interpret that sentence by the effect, and as touching our knowledge: for then it is most certain, that we are regenerate, and have a clean heart, when we be endued with charity. After this manner also have we before expounded this; Many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much.

89. And by the self-same means also, may that saying of Augustine, in his book *De natura & gratia*, the 38th chapter, be answered unto; It is the charity of God (saith he) by which only, he is just, whosoever is just. But this seemeth also best unto me, to understand such sayings of the fathers to concern that righteousness, which abideth and sticketh in us: for that consisteth not only of faith, but also of all virtues and good works. Now, because amongst all virtues, charity is the principal; therefore the fathers sometimes attribute righteousness unto it only. And that which our adversaries have most unjustly usurped, to expound this word Only, for Principal or chief, may in this place most justly serve us: for here we entreat not of that justification, which is had by imputation; but of that which we attain to after regeneration. Wherefore, in this our proposition, we exclude not from a man that is justified, hope, charity, and other good works: but this only we say, that they have not the power, or cause, or merit of justifying. And when we say, that a man is justified by faith only; we say nothing else undoubtedly, but that a man is justified only by the mercy of God, and by the merit of Christ only: which cannot be apprehended by any other instrument, than by faith only.

Neither must we give place unto our adversaries, not to use this word Only, though they cry out never so much, that of it springeth great offense; and men's minds are by this persuasion somewhat weakened in the exercise of virtues. For by sound doctrine we do easily remedy these

discommodities: for we always teach, that it is not justification, or true faith, which wanteth the fruits of good life. But we see the subtle and crafty devise of these men: for if we should say, that a man is simply justified by faith, leaving out this word Only; straightway they would add of their own, that a man indeed is justified by faith: but yet he is no less justified by hope, and charity, and other good works. For this very cause the Catholics, in times past, would not permit unto the Arians this word ὁμοούσιον, that is, Consubstantial, or Of like substance: because they would straightway have said, that The son indeed, by appellation or name, is God, like unto the father, and in a manner equal unto him; but yet not of one and the self-same nature and substance. Wherefore they did with tooth and nail defend and keep still this word ὁμοούσιον, that is, Consubstantial, or Of one and the self-same substance, as a word most apt to express the truth of that controversy. Which they might also by good right do; and chiefly, for that they saw, that that word was of necessity concluded out of the holy scriptures: out of which also is most evidently concluded this our word Only; and is thought of us a word most meet to confute the errors of those, which would have justification to come of works.

Moreover, Gardener bishop of Winchester, counted this our proposition to be absurd; and against it, amongst other arguments, he used this, the which to me doubtless is very strange, that it is so greatly esteemed of some of his parasites; The righteousness (saith he) that is given us of God, whereby we are justified, pertaineth to all the faculties and powers of the mind, or rather to the whole man; Therefore we are not justified by faith only: for that pertaineth only unto the higher part of the soul. Here (gentle reader) that thou be not deceived, lieth hidden a double fallacy or deceit. For first, grant, that that righteousness, which is given unto us, pertaineth unto the whole

man, and unto all the powers and faculties of the mind: shall it therefore follow, that that righteousness, which is offered of God, is not apprehended by faith only? Undoubtedly, the meat which we eat, is distributed into all the members, and into the whole body; and yet it is received with the mouth only, and not with the whole body. Further, the disputation is not about any righteousness, which is fastened and sticketh in us; which in very deed is dispersed in the whole man: but about justification, which is the forgiveness of sins. But this righteousness hath no place nor seat in our minds, but in God alone, by whose will only our sins are forgiven us.

90. But now, forsomuch as this article hath been sufficiently defended, against the cavillations of importunate men; we will omit this, and briefly declare, that the ancient fathers did not mislike of this word Only, the which our adversaries so greatly shun. Origin, upon the epistle unto the Romans, upon these words; Thy glorying is excluded. By what law? By the law of deeds? No, but by the law of faith. For we suppose, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law. The justification (saith he) of faith only is sufficient, that a man only believing should be justified, although he have done no good work at all. And for example he bringeth forth that thief, which was crucified together with Christ; and that woman, unto whom Christ answered; Thy faith hath made thee say. Afterward he objecteth unto himself, that a man hearing these same things, might be made secure, and contemn good works. But he answereth, that he which after justification, liveth not uprightly, casteth away the grace of justification: for no man (saith he) receiveth forgiveness of sins, to use license to sin; for pardon is given, not of faults to come, but of sins past. Than which sentence nothing can be said more conformable unto our doctrine. Cyprian to Quirinus, in his

42nd chapter; Faith (saith he) only profiteth, and look how much we believe, so much are we able to do.

Basilus, in his sermon *De humilitate*, writeth; that A man is justified by faith only. Hilarius also upon Matthew, the 8th chapter; Faith (saith he) only justifieth. Ambrose, upon the 5th chapter unto the Romans, upon these words; Being justified freely: Because (saith he) they working nothing, nor rendering turn for turn, are by faith only justified by the gift of God. The same author upon these words; According to the purpose of the grace of God; So Paul (saith he) saith; It was decreed of God, that the law ceasing, only faith should be required unto salvation. And straightway after; God hath ordained, that men should by faith only, without labor, and any observation, be justified before God. The same father, upon the first chapter of the second epistle unto the Corinthians; It is appointed (saith he) by God, that he which believeth in Christ, shall be saved without works, by faith only. And he hath the like sentences, in his book *De vocatione gentium*.

Out of Chrysostom I could bring a great many places to confirm this sentence: but of them I will pick out only a few. Upon the third chapter unto the Romans, upon these words; Thy glory is excluded: In this (saith he) is set forth the might and power of God, in that he hath saved, justified, and wrought our rejoicing by faith only, without works. And at the beginning of the fourth chapter; That a man being destitute of works, should be justified by faith, peradventure it may appear to be well: but that a man, being adorned with virtues and good works, is not for all that justified by them, but by faith only; this assuredly is wonderful. Hereby our adversaries may understand, that although faith have (as companions) hope, charity, and other good works, (which cannot be doubted of, but that they were in Abraham;) yet they do serve nothing to the comprehending of

righteousness. And on the 10th chapter, upon these words; They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, were not subject to the righteousness of God: He calleth (saith he) the righteousness of God, that righteousness, which is of faith; because we without labor, are by faith only justified through the gift of God. Of Augustine I will speak nothing: for he is full of this matter against the Pelagians: and every man may easily by his writings confirm it.

Hesychius upon Leviticus, in his first book and second chapter; Grace (saith he) is apprehended by faith only, not by works. The very which thing he in a manner hath in his 4th book, and 14th chapter. Theophilactus, upon the third chapter unto the Galatians, expounding these words; Because by the law, no man is justified before God: Now (saith he) Paul plainly declareth, that faith even alone hath in it the power to justify. Phocius upon the fifth chapter unto the Romans; Justification (saith he) consisteth of faith only. Acacius in *Oecumenius*, upon the first chapter unto the Romans; He hath only (saith he) by faith raised up, and quickened us, being mortified by sins. Barnard, in his 22nd sermon upon the Canticles; By faith only (saith he) he that is justified, shall have peace. And in the self-same sermon; That wanteth (saith he) of grace, whatsoever thou ascribest unto merits. Grace maketh me justified freely.

Whom these things suffice not, let them read Gennadius, upon the fifth chapter unto the Romans; Cyrillus, in his ninth book, and third chapter upon John; Theodoretus, upon the fifth chapter to the Romans; Didymus, upon the second chapter of James; Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, the third book, and 27th chapter; Cyprian, or whatsoever he were in his exposition of the articles of our faith; Lyranus, upon the third to the Galatians; The ordinary Glose, upon the epistle unto James; Haimo, upon the Gospel of

circumcision; Sedulius, upon the first and second chapters unto the Romans; Thomas, upon the third to the Galatians; Bruno, upon the fourth unto the Romans; Arnobius, upon the 106th Psalm. Now I think I have spoken enough, as touching this question.

Osianders feigned devise, as touching essential righteousness, is confuted in the epistle to the Lord's of Polonia.

CHAP. V. Of Peace and Christian Liberty; where also is entreated of Offense of the Conscience, and especially of the Choice of Meats.

The sum of the preaching of the Gospel is peace, especially with God: for they which do preach (as the apostle teacheth in the latter epistle to the Corinthians) bring with them the words of reconciliation. Neither exhort they anything else, but that we should be reconciled unto God through Christ. God in times past, was angry with mankind, he punished and condemned them, he rejected their prayers and their works: and although they were notable, yet did he abhor them; because they were the works of his enemies. And on the other side, men were not only miserable, but also they hated even God himself; they wished that there might be no God, they detested his judgments, and fled from him as from a tyrant and cruel executioner; for that their own conscience on every side accused them. But the Gospel preacheth peace and reconciliation through Christ. This is it which the angels did sing at the birth of Christ; Glory on high, peace on earth, and good will towards men. The angels approved this work of God, which had decreed by his son to redeem mankind. And this their praise and commendation, is the glory of God. Moreover, forsomuch as we

now through Christ be reconciled unto God, we obtain peace inwardly as touching our mind: for being renewed by grace and the spirit, we lead an upright life; neither do our wicked affections turmoil us anymore, our conscience reproveth us not, neither are our hearts, by furious rages stirred up to perturbations. Further, we wish well, and do good unto our neighbors, as unto ourselves, and live in peace with them, and that most firmly.

Neither is this any let, which Christ said; I came not to send peace upon the earth: for that peace is to be understood as touching the peace of the flesh, and of the world. For with the peace of the Gospel, whereof we now entreat, are joined great perils and discommodities of the flesh; persecutions, and loss of goods do straightway assail us. Goodness (as the philosophers say) is that, which all things desire. And to declare the nature thereof more at large and plainly; all things are good, so far forth as in them there is a certain respect derived towards us, that they are either profitable, commodious, or pleasant to our uses. But through the power of the Gospel, we obtain this benefit, that all things are made to serve us; All things (saith Paul) are yours, whether it be life, or death, or Paul, or Cephas; and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's. Again; To them that love God, all things work to good. And that which Isaiah taught is to be noted; to wit, That by these messengers deliverance must be preached. For although that death, misfortunes, poverty, diseases, and such other kind of evils, do still vex us; yet are we said to be delivered from them by Christ: because they have not any longer the nature of punishments. For all these discommodities of the flesh, God hath by his death and cross sanctified: so that they have no more in them the respect of punishment; but unto us are made instructions, fatherly chastisements, victories, triumphs, and notable acts.

2. But to omit nothing, we ought not to be ignorant and that in the Hebrew tongue *Schalom*, that is, Peace, signifieth Happiness of things: so that, whereas the Greeks say, χαίρειν, or εὐπράττειν in the superscription of their letters; the Hebrews use to write *Schalom*, that is, Peace. And so, seeing the Evangelists do pronounce peace, they preach perfect and true happiness. And if thou demand wherein consisteth such a peace, goodness, and deliverance; we answer, that (to speak briefly) it consisteth in the kingdom of God. Therefore Christ, when he sent his disciples to preach, willed them to preach, that The kingdom of heaven is at hand. The self-same doth Isaiah say, when he writeth; And they shall say unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. Hitherto hath sin reigned: wherefore Paul said; Let not sin reign in your mortal body. Death also hath reigned: for the same apostle saith; Death hath reigned from Adam even unto Moses. The devil also hath reigned, whom the Lord calleth The prince of this world: and Paul, The governor of this world, and the god of this world. All these things have hitherto miserably exercised their tyranny over us: but now the Lord reigneth.

For, as touching outward kingdoms, the Jews undoubtedly had many judges, and many kings, few good, some tolerable, but a great many most wicked tyrants. And they which were good, as David, Hezekiah, Josiah, and such like, were notwithstanding weak; neither could they either defend the people from calamities, or make them good. Wherefore the Jews were oftentimes oppressed of their enemies, led away into captivity, and from thence being delivered, were at rest for a while. But after Alexander Magnus came, the Macedonians grievously vexed Jewry. After them came Pompeius, Crassus, Herod, and at the last Vespasianus and Titus, who utterly overthrew all. Also the church of Christ had her external princes, partly wicked, and partly good, in respect of civil justice; but yet very weak.

Wherefore our estate can never be in good case, unless Christ reign in us. The kingdom of heaven (as Daniel in his 2nd chapter saith) is that, which is never destroyed. Therein is peace, not for a moment of time, but forever: for in the Psalm it is said; In his days shall righteousness spring, and abundance of peace, so long as the moon endureth. And in Isaiah; And of his peace there shall be no end.

And herein consisteth this kingdom, that we be directed by the word, and by the spirit of God: by these two ways Christ reigneth in us. The word showeth what is to be believed, and what is to be done; and the spirit moveth and driveth us to do those things. This is the everlasting kingdom of God, whereunto when he will adjoin any people, or any nation, he visiteth them by his ambassadors, which are the preachers of the gospel; and those will he have to be cheerfully received. Yea he saith; He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me. Thus have we the judgment of God touching ministers, whereby the believers ought to be very much comforted; although the world judge otherwise, and count them for mad men and outcasts, and esteem them as offscouring and dung: and so long as the world endureth, men shall have this opinion of them. But for so much as by his judgment the world is foolish, and understandeth not the things pertaining unto God, therefore we must not lean unto it; but rather hold fast the most strong and most acceptable judgment of God.

Of Christian peace, look the sermon upon the place of John 20; My Peace be with you.

Of Bondage and Christian freedom.

3. The property of a servant is this; namely, to be none of his own man, but to do the business of his master. Wherefore if we be the servants of Christ, this is required of us, that our whole life and breath, and whatsoever

we think, be directed unto Christ. Seeing (I say) to be the servants of Christ, is a thing common unto us all; the metaphor whereby we are so called, should be diligently weighed; namely, because we ought so to obey God, as servants do their masters. But we are far off from performing this thing: for servants do spend the least part of the day about their own business, and all the rest of the time they be occupied about their master's affairs. But we do far otherwise; we are a very short space, or but one hour occupied about things pertaining unto God: and all the rest of our time we spend about worldly things, and pertaining to ourselves. A servant hath nothing of his own, and proper to himself; but we do privately possess many things, which we will neither bestow for God nor Christ's sake. Servants when they are beaten and stricken, do humbly desire pardon and forgiveness of their masters: but we in adversities resist God, murmur against him, and blaspheme his name. Servants receive only meat, drink, and apparel, and therewith are content: but we never make any end or measure of riches and prodigality.

Servants, when they hear the threatening of their masters, do tremble from top to toe: but we are nothing moved with the threatening's of the prophets, apostles, and holy scriptures. Servants will neither have talk nor familiarity, nor yet show any sign of amity with their master's enemies: but we are in continual fellowship with the devil, the flesh, and the world. Wherefore we be far from that service, which we owe unto God; whom nevertheless we ought much more both to obey and serve, than our servants ought to obey and serve us. For God, besides that he both feedeth and nourisheth us, hath also brought us forth, and given us even our being. Moreover, whatsoever servants do towards us, all that is for our own commodity, and helpeth them nothing: but contrariwise, we, when we serve God, do bring unto him no

profit or commodity at all. For though we live justly, he is made never a whit the better or more blessed than he was before. Also, we give little or nothing unto our servants: but God for us hath given out his only son, and together with him hath given us all things. We promise to our servants a very small reward; but God hath promised unto us the same felicity, whereof Christ himself hath the fruition. Whereby appeareth, how much more bound we are to serve him, than our servants are bound unto us.

But in that we have said, that this vocation of being servants unto Christ is common unto all: it seemeth not very well to agree with that, which is written in the Gospel; Now I will not call you servants, but friends. Paul also seemeth to be against it, when he said; Ye have not received again the spirit of bondage to fear, but the spirit of children, whereby we cry; Abba, Father. And certainly we cannot deny, but we are the servants of God. Christ hath paid the price for us, wherefore being redeemed by him, we are his servants. God hath created us. And the rule of every artificer's work is to be serviceable unto him that made it. Wherefore, there must be used a distinction; namely, of the inward and outward man, of the spirit and of the flesh. As touching the outward man, and the works of the body; we are called servants, because we execute offices in serving of God, and our neighbors, as much as in us lieth.

Further, as concerning adversities, and the cross, which we daily suffer; we are punished by God, no otherwise than servants are stricken and beaten: indeed not always for punishment sake, as they be; but very often for trial of our faith, and for that the flesh and the lusts thereof might be repressed, and that a repentance of our sins and offenses (which continually break forth) might be stirred up. Also, the outward appearance, and lowly behavior, which the faithful do use, hath the show of a certain servitude.

After which manner Christ, in the epistle to the Philippians, is said to have taken upon him the shape of a servant. But our spirit, because it is not moved chiefly with the hope of reward, or with the fear of punishments; but only, and of his own accord executeth the commandments of God: therefore we are said to have the spirit of children. Also, for that we be inflamed through charity, and not compelled of necessity, we are friends; and are not dishonored with a servile condition. Paul hath plainly said; When I was free from all men, I was made the servant of all men.

Of Offense.

4. God would a consideration to be had of the weak, that there should be no offense offered them, whereby they might be drawn back from the Gospel, or be hindered from the course which they have once begun. Offense is a saying or doing, whereby is hindered the course of the Gospel; the propagation or spreading whereof ought to be the level of our whole life, and the very lodestar, whereunto we ought always to look. It is of two sorts; of life, and doctrine. Touching the offenses which proceed of ill manners, Tertullian, in his book *De virginibus velandis* saith; that Offense is an example, not of a good, but of an evil thing. As touching evil doctrines, which offend, Augustine divideth them into two heads; so as some pertain to the very nature of God: as when the father is affirmed to be greater than the son, or else to be of another nature and substance than the son is of, and such other like. And there be certain offenses, which belong unto the church: as if one say, that the church doth so stick in one place, that it can be nowhere else; as the Donatists in those days affirmed. These things be written of him in the hundred and twenty psalm.

Other divide it otherwise; that some offenses are done of set purpose: as when laws be enacted, and ordinances made, which are contrary unto the

Gospel; as it hath been done very oftentimes by the Pope, and by many bishops. Other offenses also be given; although indeed not willfully, or of set purpose to hinder the Gospel: but for that men apply themselves to fulfill their lusts, or to obtain their pleasures and delights, without consideration of godliness and religion. There is no reason for any man to object, that Christ did offend very many; because he himself confessed, when he said, Blessed is he that shall not be offended by me: and because in Isaiah it is fore-shewed, that He should be the stone of falling, and the rock of offense. For herein Christ obeyed his father, and applied himself to the fore-telling of the prophets, which prophesied, that he should come and live in such humble and abject manner: which if he had not done, he should have been a far greater offense. Also we must not take it grievously, if by living honestly we do offend the world; seeing that God, even in the government of the world doth not content all men: for there are quarrelling's against him in every place.

Let us avoid those offenses, which we ourselves give in seeking our own commodity; seeing therein we be far unlike unto Christ, who lest ninety and nine sheep, to go seek that which was gone astray; and for one groat which was lost would have the whole house to be ransacked. Wherefore it ought to be no marvel, if it be so severely decreed, touching them which take not heed of giving offense. And when Christ said in the Gospel; that Of necessity offenses must come: that must be understood, both in respect of God's judgment, and also because of our frail and corrupt nature. For God, of his just judgment and severity, would that Pharaoh should by his sorcerers be offended, that he might not be obedient unto his commandment: for that did his incredulous and obstinate mind deserve. And by the very same means God wrought, that the wicked king Ahab

should take offense by his false prophets; least he should give ear unto the truth, declared by the prophet Micah. Sometimes also he sendeth occasions of offense for their sakes that be godly, to the intent they may become more notable: for we learn, that heresies are necessary; because those which be tried may be manifestly known. Furthermore, we have cause of offenses in our own selves: for as we are natural men, and neither do nor can understand things that be of God, because they be foolishness unto us; our flesh taketh an occasion of falling, and is offended at the word of God.

5. And forsomuch as the Lord hath died for such as are weak, they that sin against them, sin against Christ; as Paul speaketh to the Corinthians, because they do not reverently esteem of his death and blood. The conscience of another man is wounded, when it is ill edified, and is compelled to do those things, whereof it judgeth otherwise. Doubtless it is great cruelty to wound a brother; but more cruel to wound a weak brother, and to strike him on that part whereon he is already weakened, and which grieveth him much: that is, in the conscience the greatest cruelty that may be. Ambrose in that place setteth it down thus; that They do sin in Christ, because they sin in the profession of Christ: even as they are said to sin in the law, who having the law, yet nevertheless do sin. Otherwise (saith he) to sin against Christ, is to deny Christ. But the Greek text hath εἰς Χριστόν, that is, Against Christ: which phrase Chrysostom followeth, and declareth, that by this kind of sin Christ is hurt three manner of ways. First, because he testifieth, that whatsoever shall be done unto his, the same is done unto himself; He that receiveth you, receiveth me; Whatsoever ye have done unto one of the least of them that be mine, ye have done it unto me; Saul Saul, why persecutest thou me? And many such other like places. Secondly, because such as are weak, pertain unto the body of Christ, seeing they be

his members: wherefore when they be either wounded or hurt, Christ also himself is hurt. And lastly, because that building which Christ established by his own blood, these men by their evil example overthrow; for We are God's building.

Neither ought this speech to drive us to that point, as though we ought always to stand in doubt, least any should be offended at our doings, which otherwise be just and lawful: for these things at this present are spoken concerning open and manifest offenses. There have been some, which have alleged that place to the Corinthians, to persuade, that we should bear also with most grievous abuses in the church; least by attempting anything against them, the weaker sort might thereby be offended. And by this self-same reason they would defend themselves, that whereas otherwise, being persuaded in the truth, they might both be present at masses, and intermeddle with papistical idolatry. For if (say they) we should not do this, we should be a great offense unto the people. The which reason of theirs is most absurd, seeing Paul saith, that he in mean and indifferent things (such as are the eating of flesh, and drinking of wine) would take heed of offending the weak. But to be partaker of abuses and papistical idolatry, is to commit gross and manifest sin; whereby, while as they feign that they would beware of giving offense unto certain wicked men, they offend the true church of Christ. And whereas they are of some estimation, they call many back, which otherwise would have come unto the truth; and by their ill example they nourish ungodliness. Neither do they in the meantime, while they thus dissemble, admonish the weak of their weakness; neither do they speak any word at all to testify their faith.

Of Christian liberty.

6. The Corinthians did so abuse Christian liberty, as they continually boasted, that all things were lawful unto them. This doth Paul deny, and he maketh two kinds of forbidden things. The one is of things indifferent, when by the use of them a brother is offended: another kind is that, which in the nature thereof is always evil, which we can never use well. First he entreateth of things indifferent, and useth the figure *Antypophora* [or an exception of that which was objected.] They boasted; All things are lawful form: Paul added; But all things are not expedient. That brag of theirs he repelleth by this first exception: for although many things be lawful, yet must we beware of them, when as they be not profitable. He denieth not, but that all things be lawful unto a Christian; but then thou must restrain thy speech unto things indifferent. The proposition is general, but it must be more strictly taken, as is that saying; God will have all men to be saved: and; He lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. As touching these things that be indifferent, we must affirm, that only (according to their own kind and nature) they have this indifferency. But when we come unto election, there is nothing indifferent: for it is of necessity that the same be either good or evil. Whensoever anything is taken in hand, we must always have a respect unto edifying. We are not born to ourselves only, but unto Christ, unto the church, and to our neighbors: wherefore the rule of edifying is so necessary, as it ought always to be before our eyes.

There is also another exception in these things indifferent. I ought not only to consider what may further our neighbors, the church, and the house of Christ: but I must also provide, least under the pretense of liberty, I lose the perfect and true Christian liberty. For it may be, that while I follow the liberty of the flesh, I may fall into hard bondage, whereby I make myself a most vile bonds slave unto my belly, appetite, or lust, and to mine evil

affections. Which danger being at hand, I will refrain from things indifferent, when they may bring an offense to the weaker sort. Christ (saith Paul to the Galatians) hath redeemed you, stand therefore in the liberty which is bestowed upon you. In the mean time we must take heed of our affections, least we make ourselves subject unto them. We must also beware of offending them that be weak, unto whom thou oughtest so to apply thyself, that they may the easilier be led from their infirmity unto a better estate. But and if they will abuse thy servitude, for the defense of their weakness, be not thou brought under their power; but use thine own liberty. But if thou be conversant among them that be strong, where thou mayest freely use things indifferent, (for if they be strong, they will not be offended) and shalt feel thine own affections feeble, or else by the use of things indifferent, shalt perceive thyself to be made the more unapt unto prayers and godly readings: abstain from those things, bring not thyself into bondage, use thine own liberty.

Of Conscience.

7. Let us now consider, that in all our actions we ought to attempt nothing, whereof we be not certain that it is approved of God. And this thing is handled at large in the 14th chapter of the epistle to the Romans; that Whatsoever we do, it should stay upon faith. And undoubtedly, whatsoever is done otherwise, it maketh us worthy of hell-fire. There the apostle saith; Blessed is he that judgeth not himself, in that thing which he alloweth. Whereby it cometh to pass, that he which judgeth and condemneth anything, and yet himself alloweth the same, is condemned; because he doth it not of faith. The conscience hath such a power, as if it be good, it maketh that work to be good, which in his own nature is different; and on the other side, being evil, it maketh it evil. But yet nevertheless it is

impossible, that any work, which is in nature evil, should by our conscience be made good. For of what conscience so ever thou be, if thou forswear thyself, or commit fornication, thou sinnest grievously. Wherefore the power of the conscience exerciseth her force in those things that be mean or indifferent, and in those actions, which in their own nature should be good.

Of this matter Paul wrote unto Titus; All things be clean to them which be clean: but to them which be unclean and unfaithful, nothing is clean; because their mind and conscience are corrupt. Also unto Timothy; Every creature of God, which is received with thanksgiving, is good, for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. And unto the Romans; But I think and am persuaded, that nothing by Jesus Christ is common, but that which a man doth judge to be common. These places do plentifully teach, how necessary it is to have a good conscience: and that he sinneth, which attempteth anything against his conscience. Hereby it is manifest, that if thou shalt think, that God is offended at thy work; undoubtedly, if thou do not refrain, thou preferrest now thine own will before the will of God, and thou lovest thyself above God. Wherefore it behooveth, that the conscience be well persuaded about the doing of things; which good persuasion it cannot have otherwise than out of the word of God: wherein alone it is most certainly showed us, what we must seek for, and what we must shun. And even as the philosophers determine; that We always go out of the right way, when in our dealing we follow not perfect reason: even so among the Divines, it is defined to be sin, when we depart from the faith of a sound conscience.

8. But since that this place concerning conscience, cometh now to hand, it shall be requisite to expound the nature thereof. Wherefore it is to be considered, that the power of understanding is divided, according to the

respect that it hath to diverse things. And according to those things which we only behold, and have in contemplation, the understanding is called θεωρητικός, that is, Contemplative but if towards those things which consist in doing, then it is called πρακτικός, that is, Active. Wherein, seeing by the great goodness of God there is preserved for the doing of things, much natural knowledge; it is called Synteresis, of the Greek Verb συντηρέω, which is, To preserve. But conscience is a practicing knowledge, by the which our actions are both defended and accused. Whereupon it is not unwisely said, that in such accusations or defenses as these be, the conscience doth give the Major proposition: for it saith; We must not commit fornication, but live chastely. But the conscience taketh the Minor proposition, and urgeth; That which thou now doest, or art about to do, is fornication, or contrary to chastity. Whereupon it concludeth an accusation, by the which it proveth, that That which thou doest, thou doest most unworthily.

And that the conscience is the knowledge of this thing, Paul showeth in the 1st chapter to the Romans, When (saith he) the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things pertaining to the law, and show the work of the law written in their heart, their own conscience bearing them record, and their thoughts accusing one another and excusing. Out of this place diligently examined, we have a description of συντήρησις, and *Conscientia*, Conscience. God, according to his goodness hath engrafted these knowledges in our mind, to instruct us instead of a schoolmaster. And the conscience seems to be as it were a law; and it hath this property also, that it stirreth the mind forward, which the law doth not always. Very aptly therefore we shall call it a living law, which crieth, pricketh us forward, and driveth us to good things. And because the affects of fear and sorrow, of

repentance and desperation, are naturally provoked in our minds, by reason of this accusation of our consciences; the Poets feigned Furies, which did sometime drive men unto those extremities, that they made away themselves: even as the holy scriptures testify to have come to pass in Judas and Achitophel.

9. Chrysostom upon Genesis wrote, that The conscience is a sufficient schoolmaster unto us. Which saying is not in every point true: for it behooveth, that the conscience be framed by the holy scriptures, unto this end, that it teach, accuse, and defend rightly. For sin hath partly obscured, and partly corrupted our natural knowledge; so that some nations there have been, among whom even fornications were counted no sins. Further, we say not, that the conscience, which is well instructed by the word of God, is sufficient of itself unto salvation; unless grace and the holy Ghost be present, whereby strength may be given us, to obey those things which are thereby prescribed. Howbeit, Chrysostom perhaps called the same a sufficient schoolmaster; because it prompteth us in many things: and again, because it is sufficient for to condemn us. For, albeit that the Ethnics be ignorant of the holy scriptures, and may excuse themselves, that they have not been rightly instructed as touching all actions: yet are they most evidently taken tardy herein; that in many things they have gone against the rules of conscience. For (as Paul writeth to the Romans) They turned the truth of God into a lie. Augustine unto Alipius writeth (the which maketh very much for this place which we have in hand) that We must specially provide to have an upright conscience. But in the meantime there must be consideration had of them that be weak, least any man with his conscience drink pure water, but with his feet tread the fountain so, as the sheep cannot drink of the same otherwise than troubled.

There be some which boast of a good conscience, as the Corinthians did; but in the meantime through the boldness of their doings, they disquiet them that be weak. Let us beware of the Libertines, as of infection itself; who seem to renew the heresy of the Valentinians, and of Simon Magus, while they persuade that all sense and feeling of sin must be rejected; because imperfect men are troubled with the motions of conscience: and those they say are truly renewed in Christ, and raised up from the dead, which have no more feeling of sin: and they judge, that whatsoever they do or attempt, of what kind so ever it be, they please God. Wherefore, when such kind of adultery and wickedness is found to be in them, they deny them not at all; but say, that to them they be no sins, because they account them not for sins: but to such they say they are accounted for sin, which by reason of their infirmity do think them to be sin.

Touching the choice of Meats, In the 1 Cor. 8.

10. The matter then which we have in hand, persuadeth us to write somewhat touching the choice of meats. And first it is to be understood, that choice taketh not place in everything; but in those things only which cannot otherwise be done. Wherefore we will make a distinction of actions; that some be necessary unto salvation; and other some indifferent or mean actions. Those things be necessary which God hath commanded; and unless we do them, we shall be shut out from God, and from Christ. In this kind of things there is no choice, herein are neither the occasions nor the offenses of men to be regarded. For Christ said, that He came not to send peace, but sword and fire: he came to set the father against the son, and the daughter against the mother: he said moreover; If thy right eye offend thee, pull it out, and cast it from thee: and the same commandment also he gave of the right hand and of the foot. By which words he declared, that those things,

which we shall esteem more dear unto us than either our eyes, hands, or feet; we must cast away from us, lest we should be drawn away from the will of God. And in like manner did Christ answer touching the Pharisees, which were offended at his doctrine; Let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind: and he made no reckoning of the offense which they took.

But the mean actions must be understood, either according to the doing, or else according to the sense, doctrine, and knowledge which we ought to have of them. If we speak of the doing of them, we must use the rule of charity, least we attempt anything that may offend our weak brother: of which thing the apostle hath written at large to the Romans. And as touching the sense and doctrine, it is necessary for us evermore to profess and judge, that these indifferent things, through the grace of Christ, are free unto us; and that we abstain from them in no other respect, but for their sakes that be weak. Which thing we see right well that Christ did, when he paid the tribute money: for he was King and God, even the true Messias, so as in very right he was free from paying of tribute; but this liberty he would not use, least he should have offended others. Nevertheless, he taught in the meantime, that it was free for him to do it; when he demanded of Peter, whether tributes were wont to be exacted of bond men, or of them that be free. Those that be weak, must be taken and taught; and that they may hear the more attentively and willingly, it is good that a man humble himself to their weakness, so long as we shall perceive them willing to be instructed: but if we find them intractable, and obstinate, and to refuse to hear the reasons drawn out of the scriptures, and that they be contemners of the word of God, we must let them go; neither must that, which is holy, be given unto dogs: neither is it necessary to care for the offending of them.

But while we apply ourselves to them that be weak, we must have a regard unto the multitude of the faithful. Among whom, if some should take offense at thy dissembling; and that the example should so be laid hold on, as though it ought in any wise to be done; and for that in the church, Christian liberty might be hazarded: thou must take heed, that thou submit not thyself any further, least perhaps some corrupt opinion arise of thy dissembling. Paul circumcised Timothy, when he saw that it might bring profit unto the weaker sort: but (as we read unto the Galatians) he would not circumcise Titus. For the false apostles were ready which would have used that example, to thrust upon the Gentiles the ceremonies of the law, as necessary to salvation: for they searched out on every side, by what means they might spoil the church of her Christian liberty. And the same Paul, who polled his head at Cenchrea, and at Jerusalem, (having, as he said, a vow, and had taken in hand the purifying of the Jews, according to the law, because he judged, that the same would profit them that were weak) would not abide that Peter should do the like; but (as we read to the Galatians) resisted him to the face: for the dissembling of Peter was drawn unto the great damage of the church. Neither was it thought good, that so many of the Gentiles should be offended; to the intent there might be regard had of those that came from Jerusalem. For there was danger like to ensue, least through the authority of Peter and Barnabas, there might be held an opinion; whereby it should be thought, that the Ethnics, which were converted unto Christ, were to be compelled to keep the ceremonies of the law.

11. Having made this preface, we will now speak of the very choice of meats. And first it is to be agreed upon, that all meats are now in their own nature free unto Christians, so that nothing be added, to make them unlawful: otherwise, if meat be set before us, which may be thought either

to nourish or stir up lust; it behooveth that he, which findeth himself prone thereunto, do forbear it. Likewise, if there be any man of imperfect health, and there be meat set before him, whereby he perceiveth his health to be hurt; he must not fulfill his appetite. Add also, that we must avoid superfluity, and too much cost; least that be spent, which might have been given to the poor, and employed to better uses. Lastly, if there be present any of the weaker sort, which may be offended with some kind of meat; as in times past, the Jews newly converted did abhor flesh strangled and blood. Yea, and it had been convenient for the Ethnics to have abstained, because of the weakness of them that sat at meat, if it had been told them in the midst of their feast, that the meat set before them, had been offered unto idols; as Paul writeth at large to the Romans, and to the Corinthians. I let pass, that in the old law, many kinds of meats were forbidden: and there is no doubt, but in those days the law was to be observed. There might also be added, the respect of civil or politic government: all which things pertain not to the nature itself of meats, but unto the circumstances which happen.

12. And that all meats, in their own nature, are free for Christians; the scriptures do plainly teach. Christ (as we read in Matthew) said; Every thing that entereth into the mouth, defileth not man. And if so be it do not defile by eating, no more doth it sanctify by forbearing. And the apostle writeth; Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats, God shall destroy both it and them. Therefore, seeing meat is a thing temporal, and to be destroyed, and which pertaineth unto the belly, not to the mind; it cometh to pass, that of itself it availeth nothing unto righteousness or unrighteousness. And a little before; Meat doth not commend us unto God: for neither, if we eat, shall we have the more; neither if we eat not, shall we have the less. Which words Erasmus weighed, and therefore he wrote; If it be as the apostle teacheth,

how cometh it to pass, that at this day we are in nothing else so soon judged, or more rashly condemned? Whence proceedeth it, that there is at this day so many judgments concerning meats? In the same epistle it is written; Whatsoever is sold in the market, eat ye, making no question for conscience sake. But more plainly in the second chapter to the Colossians; Let no man condemn you in meat and drink, or in a piece of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which were shadows of things to come: but the body is of Christ.

Those things, which he spake hitherto, do belong unto the ceremonies of the law, and to the feast days of Moses. Immediately, he passeth to other observations, not proceeding from the law, but from men: when he addeth; Take ye heed, that no man beguile you of the victory by humbleness of mind, and worshipping of angels, advancing himself in those things which he never saw, puffed up rashly with his fleshly mind, and holdeth not the head, whereof all the body being furnished and knit together by joints and bands, increaseth with the increasing of God. And if ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why as though ye lived in the world, are ye still held with traditions? As, Touch not, Taste not, Handle not: all which perish with the using, and are after the doctrine and commandments of men: which things indeed have a show of wisdom in voluntary religion, and humbleness of mind; and in not sparing of the body; which are things of no value, seeing they pertain to the satisfying of the flesh. These words do most manifestly testify, that the place must be understood touching the superstitious observation of man's inventions. And in the first epistle to Timothy, it is written; In the last days many shall fall away from the faith, and shall give heed unto spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, which speak lies thorough hypocrisy, and have their consciences burned with an

hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving of thanks by them which believe, and know the truth: because every creature of God is good, and nothing ought to be refused, if it be received with thanks-giving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer. And to Titus; Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure: for their minds and consciences are defiled. Also unto the Romans; I know, and am perfectly persuaded, that by Christ nothing is common but unto him, which shall say it is common. Unto the Hebrews; It is an excellent thing to establish the heart by grace, not by meats, which have profited nothing. And in the Acts of the apostles, it is said unto Peter, when he refused to eat of those creatures, which were let down from heaven; That which God hath sanctified, do not thou call common. All these testimonies declare, that every kind of meat is now through Christ made lawful and pure.

13. But against these things much is objected. First, concerning that which Christ saith; That which entereth into the mouth, defileth not a man: they answer, that the question was then, whether meat received with unwashen hands could defile a man? And seeing the question was private, they say, that which was answered, ought not to be wrested in such sort, as it should be understood of all meats in general. For if (say they) Christ had answered, that generally no kind of meats do defile; then should we also make things offered unto idols lawful: neither should it be a fault to drink poison: and they had not sinned, which in the primitive church had eaten blood, and flesh strangled. Hereunto we answer, that an occasion indeed was given unto that sentence of Christ, through a private question; Whether we be contaminated, by receiving meat with hands unwashen: but the Lord, when

he denied that, made a general answer. And that Christ in that place speaketh generally, the cause, which he added unto his sentence, doth make it plain; for That which entereth into the mouth, is let down into the belly, and is cast into the draught. Which being incident to all kind of meats, it cannot be doubted, but that his sentence was general. Wherefore Christ proved, that meats do not pollute; forsomuch as they do not touch the mind, nor abide in us, but are digested, and so avoided. Neither is hereby meant, that meat offered to idols, or poison, are lawful: for we are bound by the law of God, to avoid such things; I mean by the precept of charity, not by the commandments of men. For the circumstances do cause, that sometimes we must abstain from sundry things; either because there followeth offense in them that be weak; or else because the health is impaired.

14. But they say again, that they also do not affirm, that meats, in their own nature, are unclean: but because the church hath commanded, that the faithful sort should, upon certain days, refrain themselves from eating of flesh, to the intent the flesh may be bridled. Therefore, if we obey not, they affirm that men are defiled: not as though meats were evil or impure; but because men deal intemperately, by violating the ordinance of the church. Unto this we say, that it is not sufficient to grant, that meats in their own nature be not evil and defiled: for both the Scribes and the Pharisees had knowledge thereof, though they were neither Marcionites, nor yet Manichees; for they allowed of the law of God. Wherefore they were constrained to confess, out of Genesis; that All things, which God hath made, are very good. But Christ urgeth this, that they did not well, in ordaining of such decrees: and declared, that it was not well done, to take such careful heed about washing of hands, and in the meantime to suffer the commandments of God to be contemned and neglected: because they made

a religion and worship of God there, where God had made none. And yet nevertheless, that law of the Pharisees, although it now seem frivolous, might have a goodly pretended show: as who should say, they would by the washing of hands, as by a sign, have men to be admonished of the pureness of the mind, which they ought to procure through prayers and repentance. And if so be they themselves had kept themselves clean from sins, then should the meats have been clean unto them; and they might have said in their synagogue or church, that they had power to ordain such signs. Howbeit, Christ condemned all these things, as human traditions; neither would, that by transgressing of them, the mind should be polluted.

Wherefore how happeneth it, that the popish laws, touching meats, are not through this sentence of the Lord abolished; so that men may understand, that they be of no force, to make such as transgress them to be guilty of sins? And if they minded by their decrees, to provide against wantonness, and looseness of life; they should also have made the like decrees touching wine, in the which (Paul saith) is excess. Furthermore, how is it possible, that all mortal men should be holpen by one and the self-same law; seeing some are found weak and feeble, and other some be strong and lusty? Is one manner of food meet for all sorts of people? Moreover, who hath commanded the bishops, concerning these things, to make laws, which they hold so dear; as in comparison of them, they neglect the laws of God?

15. They object further, that the places, which we have cited, do concern meats, which were forbidden by the law of Moses: so that, to apply them to the choice of meats, now used in the church, it is scarce any faithful dealing. We will indeed confess, that some things in those places do appertain to the meats which were forbidden by the law, but not all: for (as we have declared) the apostle in the epistle unto the Colossians, speaketh

also of another affliction of the flesh; not derived out of the word of God, but superstitiously devised by man. Wherefore he saith, that those things were done by the visions of angels, and by the commandments and traditions of men: which things cannot be spoken of the old law. And he added, that those things had only a show of wisdom in the very letter: which the apostle would not have spoken, concerning the law given by God. Moreover, those things which he reproveth, he saith that they make to the hurt of the body: so as the flesh should be forbidden to be filled with as much as is needful. Which thing was not commanded in the law of Moses, nay rather (as we read in Deuteronomy) so they would abstain from things prescribed, it was lawful for them to eat as much of any other flesh, as their heart desired: for so doth the scripture speak. Further, whereas it is said in the epistle to Timothy, that it will come to pass in the latter days, that meats shall be forbidden: it is showed, that these things must not be understood, as concerning the Jewish ceremonies; for those were obtruded unto the church, not in the latter, but in the former times. Further, he saith, that these men shall give heed unto the doctrine of devils; which things agree not with the law of God.

Howbeit, because we confess, that some of them are understood of the ceremonies of the law; we will now declare, that those things also, after a faithful sort, may be applied by us, to reprehend the choice of meats, which at this day is used. Because, if we be not bound to that choice of meats, which in times past God ordained; much less shall we be constrained, by the human traditions of bishops, to put any holiness or religion therein. If it pleased God through Christ, to set us at liberty from his own laws, and to make all meats free; why have hypocrites attempted to bring Christians into bondage?

16. They are wont also to say, that where the apostle entreateth not of the meats forbidden in the law of Moses; he showed, that it would come to pass of the Manichies and Marcionits, that they would forbid sundry meats; as though they thought them unclean by nature, because they were made by the evil gods. Whereupon they infer, that all those things pertain not to them; seeing the church by her laws (as they say) only provided for the moderation of excess and riot. But let these men consider, that those things, which we allege, not only make against the heretics, whom they have named, but against themselves also. For the Lord, in the Gospel of Matthew, did chiefly impugn the law made by the Scribes, for the not eating of bread with unwashen hands; wherein they put religion and worship of God, which belonged unto superstition: even as at this day these men think it a holiness and service of God, to have abstained from flesh, eggs, milk, and such like things. Furthermore, the apostle unto the Colossians hath evidently expressed, that those commandments and traditions of men, not only respected voluntary worship; but also a humbling and hurting of the body, that the flesh should not be filled. Which things signify nothing else, then abstinence and mortification of the body, which you pretend.

Yea and the Encratites and Montanists ordained their fasting's, and their eating of dry meats for the taming of their flesh: howbeit, the true church hath disallowed the laws of fasting which they made. And (as it is set down in the Ecclesiastical history) the first laws made for fasting, are ascribed unto Montanus. Finally, they earnestly affirm, that all which was said to Peter in the Acts of the apostles (namely that he should not call that common, which God had sanctified) is allegorical: so that by unclean beasts, there was showed unto the apostle the Gentiles, unto whom the holy Ghost would have him to repair. We deny not, but that there is an allegory

in that place, specially such a one as taketh not away the story. In like manner, as Abraham had two sons; albeit in the epistle to the Hebrews, the fourth chapter, they be called two testaments. The kingdom also of David figured the kingdom of Christ, albeit the story of David was most true. So in this place, the Gentiles are showed to be sanctified, so that now it might be lawful for the apostles to repair unto them: and that was signified in the living creatures, otherwise unclean, the which were set before Peter. But therewithal is understood, that those kind of meats be sanctified, in such sort as they be now free for Christian men: which thing these men themselves are forced to confess, seeing they deny not, but ever since that time, the meats forbidden by the law of Moses are lawful. And that Peter spake touching the pureness of the law, no man doubteth.

17. But passing over the scriptures, they now allege the Fathers, which very oftentimes make mention of this choice [of meats;] marvelously extolling abstinence in their treatises. In very deed I grant; that I have read very many things among them, touching continency, and mortification of the flesh, of fasting's, and of the disallowing of some delicate and dainty meats: howbeit I have not read in them, that there ought to be any laws certain and religious, in the choice of meats; so as for transgressing of the same, men should commit sin, and incur danger to be separated from the kingdom of heaven. Neither did they so much attribute to abstinence from flesh, as our men everywhere would have to be attributed unto it. Spiridion a very godly Bishop (as we read in the Tripartite history) in a certain time of fasting, set swine's flesh before a stranger: who for custom sake abhorring the same, and saying that he was a Christian; Spiridion answered; Because thou art a Christian, therefore thou shouldest eat; and thou oughtest to know, that Unto the pure, all things are pure, &c. Here I perceive there was

a custom to abstain from some sort of meats, but yet notwithstanding, such as should not prescribe against Christian liberty.

Also Augustine, in the second book of the church manners, bringeth in Electus a Manichie, who did eat no flesh; but in the meantime did use most delicate dainties, and confections of spices, and precious things; neither drunk wine, but had other delicate drinks pressed out of fruits, which might be compared unto wine, and haply exceeded it in pleasantness of taste. On the other part, he compareth with this man, a Catholic, which fasteth even till nine of the clock, that is, until the evening tide; taking a few small herbs dressed with lard, and sodden with flesh, either powdered or dried in the smoke, and is content with three small draughts of wine. Then Augustine demandeth, whether of these two, using this kind of diet, have the greater abstinence: and he gave sentence on the behalf of the Catholic. Whereby it appeareth, by the judgment of this man, that flesh maketh not abstinence to be the less, or to seem the more contemptible.

18. They use to allege Eusebius, in the fifth book of his history, when he sheweth the acts of Attalus, and of Blandina, that the Christians were wont to abstain from flesh. Howbeit, they were deceived by Ruffinus translation; who when he should have translated it, Blood; translated it, Flesh. For at that time the Christians as yet abstained from blood, by the decree of the apostles. Yea, and touching flesh to be used for meats, thou hast an history in that place clean contrary, which there thou mayest read. Also they cite Theophilus of Alexandria, in his book called The Paschal, which Jerome turned into Latin. But how much I may attribute unto this Theophilus, I know not: he was a great enemy unto Chrysostom, whom by force and tyranny he chased away, and deposed from his bishopric. And Chrysostom himself, in a certain epistle unto the bishop of Rome, complained

grievously of him; and gave testimony against him: but of him I will no longer now dispute.

This only I say, that he in that book holdeth wine and flesh all one, as touching abstinence. Wherefore he not only inveighed against intemperate men, which did eat flesh, at such time as they should have fasted; but addeth also, that they used wine. So that, if these fellows be desirous to receive him in one thing, why do they not also imitate him in the other; namely, in forbidding wine? Specially, seeing there be diverse sorts of flesh that kindle not heat and lust, as wine doth. And in an epistle to Demetrius, (whether the same be Jerome's, or any other man's) it is said; that The eating of flesh, and drinking of wine is granted, but by a more perfect judgment, men are dissuaded from them, as from marriage. In the very which place thou seest, that these two, flesh and wine, are joined together. And in the old law, drinking of wine was forbidden the Nazarites; but so was not the eating of flesh. And Paul said, that In wine there is excess: which thing thou shalt not find to be spoken as touching flesh. The Fathers commended the abstinence from them; but they wrote no tyrannous laws concerning them. Now at this day they excommunicate men for this matter; and oftentimes they put them to death which eat flesh upon the days prohibited.

19. But they complain, that unless this be done, the discipline of fasting is broken. Which thing I perceive not, seeing fasting was ordained to this purpose, that men should be all the day without meat, until night. Neither, when fasting was ordained, was there any prescript rule appointed, with what kind of meat men should refresh themselves, now when the day was once past; so that their suppers were moderate, and without delicateness. Augustine, entreating of the good that cometh by fasting, said; I demand not

of thee from what meat thou abstainest, but with what meat thou art delighted? Thou mayest find many, which be more delighted with the eating of fish, than of flesh. Yea, and Tertullian accuseth Marcion, because he judgeth fish to be the holier meat. And in the 18th book of the tripartite history, there is mention made of sundry kinds of fasting in Lent: for some fasted only three weeks before Easter, some six weeks, and some seven. Again, there were some which abstained from all living creatures. Others did eat fish; unto the which other some joined birds; for that (according unto Moses) they took their beginning of the water, as fishes did, and were created all in one day. Finally, there were of them, which fasted until the ninth hour in the day, without making any difference of meats.

Irenaeus also (as it is declared in the Ecclesiastical history) saith, as touching the days of fasting; that there were no certain ordinances: some fasted the whole Lent, some three days, some two, and some fasted one day only. Wherefore thou seest, that in times past, the order of fasting had no days appointed, nor yet choice of meats prescribed; as at this day they will have it to be. In the old law, fasting was commanded to be only one day once in a year, wherein nothing should be tasted until night: in which place it is not described, with what kind of meat they should sup. And in Augustine's confessions we read, that the eating of flesh made not godly men anything the less acceptable unto God. And he maketh mention of Elias, who being hidden, was fed by the ravens with flesh. And John the Baptist in the wilderness did eat locusts. But on the other side, Esau being beguiled with the most simple food of pottage, sold his birth-right.

20. Among the Fathers they continually allege Gregory, of whom I make no very great account: for he was the first that brought in many superstitious things. Touching the Fathers that went before him, I think it

hath been spoken sufficient. Albeit the same Gregory bishop of Rome, (as we find in the decree, the 4th distinction, and in the chapter, Denique) writeth unto Augustine bishop in England; that The lay men were wont even in the time of Lent to be very desirous of flesh, and to fill themselves immoderately with the same: and he judgeth, that the priests and deacons at the least ought to refrain. But unto others he durst not appoint any commandment or law; least peradventure any worse thing should happen. They urge us also with Councils, whose decrees nevertheless have not always been firm: and how little the bishops of Rome have regarded them, it may appear; in that very many, both publicly and privately do obtain license for money, to eat eggs, butter, and milk, upon their fasting days; when as it was otherwise ordained by those decrees. The latter Popes of Rome have made most severe laws concerning these things; as they that made it but a small matter, to lay many snares to catch the simple people. All these things were ordained; but yet there is no cause why we should therefore grant them to have been just. These traditions of men are pernicious, because (as Christ taught) at length they make the commandments of God to be of none effect.

The Lord commanded, that we should have one God, and that we should not admit any besides him: at this day the worshipping and invocation of saints is confirmed by traditions. God forbad images: at this day they be received into churches by the decrees of bishops. God commanded that parents should be had in honor: the tradition causeth, that children setting light by that authority, do fly unto monasteries. God willeth that our neighbors should be holpen: but through these traditions, men go from helping of the living, to helping of the dead. The holy scriptures declare, that there is but one mediator Christ Jesus, who hath procured God to be

merciful towards all our wickedness: but by tradition we are taught at this day, that he suffered for original sin, and for those sins which were committed before baptism; but that it is necessary for us concerning sins done after regeneration, to redeem them by our own works. Thus are the commandments of God made frustrate by the traditions of men.

21. They say the church hath power to make laws. Which thing I deny not: for we are men, and it is needful even in those works, which appertain unto the worship of God, to have good order established; for which cause we grant, that there may be other decrees established in the church. But then there be certain conditions strictly to be observed. First and foremost, that such kind of justice be not contrary to the word of God. Secondly, we must provide, that we place not the worship of God, justification, and remission of sins in them. Besides this, they must not be over many in number, least they overcharge and pester the church. Neither must they be decreed in such wise, as though they ought to be of necessity; and that they must not by any means be changed, when the salvation of the faithful shall so require. Neither ought they in such sort to be made, that if a man, without offense and contempt, do not observe them, he sinneth deadly. Wherefore, seeing that these laws about the choice of meats (as we have declared) are against the word of God, which hath ordained meats to be free; it is clear, that they are pernicious. Moreover, in this decree of theirs, for making choice of meats; they repose holiness, and the worship of God: so as they account such as abstain not from the meats, which they have appointed, to be neither good, nor holy, nor religious. In process of time, those decrees of theirs have grown innumerable; neither is there any end of them.

Augustine long since complained, that All things in his time were full of presumptions; so as now the state of the Christians was worse than the

bondage of the Jews. Seeing he spake this of the time wherein he lived, what (I beseech you) would he have said of our times, wherein the church is pressed with infinite burdens? First, they would have an abstinence for the Lent time; then afterward they added Friday and Saturday, and in some places Wednesday every week. Four ember weeks they brought in, last of all eves of a number of saints. Which times Gregory the seventh of that name added, that they which will not fast, do sin (as he termeth it) deadly. Wherefore, seeing these traditions be so grievous to the church, that they may be called burdens intolerable; the which Christ did find fault with, to be laid on men by the Scribes and Pharisees: they ought in no wise to be suffered. Finally, thou mayest add; that they would have such choice of meats to be so necessary and inviolable, that the church could not stand without them. And such account they make of their own traditions, that they punish the transgressors more grievously for them, than those which have broken the commandments of God: as thieves, adulterers, church-robbers, and such like.

22. They allege the Rechabites, which are commended in Jeremiah, for their obedience unto their father; who commanded them to drink no wine, and to enjoy no certain possessions: but to wander to and fro, and dwell in no city. Unto whom God, because they faithfully performed these things, promised a lively posterity, and a long enduring seed. Here they say, that those things, which Jonadab the son of Rechab commanded to his children, make for the choice of meats: wherefore the church, by commanding of these things, doth not seem to have erred. And as God commended the obedience of the Rechabites; so will he also allow of the virtue of Christians, if they shall perform such decrees of the church. We answer, that to drink no wine, was ordained in the old law: it displeased not God. Yea

rather, in some it is allowed, even as it is manifest by the vow of the Nazarites, the which Samson, and John Baptist took from their mother's womb: for this purpose had they respect unto a certain ceremony of holiness. Furthermore, their father commanded them to lead a wandering life; because perhaps he appointed them not unto husbandry, but unto the trade of keeping cattle; whereunto it best agreeth to wander up and down through woods and fields: or else, for that they, being none of the children of Israel, might have no possession with them in their territory; and yet would he not have them to go unto other nations, because they worshipped the true God of Israel: for this Rechab came of the posterity of Jethro, as appeareth in the first book of the Chronicles, the second chapter.

But if thou wilt contend, that these were Ethnics; and therefore dwelt with strangers: we say, that yet for all that their fathers mind was, that as they differed in religion from those, among whom they were conversant; so they should also be discerned from them by outward tokens: such as was to abstain from wine, and to have wandering habitations. Further, God commended their obedience towards their father, unto whom they were bound to obey in their kind of life and manners; for he commanded those things unto them, as tokens that were civil and proper to their family; but not under the title of religion. For when they were invited by Jeremiah to drink wine, they pretended no holiness, or worshipping of God, why they would not obey him: they only showed, what their father had commanded them. Which obedience pleased God and so would it also have pleased him, if it had been done to their father in any other domestical and civil actions. But the bishops and Councils command not a choice of meats, otherwise than under the pretense of holiness, and worshipping of God: which ought not to be abidden, seeing it pertaineth to God, and not to men, to make laws

for religion. For our part, though the magistrate should command us, not to eat or drink this or that for the Common-wealth's sake; we judge that they must be obeyed. But as touching the worship of God, this we do say; that the yoke of the Lord must not be made heavy by the traditions of men.

23. They continually allege against us; He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me. We grant, that the preachers must be hard; but that must be, so long as they preach Christ and his doctrine unto us. We were ill beested, to think, that they should then be heard like unto Christ, when they fable unto us their own traditions. In the old law, God would not have anything to be added or taken away from his decrees: by what encouragement then have they attempted this in the New Testament? Have we the doctrine less perfect therein, than they of old time had? Christ reproveth the Scribes for adding their own traditions; and yet said he nevertheless unto the people, that they ought to be heard, when they sit in Moses chair. But they sit therein, when they teach those things which were written by Moses: but when they will ordain their own decrees, there is good cause why their authority should fail. The very which things are meet for our bishops and pastors. They read in the scriptures, that sobriety and honest behavior is commended by Christ and the holy Ghost; let them exhort the people thereunto, with as much vehemency as they can. Brethren (saith Peter) be ye sober, watch ye in prayers, &c. Paul said; Not in surfeiting's and drunkenness. Christ also said; Take heed that your heart's be not overcharged with surfeiting's and drunkenness. Also let them commend and set forth fasting's, as things profitable; because they be praised in the holy scriptures. But let them leave off to determine of the manner and choice of meats; except it be, that by choice they mean frugality in meats, and such as are easy to be gotten; neither excessive nor

chargeable. These things must be continually remembered, that temperance and modesty may take place in the flock of the Lord: but to make Ecclesiastical laws for these matters, which may snare men's consciences; it is not well devised.

But how fasting ought sometimes to be enjoined by the church, and by the magistrate, when as earnest prayer shall be needful: I have before showed. And if so be that perpetual laws be appointed for these things, they will soon degenerate into dangerous ceremonies: even as we see at this day come to pass, as well of Lent as also of other times of fasting. Augustine declareth, that The apostles commanded fasting; yet concerning the days they appointed nothing. But Jerome saith, that Feast days, and also days of fasting were ordained by wise men, for their sakes which do not always fast, nor yet always meet together at holy assemblies. Wherefore the laws that be made, as well touching days, as the choice of meats, are to be accounted no commandments of God, but traditions of men. And we read, that the fasting of the Sabbath day rose upon this cause, that Peter being minded to dispute at Rome, with Simon Magus upon the Lord's Day, pronounced a fasting of the Sabbath: whereupon, by a certain perverse imitation of that act, they always fasted afterward upon that day; which thing was not done in the churches of the East parts, and of Africa.

24. But when as these things be now instituted and decreed, concerning the choice of meats; what must the faithful do? First, that they which use the liberty granted unto them by Christ and the church, be well persuaded as touching their conscience: which Paul admonished, when he said unto the Romans; Let every man be fully persuaded in his judgment. The Greek word is *πληροφορηθῶ*, that is, Let him be certainly and perfectly persuaded: for there must nothing be attempted, whereunto the conscience

saith nay. Further, let him give thanks unto God, and acknowledge this his liberty to come by Christ: as the apostle hath willed in the same epistle, that He which eateth, should not be judged of him that is weaker, because he giveth thanks unto God when he eateth. Further, let him do that which maketh unto the glory of God: let him not seek after his own pleasure, or desire to satisfy his own lust. Whether ye eat, or whether ye drink (saith the same apostle) do ye all things unto the glory of God. Let him take heed also, that he rashly offend not the weak: let him teach them, and let him receive them, with a purpose to instruct them with lenity; yet not so, as he should nourish their infirmity. For they must be borne withal for a time, and not continually, unless they will always be learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth.

Neither is that any let, which the apostle said; I will never eat flesh, while I live. For by these words he showeth, how ready his mind was, and alledgeth a cause; to wit, Least I should offend my brother. But he which is perfectly taught already, is not offended, unless it be willingly through his own peevishness; which being perceived, we must not regard it, least our long dissembling turn to the hindrance of the whole church. Neither would I ever counsel men, to go either unto the bishops, or Pope, to obtain license to eat meats forbidden: for seeing they sell them under their bulls, or charter warrant; it were a way to further their gains; and to confirm their tyranny by our access unto them. They have no care to make them strong, which be weak; but rather on the other side, by their terrors, thunderbolts, and excommunications, they endeavor to make them weak which be strong. Wherefore there is no cause why we should obey them.

25. But let us see in few words, from whence began this superstition of abstaining from flesh. And if I be not deceived, I think it came from the

Ethnics: for I read that the priests of Egypt abstained from flesh. And so did Apollonius Tyanaeus, and Pythagoras: and this they did, because they thought by that means, to make their souls the purer, and to wipe away the dark mists from their minds. Whereby they hoped to have revelations, and understanding of divine things: as who should say; We might by our own wit attain the gift of prophesy, and heavenly revelations. Which must not be believed; seeing these be good gifts of the holy Ghost, who distributeth them as it pleaseth him. Neither must Daniel and his fellows be taken for an example hereof; because they did not for this cause abstain from the king's meats, from flesh, and from wine: but for that they would not be contaminated with meats in their law forbidden; which might easily have been, if they had used the kings table, as well touching the nature of the meats, as the preparation thereof. Also wine was a dangerous thing, least it had been pressed out from the vine, that was not yet four years old; which might not be done by the law. Neither do I speak these things, as though I deny it to be meet for students to live very temperately and moderately: for this I say, and most constantly affirm; that there is nothing more profitable for them. But superstition I would have removed, whereby they persuade themselves that they ought utterly to abstain from eating of flesh, as did the Charter-house Monks very foolishly.

26. Now doth the nature of contrariety require, that we show from whence sprang the liberty of meats. We find that the same happened after the flood, when as God assigned unto Noah for his meat, all things that moved and had life; as if it had been green herb: for before the flood, flesh was not eaten. This is the power of the word of God, that whatsoever he hath commanded, is done. He commanded at the beginning, that the increase of corn, the fruits of the trees, and the herbs of the field, should be meat for

men: which thing came happily to pass. Afterward he commanded the same, touching flesh, and it was performed: for in the desert he would do the same, and we read that it was done. Whereby we understand, that it was very well said; that Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God: that is, by everything which God hath commanded. Wherefore we ought to ground the consideration of all our commodities upon the word of God.

The philosophers make their resolution so far forth as the power of nature extends: howbeit, this power must be reduced by godly men unto the word of God; which doth not only adorn our tables with fruits, with corn, and with herbs; but also furnisheth our kitchen with flesh, and our storehouse with wine. These things must be thought upon, when we use the things of this world. These things gave God after the flood; partly to show that his wrath was appeased towards mankind; and partly, because the earth perhaps being corrupted by the water, brought not forth so wholesome fruits as it did before. This the philosophers acknowledge not: but we, because we believe that they had their beginning by the word of the Lord; therefore, so often as we look on our meats, our apparel, our husbandry, our wife, and such other like things, which serve our turn; we should remember and confess the same to depend upon the word of God.

This liberty did God somewhat restrain afterward in the law of Moses, where he put a difference between meats clean and unclean. But for what cause he did this, it is not needful in this place to discuss. Howbeit, this I will add; that before the flood, men did kill beasts for sacrifices, as it is showed of Abel; but they did eat none of the flesh that was offered. But after the flood, they did not only offer up sacrifices; but they themselves also did eat of the sacrifices. Which seemed to be a singular benefit of God;

as though he now vouchsafed to call them to his own table, and admit them to the communion with himself. And before the flood, the clean cattle for sacrifice were distinguished from the unclean. Wherefore Noah by the commandment of God, brought into the ark more clean beasts than unclean. To conclude; after the coming of Christ, the ancient liberty and choice of meats, which the law had forbidden, was restored: wherefore it ought not under color of religion, to be restored again by the popish bishops, or by the church. Yet do not those things, which we have alleged, limit either Magistrates or public authority; but that they may sometimes appoint a choice of meats upon just consideration.

Touching apparel of the Ministers of the church, look in the 34th, 36th, 38th, 39th and 40th epistles, in the end of this book.

CHAP. VI. Of Vows in general; also of the vow of the Nazarites, of Jephthah, and of the Rechabites.

After these things, let us say somewhat concerning a vow. The Greek word εὐχή, and the Latin *Votum*, do not signify one thing but two, namely, The prayers and desire, wherewith we be inflamed, when we pray for anything; or use the very things that be desired. Further, it betokeneth a promise of offering something unto God. And this ambiguity of these words, in each tongue, hath not happened by chance, or without consideration, as soon after shall be showed. The Hebrews call a vow *Neder*. But hereof grew the custom of making a vow, that this was settled almost in the minds of all men; that if at any time they did pray earnestly unto God, for anything to be given them, they in like manner promise to offer something unto him again. For by such manner of means, their minds do seem to be one, one to another; namely, by gifts: because those things, not only help them, to whom they are given; but do also honor them. For they be given as a testimony of virtue and excellency, in which second respects sake, they may be offered unto God, that he may thereby be honored of us.

Aristotle, in his Rhetorics said; that Gifts do no less satisfy the ambitious, than they do the covetous: for they desire them, thereby to be enriched; and these to be honored. Wherefore, even the Lord (who specially requireth of us to be worshipped) said in the law, that men should not come empty handed unto him: forsomuch as he judged it unworthy, if his people should appear empty before him. This self-same was a custom among the Romans; so that it is read almost everywhere, what the *Curtij* and the *Decij* vowed, for obtainment of victory. Among the Greeks also, there were vows oftentimes used. Yea, and we read in Plato's book, entitled Phaedon, that as yet in the time of Socrates, they used to perform a vow, of sending a ship well rigged, every year unto Delos with gifts and sacrifices; and that by a vow, which Theseus had bound himself unto, when he went into the isle of Candie, to slay the monster Minotaurus. How usual this also was among the Hebrews, it is no need to recite. So that, in praying and desiring any-thing of God, men were wont to vow something unto God, least they might seem to be undutiful towards him.

2. Now then we define a vow, to be a holy promise, whereby we bind ourselves to offer something unto God. And a vow (as we have said) hath always some prayers joined therewith; for obtaining at the leastwise of somewhat at the hands of God. Wherefore, that ambiguity of the word happened not without cause in the Hebrew and Latin tongues: for seeing these things be so joined together, it might easily come to pass, that the word which signifieth one thing, may sometime be referred to another. And hereby we may perceive, that the knowledge of both these, as well of offering, as also of demanding anything of God, is necessary for us which profess godliness. But let us return unto the definition, wherein the general word is, Holy; for it is called A holy promise. Whereof it comes, that as

touching the calling of it holy, we are in few words to say, that it belongeth unto justice. For whatsoever is holy, is also just; but not contrary: for justice is that, whereby we yield to every man his own; and they, to whom these things be yielded, are either God, or men. That faculty then, whereby we yield unto all men their own, is called justice, and keepeth the name of the general word: but when we yield unto God due obedience, now is this after the judgment of Plato, in his book called *Euthyphron*, to be referred unto holiness.

And a man may plainly see, that even in the holy scriptures, those things which be offered and dedicated unto God, are called holy; and that, which ought to be yielded unto God by us, is obedience: and that is of two sorts. One is profitable unto him, to whom it is offered: but after this manner we can give God nothing; seeing by these things he is made nothing the greater, nor doth increase in any respect; Thou art my God (saith the prophet) for thou hast no need of my goods. And in the Gospel of Luke; When we have done all unto him, we are unprofitable servants. Another kind of obedience there is, which appertaineth unto reverence; even as servants honor their masters. But this service and obedience towards God, herein consisteth; that we show ourselves ready and diligent towards God, in the executing of that work and function, which God both vouchsafeth and desireth to work by us. And this is the sanctifying of his name; the which God can sufficiently perform by himself: but he useth us to our own commodity, and singular profit.

3. But that we may know what manner of things must be offered unto God; and that therein we offend as little as may be: we must take a special heed. And first cometh to my remembrance Augustine upon the Psalm; Be merciful unto me O God, for man hath trodden me down. He expounding

that particle, in the 12th verse, in Hebrew *A lai nedar eca*, that is, In me, or upon me are thy vows, thus saith; A man must first offer himself unto God. Which may chiefly be confirmed by that reason, which the Lord used, in persuading to give tribute unto Caesar. For (saith he) it hath his image and superscription: wherefore, we being made according to the image of God, it is meet that we should be given unto him. And Paul sundry times exhorteth us, when he saith; I beseech you, for the mercy of God, that ye will give yourselves, &c. And the same apostle, in the sixth chapter of that epistle; As you have given your members servants to uncleanness, and from one iniquity to another, &c. And in the same epistle he saith, that as he is an apostle, he is an offerer of such sacrifices. But contrariwise, through the ignorance of those things, which are to be sacrificed, men may grievously offend. Saul would have offered up oxen and cattle, laying aside the obedience of God's commandment; which was an unworthy, and very unacceptable sacrifice unto God. It is declared by Socrates, in his second Alcibiades, concerning the Athenians; that Although they offered bountiful sacrifices, and large gifts unto God; yet nevertheless they seemed to have but slender success in their wars. Wherefore when they took council of the Oracle, it was answered them; that God more esteemed the prayers of the Lacedaemonians, than he did the rich gifts of the Athenians.

4. By the like reason must all Monastical vows, which are contrary to the word of God, be rejected; seeing we know, that they do vow those things which are not allowed by God: for that they bind themselves to the commandments and traditions of men; they addict themselves unto superstitious worship; they are willingly made the servants of men, no necessity urging them thereunto: which thing Paul forbad in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 7th chapter. For these men very wittingly and

willingly submit themselves to Abbots and Priors: furthermore, they cast away their goods from them, when as neither God commandeth, nor yet neighbor requireth: and other whiles, they bestow them upon such as they ought not, and change their state and vocation without cause; so as it is no more free for them to obey God and his commandments. For it is not lawful for them to go forth of the Monasteries, to obey their parents, nor yet to help their afflicted neighbors, whom by some bond of friendship they have joined unto them. But these pilgrimages, which they make unto saints, commonly taken in hand by reason of a vow, are no less condemned than the Monastical vow; seeing no scriptures testify, that these things be acceptable unto God. Besides this, for obtaining of help from God, they attribute more to one place than unto another: as though the power of God were not a like in every place. Moreover, they make unprofitable expenses, and even for these things they leave those things which the Lord hath openly commanded; most shamefully spending the time, which they might have bestowed in things acceptable to God.

Wherefore let this be the sum of this knowledge of things to be offered; namely, to weigh by the rule of the holy scriptures, those things, which we have determined to vow unto God: and by this level we must diligently consider, what vows they be which please God. Neither doth that, which Jacob vowed, make against this our judgment; although he could not have this rule of the scripture. For the inward word of God, which is prompted in the mind, is equal with the scriptures of God. And also the law of nature engrafted in the mind of man, which to the furtherance of the worship of God, doth understand these two things to be very necessary; namely, that the church have her ministers, which must be sustained with the tenths, least they should not be able to discharge their ministry: and also a certain

place appointed, where men may meet together, to hear the law of God and his word, to celebrate his divine praises, and to join together in public prayers.

5. Among other things, which at this time are spoken by us, concerning a vow, this may not be over-slipped; that God alloweth the thing itself: that is, the act of vowing, seeing he hath made a law for it, and that David hath published a commandment for it; Vow unto the Lord, and perform it. Howbeit, because there be some arguments, which seem to make against a vow; therefore, we must now seek to confute them. And first this objection is made; Forsomuch as we owe all that we have unto God, without all binding of ourselves with vows, therefore it is superfluous to bring in a new kind of necessity; seeing the power of God's commandment, whereby he will be beloved of us, before all things, and that with all the heart, with all the mind, and with all the strength; doth sufficiently bind us, and compel us to offer all that we have unto God. But this reason, which they bring, doth not exclude every cause of making a vow: yet to make a vow may be profitable, to stir up our own selves for a testimony unto others of our faith, and of the excellency of God.

Here again they say; If we vow, we lay a necessity upon ourselves, and all our liberty is gone: and that is the more likely to please God most, which is offered unto him frankly and willingly. That this, which is objected, is most false, this declareth it: forsomuch as we think not, that the saints in heaven are therefore despoiled of their liberty; because they cannot sin anymore. For most freely, and of their own accord, they love and honor God; and whatsoever they do, they celebrate and do it freely. And it is not voluntariness, which is repugnant to this necessity; but constraint: whereof it cometh, that he which voweth, although he seem to be tied by a necessity

of bond, to perform his promises; yet must it not for this cause follow, that he by force or constraint performeth that, which he voweth. And so must thou interpret Paul, in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, when he saith; Not grudgingly, or of necessity: that this necessity should be opposed, or set against unwillingness, and compulsion; and not against every bond or necessity.

6. Lastly they say, that they stand in great danger which make vows, if they do transgress them: and it is after a sort to lay a trap or a snare for themselves. Which thing Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter saith, that he would not do: how then do these men so lightly entangle themselves, which be so hardy to make vows? To those we answer; that the things, which we vow unto God, ought to be of such sort, as we do know that they please God: which vows, when they please God, and be required of him, ought altogether to be offered unto him by us; and we were now bound to perform them unto him. Wherefore we do not cast upon ourselves a new snare, but rather a new provocation to pay those things, which we ought before: neither is the danger here imminent, by the nature of the things, which we promise; but by our own fault. Howbeit, such things as may bring danger by our own default, must not always be shunned: for then should we not eat nor drink, and a number of such other things, which by our own fault and intemperance might do harm. For we must always take heed, whether the thing, which we take in hand, be dangerous of itself, or by some accident. Which thing also Solomon admonished, saying; He that observeth the wind, shall not sow; and he that hath regard to the clouds, shall not reap. But whensoever we are uncertain, whether the thing itself will please God, or no: and that great danger

hangeth over our heads, because we know that the same is not given by God unto all men, we ought to surcease vowing, and to keep ourselves free.

And touching those vows, which perchance one hath made against the rule of the word of God; and afterward seeth them to be odious and unacceptable unto God; and that by the testimony of the holy scriptures, men oftentimes demand what is to be done: we answer in a word, that they ought not to be performed. Neither is the condition of a vow, other than of an oath: for seeing we be the Lord's, we cannot bind ourselves to anything that is against his will; even as it is not permitted unto men servants by the civil law. But this must chiefly be regarded above all, that before we do make vows and oblations, we provide to be justified by faith: for otherwise, if we be enemies unto God, how can our gifts be acceptable unto him? For what a multitude of unbelievers be there, the which (if respect should be had unto gifts) do offer unto God, such as be excellent, precious, and most dear unto them: and yet notwithstanding, unto him they are both unacceptable and odious? For we cannot esteem those things as pleasant, which we know do proceed from a hateful mind. Yea, and Isaiah, in the name of God, detested all the sacrifices of the Jews, when they disagreed from the true way of godliness: when notwithstanding the Lord had required in the law, that those sacrifices should be offered unto him. And as Plato reporteth in Alcibiades; Very well did Homer write, That the burnt savors of the oblations and sacrifices, which the Trojans offered, were not one whit acceptable unto Jupiter; because Priamus, and his people, were hated of him.

These things are in the Commentaries upon Genesis, but of this whole chapter, he wrote more largely, and more exactly in his book of vows against Smith.

Of the Vow of the Nazarites.

7. As touching the vow of the Nazarites, it is manifestly set forth in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers. But those things, which are there written, may all be reduced to three principal points; first, that they should drink no wine, nor strong drink, nor anything that might make them drunk; another was, that they should not poll their head, but all the time of their Nazariteship they should let their hair grow; the third was, that they should not violate themselves with funeral mourning's, no not at the death of their father or mother. These things were to be observed; yet not forever, but for some certain time only: for they vowed themselves to be Nazarites only, for a certain number of days, months, or years. But wherefore God did institute these things; there may be alleged many causes. First, because men were so inclined to choose unto themselves certain kinds of life; by means whereof they might easily fall into superstition. Therefore God would after this manner bridle them. As though he should have said: Whereas ye are thus prone to your own endeavors, and to invent new ways of worshipping's; yet shall ye not do what ye list yourselves, but ye shall do that which I prescribe unto you: and so by making the law of a Nazarite, he kept them in doing their duty.

But what is the meaning of these things? They ought to keep their hair growing, until the end of their vow: for then, while they were offering sacrifice, and burning the flesh in the fire, they cut off their hair, and burned it in the same fire; and from that time forward they were free, and returned to their old manner of life, which also was common unto other. Others make it an allegory, that when the hairs were increased, virtues also ought to increase in the mind. But me thinketh, there may be yielded another cause; namely, that men should refrain from too much trimming and decking of

their body: for the clipping of the hair doth serve very much to the fineness and trimming of the body. For Paul saith in his epistle unto the Corinthians, the 11th chapter, that For men it is a shame if they let their hair grow. Although other reasons of other men are not to be contemned. Cyrillus also, and Procopius, upon the book of Numbers, do say, that These things were instituted by God, to the intent he might call men back from the idolatrous rites and worshipping of the Ethnics; that that which they gave unto idols, the Jews might vouchsafe to bestow upon him. So that, whereas such men sacrificed unto idols, he would that these should rather sacrifice unto himself: not that God so much regardeth sacrifices, but because he would withdraw them from idolatry.

We read, that the Ethnics sometimes suffered their hair to grow; because they would afterward consecrate the same either unto the Nymphs, or unto Apollo: wherefore Apollo was by them called κουροτρόφος, that is, A nourisher of the hair. Yea and Theseus, as it is written in Plutarch, went to Delphi, there to dedicate his hair unto Apollo. And young men also in Rome, when they were past their childhood, offered their hair and beards unto some God. Sophocles writeth, that Orestes put his hair in the tomb of his father. There might also be rendered another cause, which were not impertinent. It behooved the Nazarites always to be pure: and although they were not of the tribe of Levi; yet they so behaved themselves all that time, as though they had been priests of the tribe of Levi. And in the 21st chapter of Leviticus, the Levitical priests were forbidden to poll their head: which thing also may be perceived by the sixth chapter of Baruch; Ye shall see (saith he) priests in Babylon, with their heads shaven, and their garments cut: and these were the priests of idols. So then we see by the

commandment of God, that the priests of the Hebrews had not their heads shaven.

8. In the book of Numbers, the sixth chapter, God calleth the hairs of the head a crown, or (as other translate it) a separation. But contrariwise the Papists call their shaving of the head a crown: thus they invert all things as they list themselves. But what shall a man say to them? They pass not what they do, they will have lights and censings in the temples: and if thou ask them why: they answer; Because God used them in the Old Testament. But in the old law priests had wives: these men will have none. They suffered the hairs of their head and their beard to grow: but these men shave both their head and beard. Albeit at this day there is a great contention among them about a long beard; because the Council of Carthage, in the 44th chapter, is sundry ways alleged: for in some copies it is written; *Comam non nutriant, nec barbam*: that is; Let them not suffer the hair of their head, nor yet their beard to grow. But in other copies it is read; *Nec barbam tondeant*; Neither let them cut their beard. Whether of these two sayings will these men follow? For they will not suffer to have a long beard, least (as they say) any part of the sacrifice should peradventure stick in it. O holy men! They sell that their sacrifice for three half-pence; and then they carefully provide, least it should stick in the beard. Is not this to strain at a gnat, and to swallow down a camel? Howbeit, some of them, least they should seem not to do very wisely, and with some consideration, do say; that The cutting off of the hair, signifieth, that a priest must cut off all superfluities. Such is the religion of these men, to have the signs, when as they have not the things signified. But I rather ascribe that shaving of our Papists, to an overcurious trimming of themselves. For Suetonius in the life of Otho, saith, that He was wont oftentimes to shave his beard, and to

behold his face in a glass, whether the same were trim enough. I will not speak of others, which used not to shave their hairs; but rather plucked them out, that their skin might be the softer.

The next thing was, that the Nazarites should abstain from wine; and not only from wine, but also from vinegar, from grapes, and from strong drink. This strong drink called *Sicera* (as Jerome writeth to Nepotianus) was a kind of drink much like unto wine; which was made of wheat, or of apples, or dates, or else of other fruits. Further, they were forbidden to eat husks of grapes, or kernels, which should be taken out of the wine presses. They were commanded also, that they should not drink Miserath, which was nothing else, but the washing of the grapes: for the wine being pressed out, there was water poured upon the grapes that were pressed, which when it was boiled, retained some taste of the wine: this we call the second wine. But the Chaldean interpretation calleth *Sicera*, Old wine. And it is manifest enough, why the Nazarites were forbidden to drink both wine, and strong drink: for these things both trouble the head; and stir up men unto lust, as Solomon giveth advertisement in the twenty chapter of his Proverbs; Wine maketh a man to be scornful, and strong drink causeth a man to be unquiet, and whosoever is deceived thereby, shall never be wise. Paul also, in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians, saith; Be not drunken with wine, wherein is excess: but be filled with the Spirit. Moreover, the priests in the old law were forbidden to drink wine, before they came to holy services: wherefore it behooved the Nazarites, because they were like to priests, that they should abstain from wine.

The third thing was, that they should not violate themselves with any morning for the dead: for as through joy we be overmuch puffed up, so are we sometimes grievously troubled with heaviness and morning. But God

would, that his ministers should be void of affections, especially of the vehement sort of affections; seeing by them men are more grievously troubled than is meet? And yet were not these observations any merits, wherein they placed righteousness; but were only rites and exercises, whereby, after a sort, men were kept in their duty. For the vow of a Nazarite, was a certain separation from other men. But what they did in the meanwhile, it is not prescribed: howbeit, many think, that they were commanded to endeavor themselves to the contemplation and knowledge of the law, and to worship and call upon God truly.

9. We see that God of his especial wisdom would teach the people by this kind of vow. The Philosophers write, that a man must earnestly endeavor, that he may be able to behold high things; and with his knowledge to comprehend the nature of all things. But this they say can never be, unless the affections be tempered in us, otherwise we be very oftentimes carried away with rage and lust. Wherefore God would have his to be void of these affections; namely, of mourning, pleasure, too much care and thought about decking of the body: for these do not a little hinder the tranquility of the mind, and the spiritual cogitations thereof. Wherefore in the law, he as it were taught his people to make preparation to higher things, least they should with unwashen feet, have access unto holy things. Undoubtedly they which be endued with the knowledge of God, ought to prepare and make ready themselves, before they come to the hearing of the word of God, or to the receiving of the sacraments. Jeremiah in the fourth chapter, very well admonished us; Turn up your fallow ground, and sow not among the thorns.

And they vowed this kind of vow (as we have said) for a certain time; either for a year, or for a month, or as every man thought it most profitable for himself. For the natures of men are oftentimes changed, and the study of

godliness soon waxeth cold; therefore it must by some means be restored. Hereof arose the departures, which the fathers used into solitary places for a time. So they, which governed the public-wealth, when they were tired with business, kept themselves secret many times in their private fields and manors: not for idleness or sluggishness sake, but to refresh their minds, and that they might return the more prompt and better prepared to accomplish matters. And the noble Rhetoricians, being wearied with pleading of causes, sometimes went into the country, to hear, to talk, to read somewhat, to meditate in their minds the orations that they had made and heard before: and so to return again more perfect and ready to the pleading place. So the Nazarites for a certain time departed from the company and fellowship of other men; that they might afterward return the better and purer to execute the state whereunto they be called.

Christ also, in the night time departed unto the mountain; but in the day time he returned unto the people. And when the apostles were returned, whom he had sent forth to preach, he led them away for a little while into the desert, that they might there rest and refresh themselves. For this cause perhaps Lent was first instituted, that men, which all the year had been occupied with civil business, might that season at the least wise give themselves to devotion. This do the popish bishops pretend. But admit that it was first instituted for this cause; let them ponder whereto it is now fallen at the length: doubtless unto mere superstition, whereby there is no other thing offered unto the people but choice of meats, old wives fables, ungodly songs; and pilgrimages, which commonly they call stations, very profane and idolatrous. In the meantime, there is no mention made for the diminishing of covetousness, lust, lechery, and other wicked acts. Further, it

were convenient, that men, through so long a fast should become the better; but after Easter they are become much worse.

10. But return we to the vow of the Nazarites, Paul seemeth to have vowed it; seeing in the 18th chapter of the Acts of the apostles, he polled his head in Cenchrea: and in the 21st chapter, he was persuaded of the elders to do it; There be here (saith he) four men, which have a vow, thou shalt be with them. There the shaving of the head declareth, that that vow pertained to a Nazarite: for as it is written in the law; If it had happened, that the Nazarite, in the time of the vow, which he had taken upon him, had defiled himself over the dead, or by any other means, the vow was broken. And it was the Nazarites duty to come unto the tabernacle, and to declare unto the priests what had happened; to poll his head, to offer sacrifice, and so to begin anew the vow of a Nazarite: for whatsoever he had before observed, it was taken to be unclean, and of no force. So Paul (as if something had happened unto him among the Gentiles, where he had been conversant) would be purified in the temple; as though he should have begun the observation of his vow again.

The Papists cry, that by this vow of the Nazarites, there was a certain shadow at that time of their religious Monkery. Neither do they consider, that the vows of the Nazarites were instituted by the word of God. Let them show on the other side the commandment of God for their Monkery, which thing if they cannot do, then there resteth nothing, but that we may say, that the ordinances of Monks are not the vows of Nazarites; but of superstitious men, and a certain ridiculous imitation, or an evil zeal of the old vow of the Nazarites. So likewise in old time, superstitious men, when they saw that Abraham would have offered his son, and that for the same cause he pleased God very well: they also would needs offer their sons, and make

them pass through the fire: by which most wicked devise they offended God most grievously. But our worshipping must lean unto the word of God. Indeed civil institutions, though they be without the express word of God, may be received; so that they be not repugnant to the word of God: but the service of God, and religion, must be derived from no other thing, but only from the word of God. But (I beseech you) let them show me from whence they have the vow of perpetual sole life; or how can the same agree with the Nazarites? First, it is against the creation of man, seeing it was said unto the first parents; Increase and multiply. Further, it is against the saying, which Paul rehearsed; He that cannot contain, let him marry.

They vow poverty also. But what manner of poverty? Forsooth to live by begging. A goodly vow, when they will be maintained by the labors of other men! Undoubtedly this is against charity, seeing Paul saith unto the Ephesians; He which did steal, let him steal no more; but rather let him labor with his hands, that he may have wherewith to give unto him that suffereth necessity. But thou wilt say, that of the Monks there be some which are rich. I grant that, but they also do contrary to the word of God, wherein it is commanded; that He which laboreth not, should not eat. Besides this, they do vow obedience. But unto whom? To certain men. When as Paul plainly writeth; Be ye not made the servants of men. But they say; I hold of Francis; I of Dominike; I of Benet: whereas Paul would not suffer that the Christians should say; I hold of Paul; I of Apollo; and I of Cephas. Wherefore then do they say, that they agree with the Nazarites? Let us diligently examine everything. The Nazarites shaved not their hair, but these men shave it. The Nazarites did drink no wine, but these men glut themselves therewith. The Nazarites came not to funerals, but these men desire nothing so much as the funerals and obsequies of the dead. Howbeit,

these things I will overpass: this only I add; although in the Jewish religion, the vow of the Nazarites was the principal vow, yet were they not forbidden to marry. In other vows (saith Origin) they gave either a sheep, or a goat, or an ox, or some other thing; but in this kind of vow they offered themselves: and yet their state agreed well enough with matrimony.

11. As touching Samson, he became a most strong young man. Who would have thought, that the same should ever have come to pass? The parents were not commanded to instruct him in the art of warfare, or to send him forth unto war. Thou wouldest much rather have thought, that his bringing up should have been as a Monk, than as a soldier. But God was minded to show, that all the strength, which Samson was to have, should be derived from his spirit. And in that he should be a Nazarite all his life time, as Samuel also was; that was particular, and above the common institution of others: by the deed I mean, and not by the right or vow of the parents. Samson ought to have obeyed, although he had not vowed; because the word of God came between. Howbeit, touching Hanna the mother of Samuel, it may be doubted, how it was lawful for her to vow for her son: for it may scarce seem just, that the son should be bound by the vow of the parent.

It was demanded in the time of Benet, whether the children, whom their parents offered unto Monasteries, might marry, when they came unto man's state. Gregorius Magnus, writing to Augustine the bishop of England, answereth, that it is utterly unlawful. Which saying is very hard against the word of God: for Paul saith; that It is better to marry than to burn: and, He which cannot refrain himself, let him marry. In the third council of Carthage, whereat Augustine was also present, it was decreed; That children being offered unto the church, when they came to man's state, should either

marry, or else vow chastity. This also was severe enough: for who may require this of that age, being unskillful of things, and ignorant of her own strength? But this I speak, to the intent it may be known, that there be decrees contrary unto decrees.

But to return to the matter, I say, that Hanna might vow for her son; for as touching the performing of the vow, she might easily provide, that so long as he should be brought up by his parents, he should not drink any wine, nor cut off his hair, nor be at any funerals. But after he came to lawful age, it was Samuel's own part to observe these things: indeed, not in respect of the vow, but because of the obedience which he ought unto his parents. For children ought to obey their parents, in all those things, which are not against piety, and the word of God. So the Rechabites (as it is in Jeremiah) when they obeyed their father Jonadab, who commanded them to drink no wine all their life time, nor to dwell in cities: for the same cause were commended of God. Howbeit, Hanna, unless she had had a peculiar inspiration from God, could not have vowed, that Samuel should all his life time minister at the tabernacle of the Lord: forsomuch as the law of God discharged men from the ministry, after a certain space of years; namely, in the fifty year. But whereas I said, that it was lawful for Hanna to vow the vow of a Nazarite, for her son; it seemeth not to stand with the definition of a vow, which is thus brought by the Master of the sentences: A vow is a testification of a willing promise made unto God, touching things appertaining unto God. But a vow, which is vowed by the parents, for the son, cannot seem willing. Yes forsooth: it is willing, because the parents vow not by compulsion, but of their own accord; especially, when they command no ungodly thing, or contrary to the word of God.

12. Some do gather by the history of the Judges, that Samson was sanctified in his mother's womb; the very which thing also is believed, both touching Jeremiah, and also John Baptist: and they will have him so to be sanctified, as he afterward committed no deadly sin (as they call it.) But this is false, and vain: neither is, To sanctify, in this place any other thing, than To appoint one to the execution of some certain work. Samson therefore was sanctified, that is, appointed of God to deliver his people. So was Jeremiah ordained to prophesy, and John to be a voice of a crier in the wilderness. Neither is it brought to pass, by this kind of justification, that these men never sinned: for, Every man is a liar: and (saith Solomon) There is no man that sinneth not. Further, what shall we say of Samson? Did he never sin? Yes surly he fell, and that grievously. Paul also, who unto the Galatians saith, that he was separated from his mother's womb, and yet did he persecute the church of God. Otherwise the children also of the Christians are said to be holy; forsomuch as God is not only our God, but also the God of our seed: according to that which Paul saith unto the Corinthians; Your children be holy: and yet nevertheless, no man can doubt, but that they afterward fall, and grievously sin.

13. One thing remaineth to be spoken of: When the father voweth, and the son desireth to perform the vow of his father; what if the vow should be against the health of the son? Perhaps he shall fall into some sickness, and that it behooveth him to drink wine, or cut off his hair; what is to be done in this case? I have else-where declared, that the precepts of God are of diverse degrees; so that some be greater, and some of less weight. As touching God, that is the commander, all are equal and like one to another; but as concerning the things, which are commanded, there is some difference. Wherefore the less precept must give place to the greater: for

which cause Christ said out of the words of the prophet; I will have mercy and not sacrifice. Not as though God utterly contemned sacrifices, which he had commanded; but because he more esteemed mercy. And Christ also in the Gospel of Matthew, the 5th chapter admonisheth; that, If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat against thee, thou must go first and reconcile thyself unto thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift. Whereby he declareth, that he will altogether have the less precept give place to the greater.

So that we must thus answer unto the question; God commandeth the Nazarites to abstain from wine, he also commandeth every man to defend his life by good means. Here, when as the sick man cannot keep both the precepts; it is meet that he prefer the greater before the less. Thus also did the Rechabites, the sons of Jonadab behave themselves. For although their father commanded them, that they should not dwell in cities, neither drink any wine; and were also commended by God, because they obeyed the precepts of their father: yet at the very same time that Jeremiah wrote these things of them, they dwelt at Jerusalem, contrary to the commandment of their father. For the Chaldeans had wasted all their lands; wherefore they perceived, that there was then no place left for their father's commandment. But in Monasteries it is contrary: for if the father be sick, the son is so bound by religion, that he may not in any wise help him.

Of the vow of Jephthah, in the 11th of Judges, ver. 34.

14. Here may a man ask the question; whether Jephthah sinned, in vowing, and in performing his vow? The question is hard, because it pertaineth not unto the right, but unto the fact. We know, that in those days it was lawful to vow; but what is to be thought of this act, nothing can be gathered by the words. It may be, that he so vowed by the inspiration of

God; which being a particular example, it ought not to be extended to imitation: as of this kind there be very many in the holy scriptures. Some there be which affirm, that Jephthah did not offer his daughter in very deed, but only punished her with civil death; namely, in separating her from the common conversation, so that she lived only unto God, by giving herself to prayers only, and by living apart from the company of men. And they seem to affirm that that was the vow Cherem: howbeit no such as thereby the maiden should be bound to be killed; but that she should live as dedicated unto God, and continually give herself to his service. And even as a field or house dedicated by the vow Cherem, could not be revoked to the first owner: so (say they) this maiden being once dedicated unto the Lord, could not return unto her old state.

David Kimhi, in defending of this sentence, bringeth these reasons. First he weigheth the words of Jephthah; Whatsoever cometh forth of my house, shall be the Lord's, and I will offer it for a burnt offering. This letter Vau, being a conjunction copulative, (as we said in our commentary) he thinks doth make a proposition alternative: as if it should have been said; If it be such a thing, as may be sacrificed, it shall be sacrificed; but if it be otherwise, it shall be the Lord's and be dedicated unto him. Further he saith, that the maiden desired space to bewail her virginity: neither is it written; To bewail her soul or life. Wherefore it seemeth, that she bewailed only this; to wit, that she should want a husband and children: but if she should have been offered up, it behooved her chiefly to lament for her life. Lastly, he saith; that the words of the story declare it: for it is not said, that Jephthah sacrificed her; but that he did as he vowed. If he had killed her, it would have been written; And he offered her a burnt offering to the Lord.

Of the same opinion is Rabbi Levi Ben-Gerson: and he addeth, that it is written in the text; And she knew no man. As though it should be understood hereby, what kind of sacrifice that was. And he thinketh, that Jephthah built a house for her, where she should live alone: and he permitted her fellow virgins once a year to go and visit her, and to bewail her virginity together with her. And afterward he addeth, that a man so dedicated, ought not to live without a wife; because the man is not subject unto the wife. Samuel, although he were vowed unto the Lord by the decree of his mother; yet had he a wife and children. But a woman being so dedicated, might not marry; because it was necessary that she should serve her husband, who removing any whither, she was to go together with him. And therefore it is written, that Jephthah did to her according to his vow; and she knew no man.

15. Of the same mind is Lyranus: and there be among the new writers some of great learning, which follow this interpretation. But Lyranus pondereth these words; And the spirit of the Lord came upon him: and saith, that That spirit would not have suffered Jephthah, to have committed this murder. Besides, he saith, that it is written, that there were two months space given, so that he might ask counsel of the priests. And it is not very likely, but that he asked counsel of so weighty a matter; or else that they told him that he might redeem his vow. Neither is it probable, that this Jephthah appointed to do anything rashly; seeing the epistle to the Hebrews calleth him holy. If thou wilt say; He did unto her, as he had vowed; but he vowed a sacrifice, and to offer whatsoever met him: they will answer; He vowed indeed, but upon this condition; so that it were lawful. But when his daughter met him, either he learned, or else he understood that it was not lawful. Wherefore if he had killed her, he had not accomplished his vow,

but should have dishonored himself. But on the contrary part it seemeth wonderful, that he was so abashed, and he tare his garments, if the maiden should not have been offered up. Further, to what end should the virgins have lamented her? For if she should not have been slain, there seemed to be no just cause of mourning. Over this, if her virginity was to be offered unto God, it should have been given with a willing mind.

Yea, and in the rendering of vows, this is chiefly to be regarded: that they must be paid cheerfully, and with a willing mind. Hereunto Jephthah had no example in the scriptures, whereby it should be lawful for the father to bind his daughter by a vow, to keep her virginity: but contrariwise, God promiseth abundance of children unto the observers of the law, in the seventh of Deuteronomy, and 23rd of Exodus. So then, that which God promiseth instead of a great benefit, the same might not be hindered by a vow. Moreover, the arguments of the Rabbins are slender and weak; as afterward shall be more abundantly declared. Paul writeth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter; If the father shall firmly determine in his heart, having power over his own will, to keep his virgins unmarried, he doth well, &c. Wherefore writeth he; Having power over his own will? If the maiden herself will, the father may keep her unmarried; so that she consent. But Jephthah knew nothing of his daughters will, when he vowed: and then he ought not to think his vow to be ratified, when his daughter came out to meet him. And if this kind of vow should not be firm in the New Testament, much less was it of value in the Old Testament; where the vow of virginity was not known. But of this matter I have spoken more in my book of vows.

16. There were others which thought, that Jephthah did in very deed offer the maiden, which in those days should not seem so new and unaccustomed

a thing; for God required of Abraham that he should offer his son. And such a vow was thought of many to be acceptable unto God; and that opinion also did pass unto the Ethnics: wherefore this sentence is oftentimes spoken;

Sanguine placâstis ventos, & virgine caesa,

that is,

With blood, and with a virgins slain,

The winds ye have appeased certain.

There are works of poets, which make mention of Polyxena and Iphigenia; and also histories of the *Curtij* and the *Decij*. And undoubtedly with this exposition agreeth the Chaldean paraphrast, which among the Hebrews is almost of the same estimation and authority that the holy scriptures be. And that paraphrast saith, that the maiden was sacrificed; and reproveth Jephthah, because he asked not counsel of the high priest. And hereto do all the ancient Rabbins agree, which also do blame the high priest; because he of his own accord went not unto Jephthah. Josephus also is of their opinion. Also Chrysostom writeth many things of this matter, but altogether far from the history: he followeth allegories, so that there can be in a manner no certainty gathered out of him. But Jerome disagreeeth with himself: in his epistle to Julianus, he saith; that Jephthah was numbered among the saints; because he offered his daughter. But in his first book against Jovinian, he writeth, according to the mind of the Hebrews; that Because he made an evil vow, he by the gift of God perceived, that he did amiss in killing of his daughter. For there might have met him either a dog, or an asse, which to have offered had been ungodly: and thus in one place he praiseth that, which in another place he dispraiseth.

17. Ambrose saith, in his third book *De virginitate*; that The maid was in very deed offered in sacrifice: and he writeth, that Jephthah vowed not before the battle, but in the fight, and in the very time of conflict, when the success was doubtful. And he addeth; I do not allow the murder, but I see a commendable fear, that he would not violate the promise, which he had made. And he saith moreover, that this act is to be compared with the work of Abraham: for when Abraham was about to kill his son, the Lord cried out unto him; Now I know that thou lovest me. And he concludeth, that after the same manner Jephthah may be praised; because he showed by his example, that the oracle of God, wherein he commanded that vows should be performed, was to be preferred before children; yea, although it were his only begotten child that should suffer. But he demandeth, whether God have a respect to persons; seeing he let Abraham from offering of his son, but hindered not Jephthah? He denieth that God accepteth persons; but saith, that it was necessary he should declare unto Abraham, that he delighted not in human sacrifices. Afterward followed the law, which in Deuteronomy, and Leviticus, forbiddeth the offering up of children. So then, the will of God was already declared, both in Abraham, and in the law also: wherefore there needed no new oracle, or new prohibition. Further, he noted, that in Jephthah there was no such perfection, as was in Abraham: for Abraham wept not, tare not his garments, delayed not the space of two months; but straightway went, and Isaac followed him. It is no marvel then (saith he) if God prohibited not Jephthah; forsomuch as he would punish his trifling shift.

And in his third book *De officijs*, the twelfth chapter, he writeth; I will never be persuaded, but that Jephthah vowed unadvisedly: seeing he afterward repented. And he addeth, that he indeed alloweth not the fact: but

he saith, that in a godly fear he fulfilled his vow; howbeit, in such sort, as he appointed his posterity to lament it. He saith further; I cannot accuse the man, because it was necessary for him to pay that which he had vowed. But it is a miserable necessity (saith he) which is paid with the murder of his child: and it is better not to vow that thing, which he will not have to whom thou vowest it. And straightway he saith; All promises are not to be kept: for God himself hath sometime altered his will. By which words he alludeth unto the place which is written in the 14th chapter of the book of Numbers, touching the prayers of Moses. Wherefore Ambrose is altogether of that mind, to think, that the maiden was offered, and for that cause (as I have said) preferreth her before the two Pythagoreans. And after he saith in his exhortation unto virgins; She paid with her blood the unadvised vow of her father. And upon the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, he saith; In a thing which could not be acceptable, he was found faithful, offering his daughter as he had foolishly vowed. And again; The act is not to be allowed, but the perseverance of faith is brought forth for an example.

18. But these words of Ambrose must not so lightly be passed over: for they cannot absolutely be allowed, and as he hath spoken them; howbeit I have brought them, to show his opinion to be, that the maid was offered out of all doubt. But in his words this I first note, that he affirmeth a certain godly fear to be in Jephthah, whereby he was led to perform his vow: further, that children were not be preferred before religion: thirdly, that Jephthah was found faithful in that thing which could not be acceptable to God: lastly, that his perseverance of faith is set forth for an example to follow. As touching the first, I know not how that may seem to be a godly fear, which driveth a man to killing of his own child. For he calleth it three or four times murder. In deed there be certain affections engrafted in us by

God, but yet unto virtues and to well doing. A fear to eschew sin, an anger that we may punish wickedness, and so forth. Wherefore fear, when it is applied to virtue, may be called godly; but if it serve for vice, it cannot seem godly; nay rather, it hath a certain manner of ungodliness. Otherwise the endeavor of idolaters might be praised; for we see them labor earnestly about the worshipping of God: but because they apply not themselves to the sincere worshipping of God, their endeavor cannot be called godly. So, when that fear of Jephthah drove him to commit murder, how could it be godly? If thou wilt say, that by parricide or murder he meaneth not the sin or the wicked act; but the sacrificing of his daughter: I will ask, why he saith that he alloweth not of the act? Undoubtedly, if he cannot allow it, then he perceiveth that sin is therein.

But in that he saith, that the love of children is less to be esteemed than religion; that is true: but that was no religion, but a foolish, unadvised, and rash vow. Neither is the love of children less to be esteemed, than such vows. Thirdly he saith, that he was found faithful: but what fidelity is there in that, which could not be acceptable unto God? If my servant should do that which I forbad him, may he therein seem faithful? But in that he calleth the immutable mind of Jephthah, constancy; in my judgment he erreth: seeing the same was rather a willfulness, whereby he would needs perform that which he had unadvisedly vowed; neither can perseverance in any evil thing be called constancy. He attributeth unto him a fear, which he also calleth a godly fear: and yet afterward he saith, that he repented him. If he repented him, he did against his own conscience; and against it no man ought to do; For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Further, if he repented, why did he not amend his fault? For if anything had been rashly done, that ought to have been amended. If God (as he saith) do sometime change his

purpose; why then is it not lawful for us to change our opinion that is not right? Afterward he saith, he cannot but commend Jephthah. But what will he commend? An uncircumspect vow? But that ought rather to be blamed. Will he praise the performance of the vow? But that he calleth parricide, neither may it be praised. Wherefore I say, that Ambrose affirmeth, that the maiden was undoubtedly offered in sacrifice: and yet are not all his words to be allowed.

19. Now let us hear what Augustine's opinion is touching this matter. In his 29th question upon the book of Judges, he writeth; that Out of this place the enemies of the Old Testament took occasion to slander God the creator of the world: for they called him both an evil and a cruel God. Such were the Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and such like pestilent rabble; Seeing (say they) he delighteth in the blood of man, how can he be but cruel? Augustine answereth; So far is it off, that God rejoiceth in the blood of man, as he rejoiceth not in the blood of beasts: only he suffered for a time, that sacrifices of brute beasts should be offered, to the intent he might instruct men by little and little. But what the sacrifices of the forefathers signified, which might serve for their instruction; he declareth not in that place: howbeit, I will show the same in few words. First, there was set forth in those sacrifices, that The reward of sin is death: and that did he after a sort testify, which brought the sacrifice; namely, that he had deserved to be killed, but that by the goodness of God his death was transferred to the sacrifice. By this means were the elder fathers instructed to beware of sin. Moreover, those sacrifices directed the minds of men unto Christ; and they were certain visible preachings of him: and they taught, that Christ should be that sacrifice, that was to take away the sins of the world; and unto which our death and damnation should be transferred.

So then God of himself delighted not in blood, but by this schooling he taught his people: yea, and if he had been delighted in sacrifices, he might have required to have them levied of men. For what should have letted him; or what injury should he have done unto us, if he would have had sacrifices of men offered unto him? For at one time or other, man must of necessity die: wherefore it had been no very grievous thing to have prevented him for a year or two; neither should he have done any injury unto us, especially we understanding that we should live with him forever. Undoubtedly in this thing no man might accuse God of cruelty. But now, seeing he hath removed all these sacrifices, he manifestly teacheth; that he doth not rejoyce, neither in the blood of men, nor yet in the blood of beasts. Yea the first born of men, when they were bound unto him, he would not have them sacrificed, but redeemed with a price; which he would not have done, if he had taken any pleasure in blood. In the 12th chapter of Deuteronomy, he saith; The nation which I will drive out before thee, do sacrifice their sons and daughters, but see that thou do not so. But Augustine demandeth further; Whether there be any slaughter of men, that is acceptable unto God? He answereth that there is. But what slaughter? When men (saith he) are killed for righteousness sake: not that the death of martyrs of itself pleaseth God, but because that godliness and faith towards God is both declared and also preserved thereby. And the death of Christ so pleased God, that it redeemed the whole world.

And the death of Christians, which they suffer for the name of Christ, may after a sort be called a sacrifice. Wherefore Paul, in the second to Timothy, the last chapter writeth; Ἐγὼ σπεύδομαι, &c. That is, I am sacrificed, &c. In which saying he calleth his death an immolation or offered sacrifice. And in the second chapter to the Philippians, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπεύδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ

καὶ λειτουργία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, that is, If I be now offered up upon the sacrifice and service of your faith. And yet such sacrifices make not satisfaction for sins: for that doth the death of Christ only. But the death of martyrs pleaseth God, because the cause is acceptable. Augustine was baptized of Ambrose; and being wonderfully affected unto him, he followeth (where he may) the opinion of him, as of his schoolmaster, but somewhat more warily. In deed he compareth Jephthah with Abraham; but he putteth a difference, which Ambrose noted not. Abraham (saith he) had the word of God [to warrant him] for the sacrifice of his son; so had not Jephthah: nay rather, he had the law against him, that he should not sacrifice her. And in Abraham it was not the slaughter that pleased God, but the faith. Further, there is a great difference; for a man to do anything of himself, and to have a will to do those things which be commanded him. And Augustine doth prudently admonish, that Jephthah vowed a human sacrifice, not being beguiled, but willingly. Whatsoever (saith he) shall come forth of my house, I will offer it for a burnt offering, &c. Do we think that beasts would come forth to meet him, as he should return home? Men indeed use to go out and meet with such as have the victory, and to rejoice with them: wherefore he vowed a human sacrifice.

20. The scripture doth only make mention of this act, but praiseth not the same. Even as also it is mentioned in the scriptures, that Judah did lie with his daughter in law; howbeit that is not allowed. So there can nothing be gathered by these words, why the act of Jephthah should be praised. Further, Augustine thinketh with Jerome, that God would punish the rashness of the father's vow, by the death of his daughter. But there be two places (saith he) that let me from the blaming of Jephthah. One is, for that in the epistle to the Hebrews, he is numbered among the saints: and it is

written, that The spirit of the Lord was upon him. Howbeit, did those holy men, which are reckoned in the epistle to the Hebrews, never sin? Yes undoubtedly, their sins are set forth in the holy scripture. Gideon, who is among that number, a little before his death made an Ephod, which was the destruction both of himself, and also of his house. The second place is; The spirit of the Lord came upon him: yet this letteth nothing, but that he might afterward fall. But thou will say, that Jephthah had the victory: but with Gideon there went nothing well, after that act. Yea, and Gideon (saith he) did before after a sort tempt God, and yet he had the victory. On this wise saith Augustine. But I would say otherwise: for I agree not with Augustine, to think that Gideon tempted God.

So then I would answer after this manner; David committed adultery, and straightway afterward obtained the victory, and took the city Rabbeth Ammon; in the siege whereof he caused Uriah to be slain. Saul persecuted David: in the meantime there were messengers sent to him from the Philistines; he leaving David, went to the war, and obtained the victory. Moses sinned at the waters of strife. The people also had sinned many ways, and yet they obtained the victory against Sihon and Og, being most mighty kings. Wherefore we will grant, that Jephthah was numbered among the saints, and yet he might sin. And although he sinned, yet he obtained the victory. And we will grant, that the spirit of the Lord came upon him; but it was the spirit of strength. And although the spirit of the Lord were upon him, yet it is not of necessity, that he did all things by the same spirit: for we also, who are Christians, have the spirit of Christ, when as yet none of us is renewed in all parts: nay rather, we do all sin oftentimes.

Augustine addeth moreover, that although the forefathers sometimes sinned; yet it nothing hindereth, but that God may use their sins to signify

those things, which might instruct the people. For God is so good, that even out of very sins he picketh laudable commodities; and maketh them allegorically to declare what seemeth profitable unto him. In like manner as when Judas played the harlot with his daughter in law: the same signified, that God would couple unto him his church, which before was a harlot. And so it may be, that by this act of Jephthah, he signified; that God so loved mankind, as he would give his only begotten son to die for it: for he did not in vain, and without any cause suffer such a thing to be done by the fathers. Albeit they grievously sinned, yet could God use their actions to the instruction of his people. They were amazed at the sacrifices of beasts; neither did they (as it had been meet they should) lift up the eyes of their mind unto Christ. Wherefore God would by this means stir up them that were sluggish, that by the human sacrifice of the daughter of Jephthah, they might be led to think upon Christ: for he it was, that should give life, and become the sacrifice for mankind.

21. Afterward Augustine declareth a reason, whereby he defendeth the act of Jephthah; It may be said (saith he) that he was moved by the spirit of God to make a vow, and led by the same spirit to perform it; wherefore he shall be worthy of praise: so far is it off, that he should be reprov'd. Howbeit, this cannot be gathered by the words of the history. And whereas some say (which we before have touched) that he wept, rent his garments, sorrowed earnestly, and therefore was not led by the spirit of God: this doth not much move me. For God so requireth of us the duties of godliness, that nevertheless he taketh not from our mind's human affections. Christ himself, when he was to suffer willing death for our sakes, said nevertheless; My soul is heavy even unto the death. He prayed also; Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me. But Augustine's meaning was to

declare, how Jephthah might be defended; which I also would gladly do, if I had any part of the history to help me. But that which followeth in Augustine, is spoken to imitate Ambrose: for he writeth, that The error of Jephthah hath some praise of faith. Which (as I have declared before) may not be received: for, if it were an error, then can it not be ascribed unto the motion of the holy Ghost. Further, if it were sin, what praise of faith can there be in it? Because he feared, not to pay that which he had promised. What if the vow were not lawful? Can faith be commended there?

Moreover he saith; He eschewed not the judgment of God, and he hoped that he would have forbidden him from killing of his daughter. He would rather that the will of God should in any wise be done, than that he would condemn it. These things were well spoken, if he had been assured of the will of God. But was not the will of God manifest? Nay rather, God had otherwise forbidden by his law. Wherefore, if it were an error, it ought not to be praised: but if the spirit moved him, then was there no error in it. That which he afterward addeth, is most true, and maketh on my side. First he teacheth, that it was forbidden, both by the example of Abraham, and also by the law, that a man should not kill his children. Further, why the maidens wept, he bringeth the same reason, which I alleged; namely, that both fathers should beware from binding themselves to such a vow; and also that so great an obedience of such a maid should not be forgotten. These things we have out of Augustine; by which words appeareth, that his opinion was, that this virgins was sacrificed in very deed; and not compelled by the vow of chastity to live sole. Which judgment I myself do altogether allow.

22. They which hold the contrary, have only two or three authors: but there be a multitude which hold on my side, and especially the ancient Rabbins, which lived at that time, when the Chaldean paraphrast, and the

writing of the Talmud were set forth. For the Chaldean paraphrast affirmeth, that the maiden was slain. Josephus, Ambrose, and Augustine are of the same opinion. And the reasons which we have, are not to be contemned. First, because there was no law in the old time, that maidens should vow chastity: nay rather, it was a curse, if a woman had died barren, and without children. Yea, and God promised unto the Hebrews; If ye observe my laws, there shall be no barren woman among you. Neither is it very likely, that holy men would by their vow hinder this promise. Again, in all the scriptures revealed by God, there remaineth not any example of such a thing. Also by this interpretation we might seem (after a sort) to confirm ecclesiastical vows, which are manifestly repugnant unto the word of God: for Paul admonished, that He which cannot abstain, should marry a wife. I speak not how Jephthah tarried not for the consent of the maiden, before he vowed: without which (as I have before said) the vow of virginity might not be ratified; I have opened my mouth (saith he) unto the Lord, and I cannot call back. Wherefore he vowed not the virginity of the maiden, seeing he asked not counsel of her.

To this also serveth the lamenting of the virgins, and therewithal the bewailing of the maiden herself: for she desired that she might, with her fellows, bewail her virginity. But if it were a vow, why should she have lamented it? We use to bewail our sins, and not our vows. But the cause that moved the Rabbins, David Kimhi, and Levi Ben-Gerson, was this: for that they will either allow or excuse the act of Jephthah. But we must not labor thereabouts; not because we are desirous to hide those things which the Fathers have done amiss; but because we see, that the things which are not well done, must not be excused. Moreover, this also doth not a little persuade me, that the Jews at this day have not this vow of virginity among

them. So as all these reasons lead me to think, that the daughter of Jephthah was sacrificed in very deed. But if it be demanded, whether he sinned or no in the doing hereof? It may be answered two manner of ways. First, in respect that he was a man, he might sin: as many other of the old Fathers fell. Secondly, it may be said, that he did this by the motion of the holy Ghost: not as though God would have other to imitate this act; but that men might by it understand, that Christ should die for their salvation. It is free for any man to choose either of these answers: but I rather think, that he sinned. Now resteth to confute the arguments of the Rabbins.

23. In that they say the maiden was not killed by her father, but only punished with civil death: namely, that she should live apart from the fellowship of men, without a husband and children; it is not well said. For it cannot be proved by the holy scriptures, that there was any such vow in the old time. I know that there were Nazarites, which abstained from wine, and strong drink, and from all drink which would make one drunk; but they abstained not from matrimony. Samuel and Samson, being either of them a Nazarite, had wives; and Samuel had children, as the holy history declareth. But the withdrawing from the company of men, is not altogether to be disallowed; so that there come some fruit thereby unto the church. Christ departed 40 days, and fasted; but afterward he returned to instruct the people. John Baptist severed himself, but that was for a certain time; and he baptized and preached. So, some of the Fathers went sometime apart, where they gave themselves to prayers and godly meditations; that thereby they might return the better instructed to preach. But I can in no case allow the perpetualness of solitary life: for we are not born to ourselves, but to others also.

And whereas in the old time, there were some which were Nazarites forever; that came not to pass by the institution of man, but by the commandment of God: which thing is written to have happened unto Samson, and John Baptist. Otherwise Nazarites vowed, but only for a time: wherefore that which the Rabbins claim, is false; for there was no civil death by the law, whereby men and women were deprived of marriage, for their whole life time. David Kimhi saith, that this letter Vau, maketh sometime a proposition disjunctive. I grant that the same is found in certain places of the scripture. But it is no firm argument to say; It is found in some places, Therefore it is so in this place. But rather for the most part, Vau maketh no disjunctive proposition; but rather a copulative: and undoubtedly it is here brought in by exposition; It shall be the Lord's (saith he) After what manner? For I will offer it for a burnt offering.

24. Besides this, they reason; The maiden desired a space of time, wherein she might bewail her virginity: and she saith not, to bewail her soul or life. This argument carrieth a show, but it hath no strength: for if death should be lamented; then undoubtedly it is much more to be lamented, when a sharp condition is joined therewith. The maiden was sure to die at some certain time: but that seemed very hard unto her, that she should die without children; so as that condition is expressed, which made the cause more miserable. He saith moreover; It is not written, that Jephthah offered her for a burnt offering: but that he only did according to his vow. I answer; that there is enough said, when it is said, that he did according to his vow. And it is often seen, that in narrations, those things that be more cruel, be not expressed. And although the words be not all one, yet is it sufficient, if they be of like weight. Levi Ben-Gerson reasoneth upon this, that is written; And she knew no man; Therefore (saith he) she lived, but married not: howbeit

this reason is of no force; for this sentence is an exposition of the words that go before. For why did the virgins bewail her? Even because she was unmarried, and coupled to no man. But Lyranus saith; The spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah: wherefor he vowed not his daughter for a burnt offering.

This reason (as we have heard) Augustine answereth; That spirit undoubtedly was the spirit of strength, and of warlike knowledge. Neither can all, that Jephthah afterward did, be said to have come from the same spirit. Moreover (saith Lyranus) there was two months space between, wherein he asked counsel of the priests: and they gave him counsel to keep his daughter a virgin. But the ancient Jews rather affirm, that he was so stubborn, as he would not ask counsel of the priests: and for that cause he is blamed by the Chaldean paraphrast. Neither is it any new thing, that men sometimes sin, because they think that they have no need of counsel: and that doth most commonly happen unto princes. For they have a haughty mind, and lofty stomach: and therefore think that they have counsel enough. But he is numbered among the saints. To this doth Augustine answer also, that others were in like manner numbered among the saints; the which nevertheless did sin grievously. Lastly he saith; If he had sacrificed his daughter, he should not have fulfilled, but have broken his vow. This I grant: and it is no marvel that he erred, seeing he was a man, and might fall. And thus far of the vow of Jephthah.

Of the Rechabites.

25. Who the Rechabites were, and of what stock, lineage, and kindred; it may be perceived out of the second book of the Chronicles, the second chapter: where we find, that they were *Cinaei*, that is, out of the posterity of Jethro, the father in law unto Moses. First, they were called *Cinaei*;

afterward of the famous man Rechab, they were called Rechabites. And as it is written in the 35th chapter of Jeremiah; This Jonadab instructed his children in certain excellent precepts; First, he commanded them that they should drink no wine; Secondly, that they should not till the corn fields and vineyards; Thirdly, that they should not dwell in cities, but that they should in chariots wander about the forests and pastures, and should perpetually be in chariots instead of houses. Moses entreated the *Cinaei*, that they would go with him, and that they would show him the way through that desert: and he promised, that he would bestow upon them of that good which the Hebrews themselves should have at their coming into the land of Canaan. Howbeit, it appeareth hereby, that they would not make claim to any part of that inheritance; but that they wandered about, through pastures, forests, and groves: which thing the children of Israel permitted them to do, seeing they were allied unto them.

But forsomuch as Jonadab was a man both wise and godly, let us see wherefore he gave this charge to his posterity, according as we read in the 35th chapter of Jeremiah. For he commanded not these things unto them, to the intent they should be justified by them; but because they might serve them for a certain outward discipline. Of the which ordinance, although many causes might be alleged; yet will I bring only three. The first is, the opinion of the Hebrew writers, who think; that this Jonadab's mind was to provide an easy and commodious living for his posterity. Which thing David Kimhi expoundeth on this wise; They which possess (saith he) vineyards, or fields, and have also houses planted in places certain, must of necessity enter into sundry calamities. For the yearly profits, as well of fruits, as of wine, do sometimes prosper untowardly; or else otherwhile are altogether taken away: by means whereof, husbandmen being deprived of

their hope, are afflicted with hunger, and live in sharp penury. Sometimes also the air is corrupted, or the husbandmen are ill entreated by the robberies of their neighbors. These evils may this people easily eschew, by ranging to and fro in their chariots, whither soever they will. For by this means they avoid the evils, which are imminent and follow after good things, wheresoever they be: which they cannot do that have their habitations fixed unto vineyards, sown fields, and unto houses which be certain.

And for this cause they say, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob embraced this kind of life. And indeed we read, that they, when they were oppressed with famine in some place; did repair unto better and more fertile places. Sometimes they went down unto Egypt, sometime to Gerar, that they might there be fed and sustained, when the famine else-where waxed great. Furthermore, that same trade of keeping cattle had continued among the Rechabites, even from their old ancestors. For Jethro the father-in-law of Moses, had herds and flocks of cattle; and he sent his daughters to feed them, and to keep them: wherefor they would not degenerate from their ancestors. And moreover, we are not ignorant, that they which inhabit cities, do soon become tender and effeminate: but they which live in the country, be (for the most part) strong and lusty: whereby it cometh to pass, that in the mustering of soldiers, the greatest part is appointed out of shepherds and husbandmen; but soldiers are seldom taken from among the artificers and meanest people of the city. Wherefore Jonadab's mind was, that among his posterity should be kept in sound state, the strength and courage of the body.

He in like manner forbad them to drink any wine, the superfluous use whereof doth hurt the body, and the mind many ways: and therein (as the

apostle warneth) is wantonness. Whereupon God commanded in the law, that the priests should drink no wine, at what time they should enter into the temple to do holy service. Also it was a determination among the Nazarites, that they would utterly forbear the use thereof. And in so much as all these be things external, and indifferent; it behooved the children to obey their father: which must otherwise have been, if he had commanded them anything, which had been against the word of God. For parents and princes must be obeyed; but yet, (according to the common proverb) *Usque ad aras*, that is, So far forth as it be not against conscience, and true religion. When the father of the Rechabites had commanded these things, he added a promise; That your life may be long. Which may be referred, not only unto a commodious and easy life, (the which we have now declared out of the opinion of the Hebrews;) but also unto the divine promise, which God thought good to join unto the commandment of obedience of children unto their parents. For thus it is written; That thou mayest live long upon the earth.

26. In very deed this interpretation of the Rabbins is tolerable: but there is another much more excellent, which may easily be gathered out of the first book of Chronicles the second chapter. In that place are reckoned the men which sprang of the tribe of Judah: among whom also Hemath is recited, whom the Hebrews will have to be Othniel, a notable man in that tribe: for he not only was a godly man, but also an excellent captain in the wars, and most skillful in the law of God. Therefore, when he was abroad, and in the wars, he fought valiantly; and being at home and in peace, he gave his mind to the holy doctrine; wherein he not only did meditate himself, but he also taught the same unto others. And among others he had the Rechabites to be his disciples, who leaving their pastures of Jericho, repaired unto him to be

taught. And because he belonged unto the tribe of Judah, therefore the Rechabites are reckoned in the same: and it is said, that they honored God with hymns and praises. And for so much as they were wonderful desirous of the law of God, Jonadab minded to set them at liberty from cares and worldly pleasures; whereby they might the rather and the more conveniently settle and apply themselves unto that study.

Neither did the Rechabites delay the time to obey. Wherefore Jeremiah brought them into the house of God; surly, not into the sanctuary, nor yet into the holiest of all: but into a certain parlor or chamber of the priests. For even as it appeareth by the building of Solomon's temple, there were certain by-places without the temple, wherein were the lodgings for the priests, which executed their office according to their course. And when Jeremiah had brought them thither, he commanded that the cups and cruets full of wine should be set before them, and he invited them to drink: which they refused, affirming that it was not lawful for them; because of the ordinance which their father made. But here Jeremiah might have seemed to allure and provoke them to break the commandment of their father: which if he had done of his own motion, he were not to be defended or excused; for so much as prophets are sent, not to be a snare but to set forward good and holy works. But what Jeremiah did, he did not of his own mind and accord; but by the commandment of God, who right well knew, that the Rechabites would not drink. So as the thing was done on this wise, because the obedience of the Rechabites might openly and by assured testimonies be approved; and that the pride of the Hebrews might be suppressed, who thought themselves alone to be godly and holy.

Furthermore, there is brought in a double comparison: for God is compared with Jonadab the Rechabite; who notwithstanding that he differ

unspeakably from him, yet were the commandments of God neglected, when as those things which Jonadab gave in charge, were very religiously observed. In like manner the Rechabites are compared with the Jews: for they in kindred were Israelites, but these were Proselytes and strangers associated; by whom nevertheless, not only the law of God was retained, but also the commandments of their father was with great reverence observed. And if we shall make a reckoning of the time, this ordinance of the Rechabites endured well near the space of 300 years: for in a manner so much space do we reckon between Jehu and Joachim the latter, or Zedekias the king of Judah, in whose times Jeremiah prophesied. But if thou shalt demand, where Jeremiah found these men; seeing they led not their life in the cities? They themselves make answer, in the chapter now alleged; that by the host of Nebuchadnezzar (which besieged the city, and destroyed all those parts with his army) they were constrained to enter into the city of Jerusalem: howbeit, they did not there either buy or build themselves a house, but they hired a lodging.

27. The last cause of these precepts may be given in manner of an allegory: as if Jonadab would admonish his issue of the principal endeavor, whereunto they should be bound, while they lived here; namely, of obtaining the heavenly habitation. Wherefore it is written in the epistle to the Hebrews, the eleventh chapter; that The fathers of the old law wandered about, as strangers, and had no country made by men: but they sought the heavenly habitation, which was made by God. And Paul said; While we live here, we are strangers from the Lord. We have here no permanent city, but we seek for one to come. These things be very good causes, why Jonadab was persuaded to command such things unto his children. God witnessed by Jeremiah, that he would forthwith punish the Hebrews for their

disobedience and contumacy: but contrariwise, he comforted the Rechabites; because their obedience pleased him; There shall evermore (saith he) be some of their stock before me. Whereby it appeareth, that they were not all slain, or led away into captivity. There be of the interpreters, which refer that word *Liphne*, unto the worshipping of God, and unto the holy ministry. Howbeit this cannot be convenient for the Rechabites; because they were not of the tribe of Levi, nor yet of the family of Aaron; nay rather, they were strangers from Israel, and of the kindred of the Midianites.

But some will answer me; that, The priests and Levites, did oftentimes contract marriages with them: and therefore the children, which were begotten, and which did minister in the temple, were by the mother's side said to be Rechabites. But me thinketh that this exposition is not of necessity; because the Hebrew word is not always referred unto the holy ministry: but they also are said to stand, and be conversant before the Lord, whom he favoreth, whom he defendeth and maintaineth. This also I will not pass over, that Jerome, in his epistle to Paulinus, *De institutione monachi*, and else-where writeth; that The Rechabites in old time were the fathers of Monks. This perhaps might be true, concerning those Monks which lived in the days of Jerome: but if this Father might peradventure come again, and see our Monks, he would pronounce them to be far unlike to those Rechabites. For they used to drink no wine: but these Monks of ours be lusty drinkers; neither do they desire to have their wine overlayed, but they covet that which is the strongest, and most excellent. They possessed no houses: but these build and buy such houses, as may justly be compared to king's palaces. They possess excellent vineyards, and most fruitful fields: yea, and to conclude, they inhabit (I will not say over-run) cities. Therefore,

what have they as the Rechabites had? Doubtless, nothing at all. But letting these things pass, I think good to admonish the reader, that among the Greeks there is extant this title of the 70th Psalm; For the children of the Rechabites, which were the first fruits of the captivity. For this is not in the Hebrew; and from whence the Greeks derive it, I know not: yet do I think, that the Rechabites were therefore called the first fruits of the captives; because while they wandered through the plains and fields, it is likely that they were the first, which were taken, and afflicted by the host of the Chaldeans.

28. But here ariseth a great doubt, whether Jonadab did well, thus to bind his posterity to precepts, and to charge them with heavy commandments. Certainly, wine, lands, houses, cities, and vineyards, be good things; the which God hath made for the use of man: why then would he have his posterity to abstain altogether from them; especially, seeing so great severity is sometimes repugnant unto charity? Also, there may happen a weakness of health, and such an infirmity of the body, that wine must be used; even as Paul counseled his Timothy. Hereunto I answer, that the causes (as I showed before) which led this man to institute such things, were honest: but yet this we must add, that the observance hereof was not commanded by him with such severity, that there could be no exception therein. For not only the precepts of men, but those also, which God himself hath made, must be seasoned and tempered by the law of charity, according to the rule appointed by God; I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. Undoubtedly, he commanded sacrifices; but yet, if at any time they were a hindrance of showing mercy unto our neighbors, they were to be laid aside for a time and season. So then the precepts of Jonadab were to be understood, that they should not bind his children, if by chance any

necessity had urged: which necessity (as it is commonly said) is the mother of dispensations, or releasements.

For this cause are the Charter-house Monks to be blamed, which so strictly profess an abstinence from flesh; as if one should be at the point of death, they would not minister the same unto him. Wherefore, when any Rechabite had need of wine, in respect of his health, he might use the same, notwithstanding the commandment of Jonadab: even as now also, because they were compelled by necessity, they went into the city of Jerusalem, and were not accused of disobedience. Yea, and God testifieth with them on this manner; Because ye have obeyed the voice of your father, and have fulfilled all things that he commanded you, &c. He saith, that they fulfilled all things, when as now nevertheless they were abiding in the city. Besides this, Jonadab did not so command, as though he thought these things in their own nature to be unclean, the use of which he forbad unto his posterity. This was the peevishness of the Manichees, which thought, that wine, flesh, and other like things, were unclean: as those that were created by some evil god. So did not Jonadab think, but forbad them to his posterity, for the causes now alleged. Furthermore, the Rechabites were not bound by vow to perform them; but they only abstained, because they would obey their father.

And because the commandment, whereby wine was forbidden, might seem at the first view to be somewhat strict; therefore it must be considered, that the condition of all countries and regions is not all one. For to refrain altogether from wine in this climate of ours, it would be a great discommodity for the most part of men; neither might it be abidden. But it is not so in Syria, or Palestine, where men are troubled with great heat; and the waters there are very excellent, and are not unprofitable to be drunk: for

which cause, both there are and may be in that place men in great number abstaining from wine. And that thus it is, the law of God concerning the Nazarites, confirmeth it: the which law utterly forbad them the use of wine, all the time wherein they were bound by their vow. And we are not to believe, that God would deal so hardly with his Nazarites, to charge them with things intolerable. Now then, seeing the precept might be undone, upon a cause of necessity; and that it was no difficult thing to be observed in those regions: Jonadab in making of such a precept, is to be borne withal. Whereunto may be added, that such a precept was very convenient for them: for they were wandering people, and ran about in chariots, together with their herds of cattle, using milk for their meat, and whey instead of drink. So then he commanded them nothing, but that they were accustomed unto: and yet nevertheless, in so strict a discipline, he forbad them not to marry. But contrariwise, the Monks do abundantly enjoy all pleasures, and think that they have performed all godliness, if they abstain from marriages.

29. But we ought to remember with ourselves the very good cause of peregrination of these men: for all good men travel not into strange countries for one and the self-same purpose. Many there be, which oftentimes leave their country; because they may not worship God there, after the sincere and lawful kind of worshipping: yea, they are grievously troubled, if they endeavor themselves thereunto. So Abraham was called out of his land, and from his kindred, lest he should still have proceeded in contaminating himself with his forefathers in idolatry. And so was it said of Christ; that If they have persecuted us in one city, let us fly unto another. But there be others, which although they be not hindered at home from true godliness; yet will they visit those places, wherein they think to attain more profit, and be more instructed in things divine and necessary for salvation.

For which cause Plato is commended, because he traveled to the Egyptians; and went to a part of Italy named Magna Greece: he went also into diverse nations, as though he had followed wisdom flying from him. So likewise is the Queen of Saba commended in the holy scriptures, which traveled from so far countries to hear Solomon. After this manner the Kenites in the first of Judges, followed the people of Israel: for although at home they knew and worshipped one God, whose priest also their father was; yet nevertheless they desired to be still more instructed, and more absolutely to receive the laws, the ordinances and worship of God.

They also are very much worthy of praise, that travel into strange countries, only for the intent to profit others; and to deliver them from the miseries, wherewith they be oppressed. After which sort the Poets have reported that Hercules wandered through the world, that by his force he might subdue wicked and cruel men, which miserably afflicted mankind. Neither did the Apostles for any other purpose travel throughout the world, but to deliver men from the power of the devil; and by the preaching of the Gospel, to loose them from the chains of errors. Christ also for the self-same cause, would travel and journey among men, that by his doctrine and death, he might deliver mankind from eternal destruction. So as the Kenites may be numbered among these, for they also joined themselves in the society of the Israelites, to help them through the desert: for they having good knowledge of those places, might be a great help unto the Jews. These counsels are plainly judged to be good and honest, for whose cause travelling's, which are willingly taken in hand, are honest and praiseworthy. There may be other causes also of traveling, which as they are not always to be accused; so are they nothing comparable to these, either in praise or in worthiness. Wherefore, let godly men, when they travel into

other countries, have regard (as much as is possible) unto these causes, which I have now mentioned. And as God disappointed not these Kenites of the fruit which they expected, but made them partakers (and that plentifully) of those good things, which he had prepared for his people: even so, seeing he is now the same God, which he was then; we must believe, that he will not suffer himself to depart from his accustomed manner, and perpetual goodness; so that we observe the just causes and reasons, that should move us so to travel abroad.

30. But in that matter we have need to be very wary and circumspect; namely, that (as Seneca in his 150th epistle to Lucillus, very well admonished) we travel from ourselves: that is, that we lay away our wicked affections, because changing of places doth little profit, if we carry about with us the same affections which we had before. Yea, and it maketh most of all to the renewing of godliness, that we should be strangers to our own selves: for what profit had come unto the Kenites, by the good laws, honest manners, and pure religion, which the Jews professed; if they would have had their own with them, and have abidden in the same, wherein they were conversant before? So then, they which do travel into other countries for study and godliness sake, ought not to determine with themselves, to behold cities, buildings, rivers, fields, vineyards, woods, plays, and manners of men: for all these things, although they somewhat delight the beholders, (as children which taking pleasure in every new and strange thing do marvel thereat) yet are they to little or small purpose at all.

The sum is, that above all other things they study only to be bettered in godliness and learning. For if they shall but smally regard this, they shall be rather justly said to wander, than to travel. Let them not therefore retain with them any longer those evils, which they avoid: yea, and above all

things let them wander far from the ignorance of God, from the unskillfulness of the holy scriptures, from corrupt affections, and from wicked and pernicious examples. This is the just cause of traveling which the Kenites, by their example do declare unto us. If the Lacedaemonians had had a regard unto this, they would not by their laws have forbidden traveling. But I persuade myself, that hereto they had respect, that they noted it to come to pass for the most part; that their countrymen by traveling abroad, learn of strangers, whom they go to see, not their virtues and wisdom, but rather their vices and errors: and afterward being infected with many evils, they return into their country, where they destroy their citizens with a certain pestilent contagion. Which certainly no man doubteth to be a great evil and discommodity to the common-weal. And yet we may not therefore conclude, that all travelling's are hurtful: for there can be found no city, no people, nor any public-wealth in the world, which hath not many things imperfect, both in their manners, and in their lands, which may be amended and corrected by the sight and knowledge of others. Lycurgus, which made that law, profited much by traveling into strange countries. Yea, and the *Decemviri* of the Romans, went themselves into Greece, to the end they might know the laws of that people: by means whereof, they did marvelously provide for their own commonweal.

CHAP. VII. Of Marriage, and Sole life; especially of Ministers.

It is now a thing worthy to be noted, that married folks are not despised of God: for of them he hath chosen, some to be prophets, and those very notable. For Isaiah was commanded to go unto a prophetess, which both conceived, and also brought him forth children. Ezekiel also was married. Wherefore that Syricius of Rome, and his fellows must not be harkened unto; when they forbid the whole ministry unto married folk. And this reason forsooth they bring; namely, because it is written by Paul; that They which be in the flesh cannot please God: and because in the old law it is commanded; Be ye holy, for I am holy: and again; Ye are the temple of God, or of the holy Ghost. But these testimonies now alleged, if they might serve anything for their purpose; then undoubtedly should they declare, that no men which be married, can please God: neither that any may be counted holy, unless such as be of single life. The temple also of God, or of the holy Ghost, should be restrained to the clergy alone. But how vain these things are, all men perceive so well, that they need none of my labor to expound them. For who seeth not, that the sentences now alleged, are not spoken

particularly to one man or to another; but are pronounced to all the faithful? It was the manner of the Ethnics, to have their prophetesses either virgins, or else such as were of sole life: as it is written of the Sibyls. They also appointed certain priesthoods unto women, but yet to virgins only; namely, the sacrifices of Vesta, and also of her that was called Bona Dea.

2. Neither must we believe, that those married folks, which were by God taken to the office of prophesying, or to the holy ministry, did straightway forsake their wives: for neither God nor Christ were authors, that any man should divorce himself from his wife. We know indeed, that Paul permitteth them which are married, to be sometimes a sunder; whereby they might more conveniently give themselves to prayers and fasting's; but this he permitteth not, unless it be with both their consents, and that for a short time; and he willeth them to return to their old state, lest by the temptation of Satan they should be overthrown. So then this saying that they bring, is not sufficient to prove the necessity of sole life for ministers; seeing the adversaries gather more out of the same, than can be gathered. For there the apostle saith, that sometimes it is lawful to abstain from coming together. But these men take it to be a commandment to all sorts of ministers, to be evermore unmarried: which argument is both weak, and unprofitable; as the art of Logic manifestly showeth.

We will grant indeed, that it is meet for ministers sometimes to keep themselves continent, and that oftener than other men; but yet not continually. This they object; If other men moderate themselves now and then, because they may fall to prayer; what should they do, whose duty is always to apply themselves both unto prayers, and to the administration of the sacraments? I answer: first, that we much marvel at them, which allege these things; seeing the greatest part of the clergy do almost never teach;

they distribute the sacraments very seldom, and scarcely once or twice in a year do celebrate that their most shameful and abominable Mass: but in the mean time they commit whoredom, and pollute themselves with adulteries. And they cavil that they cannot marry, because of the ecclesiastical degrees, which they have taken upon them. Undoubtedly, the reasons alleged do nothing at all further these kind of men.

3. Moreover, we must consider, that the words which Paul there speaketh, belong not to common fasting, or to common and usual prayers: for otherwise it would be lawful for no man, either to marry, or to have a wife; forsomuch as all men are commanded to pray without ceasing. And there be sometimes certain solemn prayers, and fasting's appointed; either for the avoiding of calamities, which hang over our heads; or for the choosing of ministers of the church, and for such like necessities in which we must (with the prophet and the apostle) counsel and exhort the husband to depart out of his chamber, and the bride out of her bed. But I would gladly here of these new masters, and most severe censors, what they did a good while since in the church of Rome, which they alone of all other so highly honor: what I say was done, when Christians did every day communicate; as Jerome and Augustine write to be done in their time? Undoubtedly they did communicate, and yet they had wives. Further, what did the high priest Aaron, and his successors in the Old Testament; whose office both morning and evening was, perpetually to minister at the tabernacle? For as yet were not the turns of priests distributed by David, Solomon, and Hezekiah: had they not then wives? Yes truly, and begat children.

But they say, that it behooved the same then to be done; forsomuch as the succession of priesthood was then by the propagation of the flesh; neither might the priests be there taken of any other tribe, than out of the tribe of

Levi: but now that we are loosed from that law, and that we may everywhere have ministers of the church, it is meet that they be without wives. I will ask these men: Who was the author, that the high priests, and other priests in the old time, should be continued by carnal propagation? Except they grant God to be the author, I would marvel: I will therefore conclude, that they make themselves wiser than God, who is most wise; who also suffered, and willed priests to use matrimony. He might have taken priests out of every tribe, and have commanded continency; but he would not do it: yet these men dare do more than he hath commanded. Further, let them tell us, whether there were ministers in the primitive church or no? Undoubtedly there were; yea, and those had wives: and yet nevertheless, they both taught and ministered continually. That they had wives, the histories declare, the canons testify, and especially those canons of the apostles; whereunto our adversaries think we must so firmly lean. For there we read, that he is accursed, which teacheth that a priest ought to despise his wife.

4. I am not ignorant, that there be certain wily heads, which by trifling shifts do so avoid the place alleged, as though it should only be understood touching meat, and drink, and clothing; of which things, they say that a priest now severed from his wife, ought to provide her: as though the wife is not more contemned, from whom marriage duty is taken away, than if she be neglected as touching meat, drink and apparel. The Council also Gangrense decreed, that he is accursed, which putteth a difference between the oblation of a married priest, and the oblation of others. Here also, least they should be thought to say nothing, they say, that A priest is taken for him that was once before married, and not he which is presently married: which they think happeneth, when either the wife is dead, or else if they be

separated the one from the other. But grant which of these two ways thou wilt, yet a clergy man cannot be called a married man; for they are married folks, which both live together, and are not separated one from another.

But that the ministers in the primitive church had wives, and had the use of them, the history of Nicolaus the deacon sufficiently declareth. And hereby it is easily proved: for if ministers accompanied not with their wives; Syricius, Pelagius, and other Popes of Rome needed not to have made so many prohibitions, that the same should not be done from that time forward. For these tyrants complained, that so it was done; and therefore, so far as was in their power by decrees, ordinances, and threatening's, they forbad the use of matrimony to ecclesiastical persons, which they should not need to have done, if such matrimonies had not then been in use. At length, they deny not, but that it was so: howbeit they fly unto this; namely, that we must have a respect unto the times, and attribute somewhat unto necessity. For in the primitive church (as they say) there was a great want of ministers: wherefor they were fain to choose them out of every state of men, and therefore very many of them in those days were married. But now that the church is increased, we be not urged with that necessity: wherefor it is justly decreed, that only unmarried men should be chosen.

5. But (I beseech you) let these men consider with themselves; that in the same first time, when the ferventness of the holy Ghost did so much flourish, there were a great many more meet for the ministry, than now there be: by reason of the exceeding plenty of grace and spiritual gifts. Besides this, the church being enlarged and spread abroad, it needeth many more ministers than it did at that time. Furthermore, there is a great necessity that constraineth us; namely, because men at this day are more weak than they were at that time. Which also their Popes deny not; for in

the distinction, 34th chapter *Fraternitatis*: Pelagius judgeth, that a deacon, who being in way of preferment, hath committed fornication, and yet hath a wife of his own, should be the more gently entreated; because in these days, not only bodies are become feeble, but honesty and manners also. If they be not ignorant of this weakness of our times, which is far greater than in old time it was; they ought not to take from thence the remedy, where they perceive a greater necessity. Neither is it meet, that they should dissemble the necessity of this age; when as they, objecting unto us the manner of the old church, dare allege against us the necessity thereof. There is a necessity in each part: and therefore, if there be a consideration had of the one, there must be also a consideration had of the other.

There be some among them, which say; that ministers, in the old time, had wives, and sometime used them: but they deny that it was lawful at any time to marry wives, after they had taken orders. They err undoubtedly: for in the Ancyran Synod (as it is written in the decrees, the 28th distinction, in the chapter *Diaconi*;) It is decreed, that if a deacon, while he is ordering, shall refuse the purpose of continency, when the same is required of him; and shall testify, that he will not live without a wife: if the same deacon, after he have taken orders, do contract matrimony, he shall not be hindered, but may freely execute his ministry. By which place we are manifestly taught, that it was lawful to contract matrimony, after orders received. Which Gratianus saw well enough, and therefore he writeth; that as touching that Synod, there ought a due consideration to be had, both to the time and place: for it was held in the East church, which in promoting of ministers, admitted not the promise of continency. But as touching time, he addeth, that as yet this continency of ministers was not then brought into the church. But if thou wilt ask when that Council was held: we answer; that (as

it also appeareth by the same decrees) it was held under Syricius, and Innocentius, which lived in the time of Jerome and Augustine.

6. But it is a jolly thing to see how tyranny hath increased; and how ungodliness by little and little hath taken root. At the beginning, the ministers of the church, which contracted matrimonies, were not altogether handled so severely. For the Council of Neocaesaria (as it is recited in the 28th distinction, in the chapter *Presbyter*;) only commanded such to be deprived from their office, but not from their benefice: for they were still maintained, and did receive their stipends from the church. Neither in the meantime will I pass over, that that Council did cast out of the church, such priests as were adulterers, and whore-mongers; namely, in excommunicating them: which was a very meet and just thing; where as our men now a days, do exceedingly wink at those sins. After this, they began not only to put them out of their offices; but also (as they term it) to remove them from their benefices: as it is written in the 33rd distinction, in the chapter *Eos*: and in the chapter *Decreverunt*. Yea, and those which so married, they sent them away; either into a Monastery, or else into some strait place to do penance: but in our time they do burn many of them.

And afterward they were also in a great rage with the silly women, whom the ministers had married; as we find in the 18th distinction, out of a certain Council holden at Toledo, in the chapter *Quidam*; where it is commanded, that the women should be sold: and in the 34th distinction, in the chapter *Eos*; they are appointed to be servants in that church, where the priest was, which contracted with them: and if perhaps the bishop could not bring them into bondage, he should commit it unto the prince or lay magistrate. Sometimes also they put them into a Monastery to do penance, as we read in the 34th distinction, in the chapter *Fraternitatis*. Neither were they

content with this cruelty; but they would also have the children, which were born in such matrimonies, to be servants in that church, wherein their father had been: and they deprived them of all their fathers inheritance. And this is written in the fifteenth cause, question the last, in the chapter *Cùm multae*. They do not on this sort punish their adulterous sacrificers and fornicators; neither the harlots, nor yet their bastard children: they exercise their cruel censure upon the wives of priests, and their lawful children only.

7. At the last, when they have almost no other thing to allege, they fly unto their vow; as unto a holy anchor: they cry out, that the same must in any wise be kept; and that therefore it is no more lawful for ministers to marry, because when they were ordered they vowed a sole life. As though it were not, both by the holy scriptures, and also by man's laws provided that a vow, promise, or oath, hath no force, if it compel us to an unjust or dishonest thing. And who seeth not, that it is a very shameful thing, and against the law of God, that he which burneth in lust (and so burneth, that he is oftentimes defiled with harlots, adulterers, and unlawful flesh) should be forbidden to marry? Undoubtedly the holy Ghost hath commanded matrimony to all such, as cannot keep themselves chaste. Yea and the fathers perceived this, notwithstanding that they be more against us herein, than equity would.

Whereupon Cyprian, as touching holy virgins, which had unchastely behaved themselves, saith; If either they will not, or cannot keep themselves chaste, let them marry. Jerome also feared not to write the same unto Demetrius. Epiphanius also against the Puritans saith; It is better for them, which cannot keep themselves chaste, to marry wives, and to sin but once only; rather than daily to wound their minds with corrupt actions. But I would not herein allow the opinion of this father; because he affirmeth that

those do sin, which having made a vow of chastity, do contract matrimony: for so long as they obey the voice of God, they entangle not themselves with sin. Neither do I anymore allow of that his reason, wherein he saith; that One sin may be committed, for avoiding of another sin which is greater than that. But my purpose only was, to show by his words, that matrimony is very necessary unto such as cannot keep themselves chaste.

8. Wherefore I return to that, which is objected unto us out of the words of the apostle, in the first epistle to the Corinthians the seventh chapter; Seeing that ministers of the church ought continually to be occupied in prayer, it is necessary that they lead a sole life: otherwise they should not be able to execute the ministry. We answer, that the ministers of the church, as touching their living, and other functions, which have respect to the life of man, are in the same state that the common people be. Wherefore if they be in matrimony, let them in the more solemn fasts, and prayers, abstain as well as other men, in such sort as the apostle hath given counsel: and in other things, which be common and usual, they are not forbidden to use matrimony. Otherwise thou mightest infer, that they should evermore fast; because Paul granteth abstinence for a time from the duty of matrimony; not only for prayers sake, but that they may also give themselves unto fasting.

I grant indeed, that Ambrose, upon the first epistle unto Timothy, the fourth chapter, affirmeth this to be the cause of the sole life of ministers; that they ought always to be in a readiness to minister baptism unto such, as should be in extremity of their life; or else to distribute the holy mysteries, which (he saith) was accustomed to be done once in a week; unless that otherwhile (by reason of strangers) it was used more often. And small was the number of ministers in those days. In that great city of Milan, there was

but one bishop, seven deacons, a very few elders or priests; namely, two in every particular church. He saith, that priests in the old law might have wives; because they were not constrained to minister continually. They were distributed into many companies; namely, into 24, and into many turns, as appeareth in the book of the Chronicles: the which thing Luke also testifieth, when he maketh mention of Zechariah the father of John Baptist.

9. In these words of Ambrose two things must be well examined. First how strong the difference is, which he bringeth between the ministers of the old law, and also the ministers of the new law. Afterward, let us see, whether the work of matrimony (as he affirmeth and saith) have polluted the ministers of the church, and the priests of the old law. Touching the first, I know there were those companies and turns of priests, which he rehearseth; but so in like manner do I know, that they were instituted by David, Solomon, Josiah, and such other. But how was it before David, and from the beginning? Certainly we read in Exodus, that it was the office of the high priest every day, morning and evening, to offer incense, and to minister in the temple. Which if afterward it were otherwise ordered; that doth not more respect the work of marriage, than some certain rest otherwhile to be granted unto the priests. Furthermore, Augustine saw, that this appointment of companies and turns, is not enough to prove this matter. For in his questions upon Leviticus, the 82nd question, he disputeth singularly of this; how the high priest was able every day, both morning and evening, to offer a sweet savor.

If the question be (saith he) of sickness, and impediments of health; a man may say that he might have been preserved by the favor of God from being sick. But what shall we say of procreation of children? For seeing he was made impure, by means of the act of generation; he might not have access

unto the ministry. And that he abstained from the company of his wife; that were a hard saying: forsomuch as the high priests both married wives, and also begat children. Either (saith he) the incense offered was sometime intermitted (which thing the sense of the scripture seemeth not to bear, seeing this kind of ceremony was commanded to be done continually, and every day) or else he saith, it might be attributed to a certain peculiar holiness of the priest, that he should not be defiled by the work of matrimony; as if so be that he chiefly, above other men, enjoyed that prerogative. Howbeit, Augustine in the second book of his Retractations, seemeth to have found out another solution to himself, and saith; The law commandeth, that after the act of generation, the man should be impure until the evening; then having washed his garments, he shall become clean at the evening, when as all the whole day he had been impure. Wherefore, the high priest in the morning, after he had ministered, might endeavor to have children, and then was he unclean until the evening; at which time his garments being washed, and purification being used, he was become pure, and in the evening might minister.

Thou seest here, that Augustine flieth not unto that distribution of the priests into turns and courses; because such kind of orders were not always distinguished: yet he agreeth with Ambrose, that the work of matrimony did defile the husbands. But in the time of Ambrose (as he himself writeth) there were but a few ministers, and they were to minister every day. In these days, when as the multitude is so great, and that there be found an infinite number, which scarcely three or four times in the year execute their holy function, and do in a manner never baptize or administer the sacrament; what hindrance have they by this rule of Ambrose, but that they may marry wives, when they burn and haunt the company of harlots? Epiphanius

against the Valesian heretics confesseth, that There was a canon and tradition, touching the sole life of ministers: but he himself confesseth, that it was not observed in his time, when as in the ministry there were many, which begat children in matrimony, whom neither he condemneth, nor yet judgeth to be deposed. But he saith, that the same was done; partly, because the discipline of the canons waxed cold; and partly excuseth them, because of the multitude of believers, and small number of the ministers. These men, undoubtedly did minister every day, and yet notwithstanding they begat children in matrimony. In like manner Paphnutius obtained in the council of Nice, that the ministers were not separated from their wives. Whereupon it remaineth (according to his judgment) that they which execute the work of matrimony, may minister: and it followeth most evidently, that the same tradition, seeing it was mutable, and sometime took no place in the church, proceeded not of the word of God.

10. Now there resteth to consider of the second point, touching Ambrose's words; namely, Whether to execute the work of matrimony, did in the old law make a man impure; so that he ought to abstain from holy ministration? There is a place cited out of Leviticus, the 15th chapter, where the adversaries think this matter to be entreated of: howbeit, they understand not that sentence. For the words in that place concern only the issue of seed, while one is asleep; whereby not only the husband is contaminated, but the wife also which shall sleep with him in the same bed: in like manner as it was of a woman's natural disease; for not only the woman was polluted, but even whosoever else did touch either her, or her garments, or the bed whereon she lay; so as they cannot prove anything by that place. But if so be that they, which be ignorant in the Hebrew, will not give me credit; let them read the translation of Munster, and the interpretation of Cardinal

Caietanus. But they are wont to cite out of the book of Samuel, that Abimelech the priest being about to give David the sew-bread, demanded of him; Whether his young men were clean from women? Unto whom David answered, that as touching women, both he and his servants were clean enough; because they had been three days separated from women. They say; It is not credible, that the priests demanded of harlots, and haunting of the company of naughty women; by reason of the holiness of David: and further, because in Israel harlots were forbidden. Wherefore (they say) it appeareth, that he demanded of the use of lawful wedlock.

Here do I consider, that it was not lawful for lay and profane men, to eat of those loaves of sew-bread dedicated unto God; unless extreme necessity constrained them: for in such a case, this precept was to be observed; I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. Put the case that David had been unclean; if so be that the priest would have done justly, should he not have given the holy bread unto him? Would he have suffered him to perish for hunger? No surly, he would have given him. Yet he nevertheless demanded concerning cleanness, that if perhaps he had acknowledged himself to be unclean, he might at the least-wise have had a desire to be purged by sacrifice, if he could not enjoy it indeed, least the law of God should seem altogether to have been contemned: howbeit, David answered, that both he and his were clean. The priest of God did specially demand, whether they were pure from women; because men might easily offend in that uncleanness: for that by reason of their monthly disease, not only the woman herself was impure; but also he that had touched her garments, bed, seat, or ought else of her, might easily incur the danger of uncleanness. Wherefore David saith, that he neither kept company with unlawful women, neither had he touched anything of theirs being unclean; for that they had been separated from

them, by the space of three days. We changed (saith he) our garments when we departed, and the vessels of the young men be clean; to wit, those wherein the loaves are to be carried. For there might have happened an infinite sort of defiling's of the vessels.

So that it is not of necessity, that either the answer of David, or the demand of the priest should be understood touching the mere conjunction with a lawful wife; seeing therein by the law is not found any uncleanness. Undoubtedly, many causes might be alleged, wherein that contamination might happen by the means of conjunction: as if a woman have been unclean after her monthly disease, or after an issue of blood, or else after her child-birth, and such like; then a man might have drawn uncleanness to him, after what sort so ever he had touched, either her, or anything of hers. Wherefore, seeing there may be many causes of this polluting, if thou only allege one cause, and think thou hast brought us a firm argument; thou shalt fall into a paralogism, or false argument. And these men are chiefly to be reprehended, seeing they set forth that cause, which (as we have declared before) they cannot prove by the law, that it made men fowl and unclean under the old law.

11. But let us grant for this time, that in those days there was some contamination mentioned in the law; which nevertheless might not be proved by the scriptures: yet it followeth not therefore, that sin was there committed. Now then, if it be not proved, that sin was therein; how can it be, that the same action should debar men from holy functions? The monthly issue made a woman unclean: but yet who is so far deceived as to say, that that disposition of the body is sin? He that had touched a dead body was defiled: shall we then say, that they which buried dead bodies, committed sin? And at this day, should not the sacrament be given unto

them after such handling of a dead carcass? And to speak of the seed which passeth away in sleep, the Canonists, and also Augustine denieth the same to be sin of itself: and yet nevertheless, by the law it made a man unclean. By what means therefore shall we say, that the lawful conjunction of man and wife can remove men from holy functions; especially, when as Augustine beareth manifest record, that if it be used for procreation sake, it is without sin? Unto whose saying I have also added this; that it must not be counted sin, when it happeneth to be done for avoiding of fornication, seeing we are thus persuaded by the holy Ghost: whom if we make a persuader unto sin, it were wicked and detestable. Seeing therefore it is no sin; so can it not be any let to the holy ministry.

But if men so delight to follow and tread in the steps of the priests of the old time, wherefore do our sacrificers (seeing they are to minister daily) drink wine every day; when as the Lord commanded in the law, that going into the sanctuary, they should neither drink wine nor strong drink? But these men, if there be any wine more excellent than other, that command they to be prepared for themselves. If they will say that the law of Moses is now abrogated; why do they now go about to call it again, as touching the uncleanness which at that time was taken? Wherefore let us persuade them, that they will not so much stand upon that uncleanness of the law; which nevertheless (as I have said) they cannot prove by the law: I have now only showed of that, to the intent the unjust cause of contention may be known. If they would have the laws of Moses to be still in force, let them embrace each one of them: but if they confess them to be abrogated, why do they retain this one more than the rest? Furthermore, if they endeavor to draw these words of the apostle, to extend to their daily mysteries; let them use just and perfect fasting's every day: but and if they will excuse themselves,

that they will be content with temperate diet; let them also rest themselves in the moderate use of matrimony, when necessity shall require.

Neither do I deny, but that it may be in the use of matrimony, that sin of some excess may befall, so that the bounds of temperance be not observed: this I willingly grant; but yet therewithal I add, that this cometh unto that action by chance, or (as they call it) by accident. Yea, and of this very thing we have oftentimes experience in eating and drinking; therein there is no due measure continually observed: and yet for all that, our adversaries would not abstain from holy functions, the day next after such excess hath chanced. Also I would not, that the things which I have spoken, should be understood, as though I condemn or disallow of married ministers, and other men, for refraining themselves otherwhile; especially, when as the sacraments are either to be ministered or received: so that the conscience persuade hereunto, that it may be done without breach of charity. I marvel that some have been so bold, to reason out of Paul's words on this wise; It is good for married folks, because of prayer and fasting, to abstain the company one of another for a time; Therefore, it shall be better, if they abstain for a long time: and again; It shall be best of all, if they temper themselves forever. Seeing thou most manifestly offendest, if thou reason on this sort; This man can bear ten-pound weight; wherefor he can bear twenty-pound weight: if he can bear twenty, he can bear forty, and so will go on, until it be infinite: who would not see, that these things be ridiculous? There must be a consideration had of our infirmity. There be some which are able to abstain for a time; yet if they should be constrained to do the same perpetually, or for a long season, they should find it intolerable.

12. I know there be some, which think not that the gift of sole life is granted by some singular grace of God; but judge that it is a thing common unto all believers, if they be disposed to embrace that kind of life. But it must be understood, that chastity is generally commanded by God unto all men, most of all by that precept, wherein it is said; Thou shalt not lust. The same is distinguished, because it is retained, partly in wedlock, and partly out of wedlock. Of this latter we now entreat, the which virgins, sole livens, and widows do challenge to themselves. And it is counted a virtue, whereby the lusts of the minds, and the affects and motions of the body are restrained touching fleshly inclinations; and to speak morally, it may seem to be a part of temperance. But if we will show the matter, as meet we should, like Divines, we will say, that it is the gift of God, whereby we may make ourselves chaste for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Paul affirmeth, that it is the gift of God. Of the making chaste for the kingdom of heaven's sake, Christ speaketh very plainly: which must be understood not only as concerning the body and outward impurity, but that we must also live with a chaste mind. Of the which gift two things we affirm; first, that it is not in our own power; secondly, that it is not equally bestowed by God upon all men.

13. For the establishing and confirming of these things, I take upon me the choice of a sole life, the which some enter into, and some others refuse. When we enter into it, either it is of our own strength, or by God; if thou wilt say that it is of our own strength, thou art of Pelagius opinion; but if thou say that it comes of God, now thou agreest with us: and it will be evident, that a sole life is the gift of God. Perhaps thou wilt say, that it cometh both of God, and of us; because God helpeth, and we are willing. Here will I demand, what that is in this choice that thou countest to be thine

own; whether thou say that it is so thine own, as it is not of God; or else whether thou mean that thou hast the same also of God? The first thou canst not say; Paul is against it; What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received? But if thou shalt grant that thou hast it of God, thou shalt now understand, that it lieth not in thine own power. And seeing others do not choose that which thou hast taken upon thee, we be manifestly taught, and evidently admonished, that it is not given unto others which is given unto thee. Further it should seem rather, that it ought to be, that the gift of effectual calling unto faith in Christ, and eternal salvation, should be common unto all men; rather than the gift of single life. But that is not granted unto all men; therefore neither ought this to be accounted common unto all men. That the other is not common unto all men, it is a thing most manifest: for so much as all men are not predestinate, all men are not born of faithful parents, all men are not admitted, either unto baptism, or unto the preaching of the Gospel; And some are caught quickly, lest corruption should change their hearts; and others are left to themselves, who in process of time become evil, and so perish.

And among those, which do hear all one preaching, all are not drawn by God: whereupon Christ saith; No man cometh unto me, unless my father shall draw him. By which words it appeareth plainly, that there be some, which are not drawn. Wherefore Augustine said; If thou wilt not err, I would not have thee to judge why God draweth one man, and yet draweth not another. And yet for all that, is not free will taken away: for whether a man be drawn, or not drawn, there is no violence done; only compulsion is an enemy thereunto, as we have taught before. Besides this, sole life is called a grace, or a free gift of God: and of graces it is written in the first

epistle to the Corinthians, that the holy Ghost distributeth them as he will. But and if that those graces, whereof the apostle there speaketh; as prophesy, wisdom, knowledge, tongues, &c: were more profitable unto the church, and tended more to edifying, than doth sole life, and yet were not given unto all men; why would we have sole life to be granted unto all men alike?

14. Perhaps some man will say, that all men also might have those gifts, so that they would believe: for Christ said; If we had faith as the grain of mustard seed, the very hills should be obedient to our voice. And unto the Romans it is written; that These gifts are given to everyone according to the measure of faith. Moreover, two things we may say; namely, that this faith is not the same, wherewith we be justified, which is common unto all believers: but it is the faith of miracles, not granted unto all men. Yet also, if these sentences be understood of the faith, whereby we are justified; nevertheless the argument should be feeble, because all Christians, which believe in Christ, have faith: howbeit, not of themselves, but rather of God; and those graces do not accompany every degree of faith. And according as the holy Ghost doth give the same unto men; even so doth he distribute sundry degrees of faith. Neither is it ourselves, which appoint the measure unto our faith, but God, as he will, doth temper the same. But the first answer is weaker: for we see, that the wicked, which be strangers unto Christ, and destitute of a justifying faith, have sometimes such graces, as they show forth miracles. Finally, as God hath predestinated every one of his elect to the end of eternal life; so hath he also predestinated the means, which may bring them unto the same; and that to everyone as was convenient.

We see that in the members of the body, all members (as Galen *De usu partium* witnesseth) have not all one sort of powers and instruments. And that we be members in the body of Christ, the scripture doth most manifestly teach: wherefore we must not say, that all men have attained to abilities and gifts alike. Paul doth testify the same, who speaking of sole life, bringeth in the word [gift] when he saith; Every man hath his gift: and he addeth thereunto [proper] so that one hath it after this manner, and another after that. And Christ, in the 19th of Matthew; All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given: he that is able to receive this, let him receive it.

15. Neither doth [can] in that place signify To will, as some do imagine; if we shall diligently weigh the text of the history. It is written in the eighth chapter of the book of Wisdom; No man can be chaste, unless thou give it unto him: whereby that scripture teacheth, that there be some, unto whom it is not given. And this is a marvelous furtherance to our commodity, that we be rather governed by the will and appointment of God, than by our own. Neither doth the same thing make a little to the extolling of the majesty and providence of God towards his people. Augustine in his 19th chapter *De bono viduitatis*, writeth; It is in us to will, but our will is stirred, that it may arise; it is cured, that it may be whole; it is enlarged, that it may be capable; it is filled full, that it may have. And in that place he maketh special mention of the gift of continency. But who will say, that the wills of all men be cured, enlarged, and full; seeing we still see so many that be feeble, and fallen down? The same Augustine, in an epistle unto Maximus; For who separateth thee? Thou wilt answer; My good will, my faith, my righteousness. And wilt thou not immediately hear that which followeth;

What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not received?

But these men, when they affirm that the gift of sole life is offered unto all men; and that all men, if they will, may accept the same; do of necessity fall into those answers, which Augustine in that place condemneth. For if I demand of him that is in sole life; Who hath separated thee from him, which is in matrimony? If we follow them, he shall not have what else to answer, but; My will, my choice. Say therefore to him as followeth; What hast thou, that thou hast not received? Why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not received? Augustine *De sancta virginitate*, the fourth chapter; I would all men to be as I myself am, but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. Who then giveth these things? Who distributeth as he himself will, to everyone his proper gift? Forsooth that doth God, with whom there is no iniquity. And it is either impossible, or else most hard, for men hereby to know by what equity he maketh some men after one manner, and some after another manner; but that by equity he doth it, it is not fit for any man to doubt. What hast thou therefore that thou hast not received? Or by what peevishness dost thou love him less, of whom thou hast received more? Here we understand, that it is God, which maketh some after this manner, and some after that: further, that he which liveth sole, hath received the more. Which two things, if thou confer one with another, thou shalt easily perceive, what is to be gathered of the former words.

The same Augustine *De sancta virginitate*, 42nd chapter; Whosoever remaineth chaste from the beginning, is directed by God. He which of an unchaste man, becometh chaste, is amended by him: and whosoever is unchaste unto the end, is forsaken of him. That which he may do by his

secret judgment, he cannot do unjustly. Again; Chastity is commanded both in matrimony, and out of matrimony. And that sentence of Augustine is thoroughly well known; Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Also; The law commandeth, and grace bestoweth. Augustine also in his book *De adulterinis coniugijs*, the 18th chapter; He that can receive, let him receive. Wherefore he that can, let him receive that which all men receive not: but those can receive, upon whom the secret, yet not the unjust mercy of God doth bestow it. Hereby it also appeareth, that it is God, which by his secret, but yet by his just judgment, distributeth unto some, not unto others. And the same Augustine against Julian, in the 5th book and seventh chapter: when an adversary of his had said, that in our election God esteemeth continence, because it is said; All men receive not this saying, answereth: Thou shouldest have noted that which is said before; But they to whom it is given. Wherein thou shalt note, that to say, we have sole life in our choice, is Pelagian heresy.

16. Jerome might be alleged, who in expounding the 19th chapter of Matthew, saith; that We must thoroughly examine our own strength. And he useth these words, to declare, that it is no ordinary strength which can perform this vocation. Gregory also in his Pastoral, plainly saith, that this is not every man's work. And he that will gather more places of the Fathers, touching these things; let him read the plain, sincere, and godly answer of D. Bucer, unto the bishop of Winchester. I grant that there be some of the Fathers, which seem to be of another judgment, that virginity (I mean) and sole life is in their power, which be willing thereunto, who I think should be thus understood, that it behooveth, that our will and choice should exercise themselves in the gift of grace received, least that men should be thought to be led as stocks and stones. They mean also that such a gift bestowed,

should be nourished with desire, prayers, and other such godly endeavors: for when we have received grace after regeneration, and have been adorned by God with some gifts, we be workers together with him. And if the Fathers meant otherwise, the authority of them must not remove us from that which the holy scriptures do most manifestly teach.

17. They which be against us, do object, that Paul writeth; It is good for a man not to touch a woman; I would that all men were as I myself am. Wherefore (say they) would he praise and set forth these things unto men, unless they should be convenient for all men? He might seem in very deed to trifle, and in vain to warn us hereof. And it is most repugnant unto the bounty of God, that he should not give unto all men those things which be good: yea, and in granting that unto one, which he giveth not to another, can hardly be avoided the respecting of persons. But these men should have marked, that those words which Paul hath, concerning the praises of sole life, are never put absolutely. But because we should not err, he always restraineth them; Let every man (saith he) have his own wife, and every woman her own husband for avoiding of fornication. Let the man render due benevolence unto his wife. If they cannot contain, let them marry. It is better to marry than to burn. Everyone hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. Wherefore the words which be spoken of Paul, must even so be understood, as they be written of him.

Doubtless, we are greatly bound to the holy Ghost, which hath so exactly declared these things; which if they were not expressed, in such sort as they be, we should not be able to open our mouths against so impudent adversaries. Albeit reason would require, that although the words had been spoken absolutely; yet that they should have been restrained by other places of the scripture, least there might appear a contrariety in the words of the

holy Ghost. For in the same epistle he saith absolutely and plainly; I would have you all to speak with tongues: which unless thou understand; For mine own part, and reserving the distribution of the holy Ghost; it were very ridiculous. Also he saith freely and absolutely; I would that young widows should marry and bear children, and govern their households: wherein nevertheless must be understood; If there be any imminent danger of their falling; or, If so be they grow wanton. Neither must the apostle be so expounded, as that he would pluck from them the power of abiding in widowhood, if they were able so to do. He saith also; that He wisheth to be accursed from Christ for them that were his brethren, according to the flesh: wherein thou must understand; If it were possible. But these things which be now entreated of, are determined and defined by the same apostle himself.

Neither is there any cause why we should complain of God's liberality, and bountifulness; if he give not all manner of things unto all men. That is bountiful enough, that whatsoever good thing is in us, all that hath he of his mere mercy poured upon us. Certainly, I for my part will never complain of God, that he hath not made me a prophet; or else, that he hath not bestowed upon me the gift of tongues: so much hath he given me, as seemed good unto him. Neither do kings of the earth, how liberal soever they be, give so much unto Gentlemen, as they do unto Senators, or Counselors: they give, according as they shall think meet to every man. Respecting of persons (as the Schoolmen themselves testify) is not found, where duty or bond hath no place: which we may not think of God, seeing he is bound to no man, nor oweth any duty to any man. Neither is he persuaded by the nature or dignity of persons; since rather he putteth upon us all such persons as it hath

pleased him. Otherwise, if respect be had unto our original, we be all equal, and derived all from one clod of earth.

18. They say also, that whereas God layeth before us two kinds of life; namely, matrimony, or sole life: unless he should permit us to have a free choice, he might seem to dally, and in vain to set forth those things unto us. If this kind of reasoning were effectual, a man might say; Seeing life and death are set before us by God, there is strength naturally present, whereby we challenge unto ourselves life, refusing death. And whereas in like manner there is set forth unto us, either the observing or transgressing of God's commandments: there is liberty granted, and strength sufficient in us to put in execution either of them, at our own pleasure. When as nevertheless it appeareth most manifestly, that none without the singular grace of God can keep the commandments: even as a sick man, although that health be propounded unto him, can never of his own bare and simple choice recover health without the benefit of God; by means of the physician and medicines.

Further, whereas there be sundry arts and functions of man's life, which are set before us; yet are we not all fit for them: neither have we equal strength and power to compass them. There be some, which are altogether unapt to learn laws, or physical sciences, or languages, or honest arts: because perhaps they want memory, wit, or industry. And to others, which be of the weaker sort it would be impossible, that they should take upon them the feats of war, or the ship-men's cunning. Wherefore, touching virginity, or sole life, there is no commandment extant, which is not convenient for all men. Everyone ought in himself to do that, which we see the wiser sort of parent's neglect not to do towards their children, when they are to put them to any art or occupation: verily they search out what they

can do, whereunto they are apt and able; which being known, they determine of them, as they shall see them naturally given and made thereunto. Wherefore, let us not deal unadvisedly; but let us earnestly desire God by prayer, that he will show us what kind of life may be most convenient for our salvation, and that it may be conformable to the grace which is given: and God will not fail them, which inquire and ask counsel of him.

19. They unjustly accuse us, as though we despise prayers and fasting's; which thing they speak not truly: seeing we know, that chastity is convenient both for matrimony, and for sole life; neither do we think that it can be had, unless it be granted by God. But this we say, and constantly affirm; that it is a rash part for us, to will and go about to prescribe unto him, in what state he should place and appoint us, when we burn and are tempted; in such sort, that we being overcome, do yield ourselves unto lust; leaving matrimony (which we may use as a just remedy appointed by God) to give ourselves so long to prayer and fasting, until we win the will of God, that he at our own choice would have us not chaste married folks, but continent sole livers. In these indifferent things, we obtain not always that which we ourselves think to be good for us; but rather that, which God knoweth doth make most for the sanctifying of his own name. Paul prayed to be delivered from the sting of the flesh, and from Satan which buffeted him: but he heard that grace should suffice him.

20. They also, which serve this or that saint, argue after this manner; God granted a sole life unto Paul, unto John; therefore the same is granted unto all. I answer, that this is a very cold cavillation; seeing there is brought no full and perfect induction. For as touching some, it may be granted, that God gave particularly unto them the gift of sole life: but that it is

understood to be of all men alike, it is both false, and against the holy scripture; partly in Matthew, and partly in Paul. Also there is a place brought by them out of the epistle to the Philippians; I may do all things in Christ, who strengtheneth me. But the sense of these words is not generally to be taken: for Paul was minded, as it is there written, to have abidden longer with the Philippians, who nevertheless could not escape the persecution of Nero the emperor. Also he desired to have the law of his members taken away, which resisted the law of the mind: which might not be, so long as he lived here. Wherefore the apostle, in that place, spake of hunger, thirst, penury, poverty, and finally of the cross, which Christ daily laid upon him to bear. These things he said, that he was able to endure through Christ: but he spake not of those things, which men by their own rashness do willingly lay upon themselves. It is your own litherness (say they:) for if you would, no doubt, but you might repel from you the burning and stings, which ye allege for an excuse.

Here we demand again of them, that when a man doth that, shaking off all slothfulness, which other men do not, whether he have that which he hath of himself, or of God? Beware thou sayest not; Of himself: for then shalt thou discover thyself to be a Pelagian. And if thou say; Of God: then of necessity thou confessest, that there is something in him, which is not granted unto other men; and that is even the same which we speak of. Certainly, a miserable thing is the deriding which they make of us, when we use to name the word, Gift, or Vocation: and they say, that these be dreams and imaginations of our own. Howbeit, these men should know, that we are not ignorant, that the School-doctors have not spoken on this wise: howbeit, the faithful, and such as be very godly and sincere, have not been ashamed to use these terms, which the holy Ghost hath spoken in the holy scriptures.

The name of calling is used by Isaiah, in like manner by Jeremiah, and the other prophets: in the New Testament it is used, in the 8th, 9th, and 11th chapters to the Romans; also in the 7th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; in the first chapter to the Galatians, and else-where in other places, which would now be overlong to recite.

And in like manner touching gifts, what need we to doubt; we have Paul in the 11th to the Romans. And Christ saith; Save they to whom it is given. In the same 7th chapter to the Corinthians, it is said; Let everyone abide in that state, whereunto he is called. And in the 11th chapter to the Romans, he joined these two words together; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. Neither do we say, that the gift of sole life is of that sort, that by it all temptation can be taken away: for we know that we ought to pray, to chastise the body, to bring the flesh into subjection, yea, even they which are in matrimony; much more they which live a sole life. But we say, that those temptations are not to be borne, whereby either we are overcome, or our mind so darkened, as we are not able to execute those things, which we ought to do; or else be so defiled, as we call not upon God with a good and pure conscience. For it behooveth them, which after this manner be afflicted, to seek redress by matrimony: otherwise this is nothing else, but to strive against God. But the chains, wherewith many of our adversaries be tied, are idleness, and the lust of voluptuousness: for they fly the yoke, the labor of bringing up children, and the government of household; and give themselves to nothing else, but to hoarding up of riches, to pride, and prodigality.

21. Perhaps thou wilt demand, how these gifts shall be known in temptations? Wherein, least thou shouldest think, that I bring a devise of my own head, thou shalt hear what Augustine saith in his book *De sancta*

virginitate, 44th chapter; The secret gifts of God, which are not known, unless temptation make search, do declare unto every man what he is. Also in the 45th chapter; Undoubtedly, except temptation be present, there is no demonstration made of this gift. Hereunto also agree the scriptures: for the apostle saith; It is better to marry than to burn. And Christ said; He that is able to receive, let him receive. The which sayings, if they be examined, do call us back to the searching out of temptations. It seemeth also, that the several states of our vocations are to be considered: for some of them are very much repugnant unto matrimony; such are the state of traveling, wandering abroad, navigations, and such like: wherein it doth not easily appear, to what purpose thou shouldest enter into matrimony; seeing thou canst not attend thereupon. So long therefore as these vocations shall be necessary for thee, perhaps by the word of God, and that thou canst not shake them off, sole life is commanded thee by God.

Moreover, thou must weigh the inclination of thy mind; especially, whilst thou shalt be at quiet from the heat of temptations: for seeing we, so many as are of Christ, have the spirit of God, therefore many times we have enticements and provocations of minds. Furthermore, beware that thou have not a desire unto an unprofitable, idle, and lither sole life: I say not a delicate, unchaste, and filthy sole life. Moreover, let the end of a sole life have respect to the inseparable cleaving unto God, for the laboring in his service, for the preaching of the Gospel, and for a man to apply himself night and day in prayers, studies, and good works: otherwise thou mightest be reckoned among the foolish virgins. We be not of Jovinians mind, that matrimony is to be accounted equal unto virginity; or sole life: I speak not in respect of the holiness of the degree; but because of the commodities, and fewer causes of distracting of the mind. And thus we prefer virginity, so

that other things be of equality: but if there be found greater faith and charity in matrimony, I will not make any account at all of infirmity. Wherefore Augustine in his book *De virginitate*, saith; We say, that better is a modest and obedient married woman, than is a proud and stubborn virgins.

Neither do we judge of sole life, that it is in these days, as it was heretofore among the Jews and Ethnics, of no honest reputation: for Cicero, in his book *De legibus*, writeth; Forbid ye that none do lead a sole life. Christ removed away this ignominy of sole life and barrenness, when he saith; He that is able to receive, let him receive. The same is also confirmed by the words of Paul; It is good for them that be unmarried, so to continue: I would have all men to be, even as I myself am. The sum of all the reasons is, that everyone should sails with his own wind, according as he is inspired by the holy Ghost; and as the gift is allotted unto him. We add also, that these gifts are not perpetual: for he which had need of matrimony, at a certain time, perhaps being more grown in years, and his wife being now dead, shall have no more need to marry. And he perhaps, that was sometime able to live a single life, shall have need to be married. It is therefore the wisest way for a man not to entangle himself with vows: let a man hold fast his liberty, and cast not himself into that, from whence he cannot be wooed out without some ignominy. An impure and defiled single life is chiefly to be avoided; because it suffereth not a pure and sincere calling upon the name of God: for when the conscience is polluted, no man dare lift up his eyes unto God; neither doth he desire with an effectual faith, those things which he prayeth for. Neither do thou so understand me (as I have already admonished) that I prefer virginity in respect of itself before matrimony;

otherwise than that it wanteth more the cares and troubles of this present life.

CHAP. VIII. Of Repentance; where also is treated of Sacraments.

Sin, as it is written in the epistle to the Romans, hath death for a reward; and all the retinue of death: it bringeth also confusion therewith. They which sin, are made ashamed in themselves, and with others: wherefore, after sin great griefs do follow, which afflict the spirit, disquiet and after a sort kill the mind. Furthermore, there followeth a confusion, so as they be greatly ashamed, if they remember their sins; or else if their sins be recited by others. They which be impatient of those evils, would fain be delivered: they attempt many ways, but have no success. Hercules, when he had killed his son, and Iphitus his host, was so disquieted in mind, as he was desirous to be purged by sacrifice; he came to Athens, and was admitted to the sacrifice of Ceres. Orestes, when he had killed his mother, came into the country of Taurica, and would be purged by sacrifice. Of Nero it is reported, that after he had killed his mother, and had committed other detestable crimes, at the length could not sleep: and being haunted with furies, he devised to be purged by sacrifice. By diverse and sundry ways were they purged; namely, by fire, by water, and sometimes

they used eggs, brimstone, witchcrafts, and sundry perfumes. Thrice (saith Ovid) did he purge the old man by fire, thrice by water, and thrice by brimstone. Thrice (saith Virgil) did he wash his fellows all about with clean water. Unless (saith Juvenal) he will purge himself with a hundred eggs. But forsomuch as they were man's inventions, they profited nothing.

There is one purgation, which is set forth to us by faith; which hath repentance joined with it, by this men are purged, and be at rest. Tertullian saith, that God consecrated this repentance in himself: for when he had punished men by the flood, he repealed his sentence, and said that he would destroy the earth no more for man's sake: and it repenteth God of the evil, which he would have brought upon men, so that they repent them of their wickedness. Not that repentance in very deed hath place in God, whereof we have spoken elsewhere. Touching the original of repentance, it is said, that the same began in paradise. God called our first parents to repentance, and added therewith a promise; to wit, that their seed should tread down the serpent's head. This preaching of repentance hath been continued by all the prophets: at length it came to John Baptist, who was the dawning and morning star of our savior. Christ and his apostles preached repentance; Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven draweth nigh. By the kingdom of heaven, we understand the newness of life, heavenly actions, and regeneration.

So doth God govern us, by his spirit and word, which they that do apprehend by faith, do repent: there remaineth, that the old life be put away. So as the fountain of repentance, is to have the goodness of God, and the kingdom of heaven in Christ to be manifested, and to apprehend it by faith. And worthily doth repentance follow: for Christ calleth us unto a new life, not to nourish sin in us, which it behooveth us to mortify. The thing is not

so to be understood, that men may first repent, and by the merit of repentance have remission of sins. First it is apprehended by faith: afterward followeth a sound repentance. The outward sign of taking upon us a new life, was baptism: therefore Mark calleth the baptism of John, The baptism of repentance, unto the remission of sins. This is the voice of all those that preach the gospel; they be voices crying in the desert: for how many soever be without Christ, are the desert. The voice is, that the kingdom of heaven is offered unto them which believe. Now it behooveth that they repent them, that they renounce their old life; for repentance is the cross and gibbet of the old man.

2. Before we do proceed any further, let us speak of the nature of the word. The Hebrews have this word *Schub*, which signifieth To turn, and to be converted; from whence they have derived the two nouns, *Schuva*, and *Shiva*; that is to say, Inversion, and Conversion: when our minds being changed, and sin sequestered, a new course of life is taken in hand. The Grecians called it μεταγινώσκειν, μεταμελεῖν, μετανοεῖν: hereof cometh μεταμέλεια, and μετάνοια, which is a certain changing of the mind, so that instead of an evil mind, we establish a good. The Latins use the verb *Poenitere*, derived of *Poena*; that is, Pain; because the things which we have committed, are grievous and bitter unto us. After these Etymologies of words, let us see what descriptions there be of repentance. They are written in the fourth book of the Master of the sentences, the 14th distinct. The first is ascribed unto Ambrose; Repentance is to lament for the evils that are past, and not to commit again things to be sorrowed for. The very same in a manner saith Gregory the bishop of Rome; Repentance is to bewail the sins that are past, and not to commit anymore to be bewailed. By others it is said, that to leave off sinning, is true repentance. And others have somewhat

otherwise described the same; namely, that repentance is a virtue, whereby we bewail and detest the evils committed, with a purpose of amendment, and a will to commit no more any such evils as are to be lamented. They which fall every day, are compared by saint Peter unto a dog returning to his vomit; and unto a sow which returneth again to her mire. Repentance by Augustine, is sometimes called revenge, being a punishment upon himself, because he is sorry that he hath sinned. These descriptions be some without form. Neither will I pass it over, that repentance is called the second table: which we read in Jerome, upon the 16th chapter of Ezekiel, and in the decrees *De poenitentia*, distinct. 1., in the chapter *Secunda tabula*. And in this sort they understood it: At the beginning, they say, that men sailed prosperously, that shipwreck was made by the sin of Adam, that regeneration by baptism is the first board; upon which we swim out; and that if men fall again after baptism, repentance is the second board. Others do otherwise interpret it: howbeit I do not much weigh the same.

3. Now that we have placed things on this wise, let us come to a plain definition, which containeth all the causes. We may therefore, in my judgment, say; that Repentance is a change of life, which a man, with great sorrow for his sins committed, willingly taketh upon him, through faith, unto the honor of God, and to the obtainment of his own salvation. Now it shall be declared particularly. The general word is Change: and changes, according to the philosophers, are of many sorts. For if it be understood in substance, they say it is a generation; if in quantity, they call it an increase and decrease; if thou go from place to place, they name it a local motion. If this change be made in qualities, in passing from one contrary to another; this fourth change they call an alteration. Hereunto belongeth repentance: we do not cast our mind nor our body from us; but there is made a certain

alteration in qualities, from uncleanness to pureness, from a corrupt to a sincere life. Touching the subject thereof, we are to consider, that the whole man is changed in respect of qualities; but especially the will, in which part of the mind repentance is placed: for in the power thereof consisteth the rule and government of other powers. Others have supposed, that this repentance is placed in the angry part; because it concerneth an high and lofty matter. Wherefore the will admitteth this change, not feignedly, but vehemently; in such sort as there is great sorrow for sins committed. Passion or sorrow is a certain affection: therefore I did not say that it is a sorrow, because it is done with reason. Notwithstanding, this sorrow is forthwith present, it helpeth, it worketh together: as appeareth in the seventh chapter of the second to the Corinthians; Godly sorrow worketh repentance in you, unto the honor of God: for some may sorrow in respect of their own loss.

We see here now, that from faith, which is the gift of God, proceedeth the efficient cause of repentance. As God giveth faith, so also doth he give repentance; otherwise, if there be no faith, repentance were not available. But faith otherwhile is a true faith, and otherwhile it is but a temporal faith; and such as the faith is, such is the repentance that doth ensue: if it be a true faith, true repentance followeth. Of what sins then must we repent us? Doubtless we ought to repent of all sins: so as Tertullian rightly said in his book *De poenitentia*; Whether it be in word or in deed that we have offended, he saith, that even he, which by his judgment hath appointed punishment for all those things, hath also promised pardon through repentance. Some of those things, which be placed in the definition, belong unto the general word; and some pertain unto the differences: the general word is Change, the difference is Alteration of life. Another difference is,

that it be willingly taken in hand: for there be some things done, which we be not willing unto. Another difference is, it may be taken in hand for sins committed. The formal cause is conversion and change; the material cause is the will itself; the objects are the sins for which we sorrow, and the virtues which we strive to attain; the efficient cause is faith and God; the end is the honor of God, and our own salvation. Thus the definition being declared, let us come to the distinctions.

4. Tertullian distinguished repentance into good and evil: he saith it is evil repentance, if we repent ourselves of the deeds that be done well; namely, of alms-deeds, of forgiving our enemies, of receiving the sacraments: but it is a good repentance, when we change unto better. It is said to be either good or evil, in respect of the end whereunto we refer it. Another distinction; one kind of repentance is rude, and without form; and another is perfect and absolute. Whereby shall we gather this? Because that it is the will, which taketh in hand, and that the same in her own nature is blind; it behooveth that understanding go before. What shineth in those men, which be without Christ? Sometimes there appeareth in them a certain human honesty, the which (as the philosophers say) is a life according to nature. They read the Ethics or morals of the philosophers; they see Ideas or forms of virtues: when their understanding taketh any hold of this honesty, they perceive how far off they be from the same; and for that cause they finding themselves by experience to be blamed, are stirred up with a certain repentance.

Laertius teacheth, that a certain young man that was lewd and loose of life, at a certain time being drunk himself with drunken companions, and wearing a garland, rushed into the school of Xenocrates. But the philosopher being not disquieted with their coming in, proceeded in his

treatise: he spake so earnestly of temperance, that by little and little the words entered into the heart. This young man laid away his garland, and began to dispute of philosophy. Howbeit, such a manner of conversion is not altogether to be commended: it may be commended in his kind. But it is nothing at all Christian like, whereof we speak; which ought to be according to faith, and towards God; as Paul witnesseth in the twenty of the Acts, that he preached repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ. There be others, which bring forth this rude and imperfect repentance in another sort. When it is taken in hand by the will, and the same followeth reason; there must needs be something, which ought to give light unto reason. They have a general faith or opinion, that God is both a revenger of evil, and a rewarder of good. They also behold that, which he hath commanded in the law: when they perceive that they be commanded to do such things as they do not, they be vexed with fear, and after a sort repent themselves.

Some bring a place out of the 26th chapter of Isaiah; We have been with child of thy care, and have brought forth the wind of salvation. But it maketh not to the purpose; howbeit, true it is, that repentance with some is begun in this sort. This may be hurtful: for unless it have some help besides, it breedeth desperation. After this sort did Cain, Judas, and Esau repent themselves. Seeing the matter standeth thus, then in the elect children of God faith is added, forgiveness is preached, and they embrace the same thorough Christ: then doth true and perfect repentance follow. When the will undertaketh this repentance, Christ himself lighteneth the understanding with the remission of sins: then cometh the holy Ghost, by whom strength is given to cast off sin: and the fruits of repentance do follow, that instead of wicked acts, good deeds are showed forth. The holy

Fathers said, that this is to do repentance: and the holy scriptures do declare the same. In the second of the Acts, when they which heard of remission of sins, through Christ, were pricked in their hearts, and even then it repented them: yet notwithstanding Peter said; Repent ye: wherefore he requireth that fruits should follow.

5. This Christian repentance some do weaken; some others would in a manner take it quite away: and these men must be confuted. They say, that it seemeth to be a foolishness, to repent us of those things, which be already done: The sins are already past, we cannot help it, but that we have sinned: Wherefore we must not be disquieted. The reason is weak. True it is, that evil works are passed and gone: but that nothing of them remaineth, that is not true. The remembrance of them, and the conscience remaineth; in like manner the guilt, that is to say, the bond to everlasting punishments: there remaineth also the deformity of the mind, and of the powers thereof. Further, we may say that reason otherwise concludeth, than these men would. It was said unto a certain philosopher, that he should not lament for his child that was already dead; because he could not help it with lamentations: nay rather (saith he) I sorrow this most of all, that this cannot otherwise be. Even so should godly men sorrow, because they have sinned: and that now it cannot otherwise be, but that they have violated the law of God. Others say; Seeing God doth rightly use even our sins, and directeth them unto those ends, which he will have, why should I sorrow, because I have sinned? These men speak not well. Although that sin so entered in, that grace might abound; yet saith Paul, we must not therefore remain in sin. If God will use sin, shouldest thou for that cause commit sin? It is the property of God to rule all things: do thou what is commanded thee. This argument doth not so much touch us, as it doth those, which set down a bare

permission: for God permitteth not against his will. Further, there is brought an example: A certain Nun was mother to the Master of the sentences and Gratianus: when she saw them to be two such notable men, she said that she could not repent: unto whom her confessor said; Only sorrow thou, because thou canst not sorrow.

6. There have been some, which would quite have taken away repentance. Such were the Novatian heretics, and the Puritans; who alone would seem to be wise. Their opinion offended even Constantine himself: for as it is reported by Socrates, in the Ecclesiastical history, in the first book, and tenth chapter; and by Sozomenus, in the first book, and 22nd chapter: when the Council was holden at Nice, he called unto him Acesius a Novatian bishop, and asked of him, whether he thought that it was well decreed concerning Christ's being of one substance with the father, and as touching the keeping of Easter? He allowed it; Wherefore then (saith the Emperor) doest thou not communicate with others? He began to declare what had happened in the time of Decius the Emperor. Some had fallen, and would have been afterward received, but the bishop put them back. Set up a ladder (saith the Emperor) and clime thou alone into heaven: thereby noting his pride, that he alone with those of his sect would be in heaven. Some judge that Constantine the Emperor so greatly favored repentance for some especial cause. Sozomenus in the second book, and fifth chapter, reporteth, that the Greeks had judged ill of Constantine: that they said he was cruel, that he had slain many of his kindred, and among others his son Crispus; that being disquieted, he took counsel of Sopater the philosopher, whether he might be purged; and that the same Sopater said, that there was no purgation for these crimes. Whereupon he took counsel of the Christian bishops, who said, that he might be purged by true repentance, and for this

cause he embraced the Christian faith. Sozomenus reporteth this: but he confuteth it, as a thing devised in dishonor and hatred of Christian religion.

First he saith; that Constantine himself from his tender age was brought up in Christian religion, and dwelt at that time in Britain, and in Gaul. But it is not probable, that Sopater (which taught in Greece) did come into these countries. Furthermore, he joined his son Crispus partaker with him in the empire: this doth many laws testify, being set forth in the name of Crispus and Constantine, and he lived unto the twenty yere of the reign of Constantine. But admit it were thus, and that Sopater conferred with him, or wrote unto him. He might not say, that in the countries of the Ethnics there was no purging; for there were many, as before I have declared: wherefore he answered, that Constantine favored repentance as a Christian, and one that was expert in the holy scriptures. It is to be marveled, that the Novatians perceived not that sentence in Ezekiel; In what hour soever a sinner shall be sorrowful, I will no more remember his sins. Further, that they considered not the example of David, Hezekiah, Manasseh, and of Peter, who after his fall held his place in the apostleship: neither that they marked, that the Lord said unto Peter, when he asked him how oftentimes he should forgive his brother; I say not to thee seven times, but seventy times seven times. Seeing these so manifest testimonies be extant, how can the Novatians deny repentance unto them which be fallen? It seemeth, that they are moved thereunto by two places in the epistle to the Hebrews, the tenth chapter; Unto them (saith he) that sin willingly, after they have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment. But here it is not spoken of every kind of sin, but of sin that is peculiar, and after a sort universal:

when as men reject faith, and do altogether alienate themselves from Christ, and set themselves against him.

This is the sin against the holy Ghost, which God so punisheth, as it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor yet in the world to come. It is expounded better by another place in the 6th to the Hebrews; It is impossible that they which be once lightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall away, should be renewed by repentance. That is not to be understood of every falling, but of that whereby all is renounced, and faith forsaken. Therein is no remission, because thereof can be no repentance: for if it behooove man to have faith, which must have light, and if that faith be utterly renounced, they are not renewed by repentance. These men have put no difference between [fallings, and those] renouncing's which seem to belong unto sin against the holy Ghost. Some fell in persecutions, but inwardly in their mind they renounced not faith; outwardly they did sacrifice, as did Marcellinus the bishop of Rome; and Peter, which with his mouth denied Christ: because they had inwardly the root of faith, therefore there was place to repentance. They returned to the church, the bishops saw that they had not utterly renounced faith, without the which repentance might not have been. But the Nonatians by no means gave them peace. Truth indeed it is, that sin against the holy Ghost hath no remission, because it hath no repentance, seeing faith is utterly renounced. They which have abjured faith, have sinned most grievously; but when they have done repentance, the church receiveth them. But thou wilt say, that they do but fain: the priest hath respect to those things which be done, but he searcheth not their hearts. Ecebolius Sophista, when as the emperors at the beginning were not Christians, he also was an adversary unto religion;

afterward under Constantine he favored the same; again, under Julian he recanted, and afterward under Jovinian he returned again: he lying at the temple gates said unto such as entered in; Tread ye upon me, which am salt without savor. An unconstant and changeable man was he, and yet the church received him. Wherefore those places being well understood, help not the Novatians.

7. We brought in a double distinction of repentance. There followeth another, which hath been found out by the papists: the same do the doctors of Collen teach in their *Antididagma*, [so entitled.] They say that one sort of repentance is to be preached unto the Ethnics, and another unto them which be fallen after baptism. This do they fain, because they would escape the arguments, which show, that salvation by Christ cometh freely. They say, that the Ethnics must be so drawn to salvation, as they may believe in Christ, therein are not required tears, fasting's, and other satisfactions: but if they repent, they have free remission of sins. But if they become Christians, and fall into sins, another way must be used; namely, that by sighs, by fasting's, by alms-deeds, and by other satisfactions they may have remission of sins. To confirm this, they bring a place to the Romans; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. It is meant (say they) as touching the first repentance; namely, that that calling is without repentance. They bring Ambrose, that he so understandeth that place. But they speak falsely: for if it be true repentance, sorrow followeth after it; neither can there be repentance in them, which come unto Christ without sorrow. How can they but mourn and confess that they have sinned? In the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians the 7th chapter, it is said; that Repentance worketh godly sorrow in us: that so it is, the Ninevites declare, who hearing the preaching of Jonah, repented in sack-cloth. We read in the 2nd chapter

of the Acts of the apostles, that the Hebrews, when they had heard the preaching of Peter, were pricked in their hearts. Augustine, before he was baptized, and was by little come unto Christ, lived in many sighs and tears, as appeareth by his book of confessions: and that was his first conversion.

Touching Ambrose, and the place alleged out of the epistle to the Romans, I need not much to say: for in that place there is nothing spoken as touching the repentance of man, but of God. He had showed, that God chose the Hebrews; and that therefore it was not credible, that he had altogether rejected them. If Ambrose speak otherwise, let him look to that himself. True it is, that in the primitive church, when they came unto baptism, they were not wont to be tried of the bishops by tears and sighs; but they did only instruct them by mouth: they required not proofs of repentance, as they did afterward, if they had fallen. But at this day what repentance will these men have to be preached, when as all infants be baptized? None undoubtedly, whereby sins are freely forgiven through faith; but only that which hath remission of sins, by works of satisfaction, by alms-deeds, by oblations, and by those things which tend to their own gain. Wherefore their distinction, which they have made, is ridiculous.

8. Others say, that there is one kind of repentance, which is private, another public, and another solemn. Private repentance is that, which is privately done: public is that, which is openly done: the solemn is that, which only the bishop enjoineth, and the same is done with great pomp. They exclude sinners from the church, as Adam was driven out of paradise: when a year is come and gone, they will have them to be presented in the great week. Hereof doth the Master of the sentences make mention in the 4th book and 14th distinction. Origin also in the 25th homily upon Leviticus, seemeth to speak of the same: he saith, that it was seldom

granted. The Canonists speaking of solemn repentance, would that it should therefore be had, because others might be terrified: and they will that the same be done but once only. They admit not them anymore to the holy orders, who have thus solemnly done penance: neither do they grant it to clergy men and ministers of the church. Why they would not eftsoons renew this solemn repentance, the Master of the sentences bringeth a reason; namely, least such a medicine should become of small estimation. Which reason Augustine in a certain epistle to Macedonius seemeth to allege. This Macedonius was governor of a province, and it happened oftentimes, that Augustine and other bishops made intercession for heretics. Among other things, he writeth unto Augustine, that he marveled if they could do well; especially when as after repentance once done, they were not enjoined thereunto again. Augustine answered by writing, that the common repentance was not denied unto them; but this most humble repentance was not renewed, least it should grow contemptible.

In his Enchiridion unto Laurence, the 65th chapter, he showeth also a cause why certain times were prescribed to repentance: not because the Lord is slack to forgive him that is truly penitent; but men understand not this: he is to be received into the church; they know not well, whether he be penitent or no: a temporal probation is prescribed. How they should be handled by the people at such time as they used solemn repentance, I noted in Augustine's treatise upon the 61st Psalm, toward the end. He describeth a certain man, which being a Christian, inclined himself unto magical arts: this man (saith he) so fell from the church, as he now said, that it is not man which committeth adultery, but the star of Venus: that man committeth not murder, but the star of Mars: this man deceiveth many, he now returneth unto the church, and desireth reconciliation. A long time (saith he) did he

knock before Easter, and as yet is not received: mark him well, and consider of his actions, and as you find him, so tell me. But wherefore they would not admit them to holy orders, which had done solemn repentance, the reason is alleged. If so be that they should be afterward in the ministry, their wickedness being called to mind, they should be of no reputation, when as it behooveth the ministers of the church to be had in reverence. Furthermore, with what face can they chasten wickedness in others, when they themselves be guilty of the same? In this small outward ceremony, they will seem to be wise and careful; but in giving them orders, they never think of any such thing. Why do they give orders unto such as be wicked, and who as yet have not repented? Albeit Jerome against the Luciferians affirmeth, that solemn repentance in bishops ought to be received: which the Luciferians denied. Certainly we read it to be oftentimes done, that the bishops, which came from the Donatists, were received again into their own dignities. Only hands were laid upon them, so that the canons, touching solemn repentance, are not kept; and now at this time are clean grown out of use.

9. There followeth another distinction. They say that one repentance is a virtue, and another is a sacrament: for they say that the virtue itself of repentance doth abide in men forever, and that the sacrament is received for certain times. And this virtue being moral, they say must be referred unto someone of those four capital virtues; namely, unto justice, (for the honor is reserved unto God) even unto a revenging justice, because they seem to punish in themselves the wicked acts which they have committed. Howbeit it is not properly a revenging justice, as they teach: for oftentimes he taketh revenge against his will, upon those things which he suffereth; but against these he doth it willingly and of his own accord. Moreover, that same

revenging justice hath respect only unto the hurt or damage, which is done, and would have the same to be punished: but herein the offending of God is regarded. Such revengements and restitutions we deny not: but yet they must not be appointed as a reward, wherewith we deserve remission of sins, as they ordain them to be.

For when they compare the virtue of repentance with a sacrament, they say, that after a sort it is the cause of forgiveness of sins: which the Master of the sentences testifieth in the place before alleged. Against this, they set a sacramental repentance, whereof they make three parts; Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. Albeit Pighius dissenteth from them, saying; that it is not properly a part, but a sequel: perhaps because he saw the parish priest absolve the penitent sinner, before he did that which he was enjoined to do. But where leave these men absolution, which thus divide repentance into parts; seeing the same nevertheless is the principal thing? Thomas Aquinas, in a certain place saith, that the same may seem to be the form: and the other parts to be as the matter. Absolution is the preaching of forgiveness of sins: it is that key whereby the believers are loosed. The key which bindeth, is that, whereby they say that unbelievers do remain in their sins. It is certain, that that preaching of forgiveness of sins is comprehended in faith: Christ said; Believe my son, thy sins are forgiven thee.

10. As concerning this distinction of repentance, there is a doubt, that it appeareth not plainly, whether repentance be a sacrament: all they say that it is one. For the easier understanding of it, let us see what a sacrament is. A sacrament signifieth a secret and hidden thing: for when sacraments are propounded unto the people, all men know not what they mean. They are plain unto such only as be well entered into religion: that is to say, unto believers. Let the Ethnic come, he shall see water, bread, and wine; but

what the same is, he shall not perceive: the faithful man shall understand what they mean. The Grecians call it μυστήριον, A mystery; the Latins Sacramentum, A sacrament, a sign, or oath. And this which we call Sacramentum, came first from warriors, and was a bond between the soldier and the captain; and again, between the captain and the soldier. Sacraments are tokens, whereby God is bound unto us, and we unto him. Thus much of the names. As touching the definition, some say that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing. But after this manner we should have infinite sacraments: for all good actions are significations of a holy thing, that is, of faith, hope and charity, which are hidden in us; seeing in the Papacy, they have many crossings, gestures, and vestments, all should be sacraments. Wherefore they have contrived the matter in another definition, and said, that it is a visible sign, of an invisible grace: and that it is a visible sign, and hath not relation to every holy thing, but to invisible grace only.

Furthermore they, and especially the Master of the sentences, have added a wicked saying: that they be not only signs and representations; but also the very causes of grace. If they would say, that they were certain visible instruments, which God useth, as he useth the outward word for the stirring up of faith, they should not speak amiss; but to say that it is the cause of grace, they speak not well. Besides, what would they do with matrimony? They will have it to be a sacrament, and yet they say that there is no grace given unto men thereby. They would have the sacraments to be seven in number; but from whence they have them, they are not able to declare by the holy scriptures. The elder fathers had but two sacraments. Sometimes they make mention of repentance. These things Augustine wrote unto Iuanuarius, in his third book *De doctrina christiana*, the 16th chapter. Ambrose, in his book *De sacramentis*, entreateth of these two. Wherefore of

necessity these men must either confess, that they have forgotten the sacraments; or else that there was not received so great a number in that age. That they forgot it, we cannot say; seeing they compiled a whole treatise of that matter. Therefore this multitude of sacraments was not received at that time.

11. But let us come to the defining of it. Pighius also defineth a sacrament, and saith, that it is an effectual sign ordained by God, whereby is signified unto us a certain kind of effect of the help and grace of God, which is present at all times, so there be not something to let in them that use the same. Whereas he saith, to begin withal, that it is a sign or rite instituted by God, that is true; for it is not in the power of man to ordain sacraments: they be testimonies, and (as one may say) seals of the will of God: and it is not the part of man to counterfeit seals. Furthermore, this we learn out of the holy scriptures: Christ asked the Scribes and Pharisees, from whence the baptism of John was. If they had said, Of men, it had seemed frivolous: for seeing sacraments belong to the nature of faith, it is meet they should be drawn out of the holy scriptures, from whence faith itself is taken. And men, which of their own authority go about to institute sacraments, do make themselves to be gods. To deal after this sort in religion, were to worship God with commandments and traditions of men: which Christ hath forbidden.

Lastly, seeing that Man is a liar, and so is declared in the holy scriptures to be; the things which are instituted by him, have in them no perfect truth: wherefore sacraments must not be instituted by men. He saith moreover, that by this sign is signified to us some sure effect; because he will comprehend many sacraments: he will not restrain it to one effect; namely, to the remission of sins. He saith, that the effects are diverse; as the

remission of sins offered, which is offered in baptism, and in the Eucharist: but besides, he showeth other effects of the work of God; that in matrimony should be an inseparable coupling together; in the holy order should be a power of governing the church; and so of other things: unless there be some let in them that use those things. This he saith, to show the efficacy of sacraments. For in that some do receive the sacraments, and obtain not the effects; that happeneth, because they come unto them without religion and faith. If he follow his definition, he thinketh that he is able to comprehend many sacraments. But on the other side, they which say, that the grace of the forgiveness of sins is signified by the same, do tie themselves only to these two; namely, baptism and the supper of the Lord.

12. To define a sacrament, we may say; that A sacrament is a promise of God, touching the remission of sins through Christ, signified and sealed by the institution of God with an outward or visible sign; to the end that our faith should be lifted up in us, and we to be more and more knit unto God. This seemeth unto me to be a full definition. Two things it containeth; namely, an outward sign, and a thing signified. Because the thing signified holdeth the chief place, therefore I placed it first, and said; that It is the promise of God, and is conversant about the remission of sins thorough Christ. For the sacraments, which be in the holy scriptures, do chiefly make mention thereof. Furthermore, this promise is sealed: which thing the scripture showeth, calling circumcision a seal: for the sacraments be certain tokens and seals of the promises of God. But forsomuch as these outward instruments be elements, they cannot of themselves have wherewith to signify and seal: therefore it is added; By the institution of God. The end is, that our faith may be stirred up by the holy Ghost; which power the outward things have not in them to show; the holy Ghost useth these instruments:

and faith tendeth unto that end, that we should be the more knit unto God. The causes ye have. The formal cause is the signification and sealing. The matter, which is sealed, and whereabout it is conversant, is the promise of God, touching the remission of sins. The efficient cause is the institution of God. The final cause is, the stirring up of our faith, whereby we may be joined unto God. And I allow of that, which is commonly said; Sacraments be visible words; they stir up men by the sight and other senses. Rightly doth Chrysostom say; If we were spirits, we should not have need of those instruments: but we be compounded of a spirit, and a body; the senses of the body do stir up the mind.

13. But if we prosecute this definition, we exclude marriage, repentance, orders, confirmation, and annoiling; as I will particularly declare, after I have said this one word, that some will here say: Why do ye seek for a knot in a rush; or make a doubt of a thing that is plain? These men would cote these seven with the name of sacraments: what have ye to do therewith? It is not the name that we much stand upon, but it is the matter itself. We know that it is lawful for Christians to use the name, so that there be no ungodliness hidden under it: but let us see what they would have to be signified by this word. They say that a sacrament is a visible form of an invisible grace; and they add it to be the cause: so that they make these sacraments of theirs to be the instruments of salvation. Then, if they will receive any rites, and cloak them under this kind of speech, it is ungodly. By men there can be no visible elements ordained, which may be seals of the promises: wherefor, let them either change this phrase of speech, and say, that a sacrament doth not signify these things, and then we will grant unto them: or else, if they will still use this kind of speech, let them abstain from the name [of sacrament.] The Master of the sentences saith, that The

sacraments of the old fathers were not properly sacraments; because they brought no grace. It is a detestable thing to take away this property from the institutions of God, and to attribute the same unto the inventions of men. To make the matter more plain, consider ye that there be more things required in a sacrament: first cometh the outward element, then is added the word of promise. Augustine saith; Let the word be added unto the element, and it is made a sacrament. The third is the commandment of the Lord, that so it should be done. As touching the element, that is received into the body, seeing it is an outward thing: but the promise is received into the soul. The word must come, that the element may have a signification to signify this thing.

If it be so, let us briefly dispute of the sacraments, which we have excluded. Concerning the holy order; there the imposition of hands is the visible sign: this we reject not; it seems to have the word of God. Paul saith unto Timothy; Laie not thy hands rashly upon any man. When he saith that it must not be done rashly, he meaneth, that it must be done gravely and considerately. Further he saith; Stir up the grace, which is in thee, by the putting on of hands: so then we acknowledge the outward sign. But what promise is there? None surly, as touching the forgiveness of sins. When ministers are made; the power of preaching the word of God is promised unto them: they give power to make Christ, and that rightly indeed to make him, so far as in them lieth. They say, that in the supper Christ ordained his apostles; and they attribute more unto that thing, than unto the word. Further, they have added unction; but Christ did not anoint his apostles. Moreover, they think that by putting on of hands, they have power to give the holy Ghost. But Augustine, in his third book *De baptismo*, against the Donatists, and 16th chapter, saith; that The same putting on of hands, is

nothing else, but praying for a man: as much to say, as they do commend him unto God. Wherefore, the ordering of ministers is no sacrament, in such sort as hath been said: for therein is no mention made of the forgiveness of sins, which is the only promise that true sacraments do seal.

14. Let us also speak of repentance; for they transferred this putting on of hands, even unto repentance: but God did not command it. Yet the ancient fathers did it, as Cyprian in many of his epistles doth testify. This was no other thing, but to pray unto God for him, that he would give him steadfastness in that purpose. There were others, which said, that lamentations and sighing's are a visible sign in them, which be penitent; but this sign represented a change of our purpose, even an inward repentance: howbeit, for these respects it shall not be called a sacrament, because it doth not represent any promise. The inward things, which ye say are signified, are not the promise of God touching the remission of sins; but they testify a sorrow. Better said they, which called the imposition of hands the outward sign, and that the remission of sins is the thing signified: howbeit, that is rather signified by the word of the Lord, than by the putting on of hands. That sign is a feigned thing: it is not in the word of God, that it should be given unto them which be penitent.

Touching confirmation, we must understand, that this was the beginning thereof. When men were baptized in their infancy, and had not made confession of their faith, it was decreed, that after they were come to a riper age, they should be called unto the bishop, and should openly profess their faith: then did the bishop put his hands upon them; that is, he prayed for them, that they might persist in the true faith. It was a mere outward policy; but it was not commanded to be done, wherefore it was no sacrament; it was without commandment. In the tenth of Mark, Christ put his hands upon

the children; but he required not a profession of their faith. The apostles put their hands upon them that were baptized, that the invisible gifts of the holy Ghost might descend upon them. But at this day these things are not done. They which confirm, do not give these graces unto men: when the thing is ceased, they retain the signs. They say; I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee in the grace of salvation, In the name of the father, &c. What word of God is there in these things? Hereunto they have added oil. Further, they have attributed more unto their own rite or custom, than to baptism. Baptism is done of every priest, but confirmation is given by the bishop only. How be it, Jerome *contra Luciferianos*, wrote; that The bishop doth put his hand upon them that be baptized; that it is committed unto them for the honor of priesthood, and not through the necessity of commandment: wherefore confirmation is unprofitable, unless it may be kept in such sort as it was used at the first. Moreover, the bishop giveth a blow unto them, whom he confirmeth: their meaning forsooth is, to teach them, whom they confirm, that they by this sacrament are prepared to fight: but these be mere trifles.

15. Annoiling of the sick is no sacrament. In deed Christ gave oil unto the apostles, in the 6th of Mark; because they should heal the sick. But these men have not the power of healing. If the thing be away, why do they bring the sign? Besides this, the sign of healing was not oil only. The napkins and partlets of Paul, and the shadow of Peter healed men. Christ took spittle and dust, and anointed the eyes of the blind man: why do they not therefore call these things sacraments? This annoiling hath not the word of God to warrant it: seeing the promise is of healing, and that the same is not extant; what do they with their oil? They pray for them (thou sayest) that their sins may be forgiven them (as saith James.) What need is there of oil for this

matter? It is now a superstitious thing. The brazen serpent, while it had the power to heal such as looked thereon, was rightly observed; afterward, when that power failed, they would not keep it rightly: even so, seeing the oil of healing hath no longer his effect, it is a superstition. Furthermore, therein they call upon the dead, and use a strange tongue. There remaineth to speak as touching matrimony. Here there is no outward token commanded by God. In some place they give the right hand one to another; others give a ring: but this did not God command, therefore it is no sacrament. Some man will say, that the conjunction itself between man and wife is a sign of conjunction with the church. I grant that this it signifieth: howbeit, if they be all sacraments, which represent Christ, we have an infinite number. Leaven betokeneth the kingdom of heaven; shall it therefore be a sacrament? So doth a grain of mustard seed. A vine, a door, shepherds, and such like, do represent Christ; shall they therefore be sacraments? By this means there would be as many sacraments, as there can be brought similitudes, which betoken Christ.

But Paul unto the Ephesians, calleth a sacrament, a mystery. In very deed, that which is signified in matrimony, is a secret thing. In sacraments the thing that is hidden, partly is the thing signified, and partly it is in the visible signs: because it hath the power of signifying given to it by God. In matrimony, the mystery is referred unto that which is signified; namely, the conjunction of Christ and his church. The Apostle oftentimes useth this word [mystery.] In the 11th to the Romans; Brethren, I tell you a mystery, be not wise in your own selves, &c. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, entreating of the resurrection; I show you a mystery: we shall not all die. In the third to the Ephesians, he nameth the calling of the Gentiles a mystery. In the first chapter to the Colossians, he speaketh of a

mystery hid from the beginning of the world. In the first unto Timothy, the 3rd chapter; Trulie great is the mystery that God is made manifest in the flesh. He speaketh not of sacraments, as we now speak of them. But let these things pass: what promises hath matrimony? Even the procreation of children, and that it is a remedy for fornication. Here is no mention made of the remission. Furthermore, that promise was not only under the gospel; but under the law also, and before the law. How then do they call it a sacrament of the new law? Even in the same sort may they speak of repentance. Repentance was in time of the law, and before the law; why then do they call it a sacrament of the new law?

16. They be not all of one mind. Gratianus, in the first cause, the first question, in the chapter *Arianos*, at the end of the chapter, seemeth to deny repentance to be a sacrament. He alledgeth a reason; namely, because it is often renewed. The reason appeareth to be fond, for by that means the action of the Lord's supper should be no sacrament, because it is often repeated. But if thou diligently examine his words, he seemeth to compare the repentance of private men, with that solemn repentance we speak of, the which only he seemeth to ordain as a sacrament, and the other not: for solemn repentance was not renewed. But let Gratian go. Verily Dionysius, which of some is thought to be Areopagita, acknowledgeth but three sacraments; namely, Baptism, The supper of the Lord, and Chrism. He seemeth to grant Annoiling: in his Hierarchy, the minister is brought, which annointeth a dead body. Gregory, in the first cause, question the first, in the decrees, in the chapter *Multi*, seemeth to acknowledge but three sacraments; namely, Baptism, The supper of the Lord, and Anointing. Barnard added another, that is, the washing of feet: yea and in his sermon *De coena Domini*, he saith, that this sacrament must be retained in the church. The

sacrificing priests, which consecrate salt, do add one; In the name of the holy Trinity, be thou a healthful sacrament, to chase away the devil. But why seek we so many things? They which appoint seven sacraments, distinguish the holy order into seven; namely, door-keepers, readers, acolytes, exorcists, subdeacons, deacons, and priests; others have added the office of a bishop, and the office of singing psalms: so that the number of sacraments among them is uncertain. Let them not complain of us, that we diminish the number; we rather ought to complain of them, for increasing the number.

17. Repentance was divided into that which should be a sacrament, and that which should be a virtue pertaining to justice. We have said that it is no sacrament: now let us consider of the other member, to wit, that it is no virtue. That in the holy scriptures is not acknowledged, as a certain virtue, the which is a quality of the mind, and is a great while idle. They devised the same, because it is the commandment of the Lord, that we should repent: but repent we cannot always. Wherefore they said, it is a virtue in the mind, which in due time doth that which belongeth thereunto. These things are not proved by the scriptures, nor by the fathers, nor by the canons. Christ said; Repent ye: there is required an action, not a certain habit. Job saith; that The life of man is a warfare upon the earth: it is no habit but an action. Barnard said; He that goeth not forward in the way of the Lord, and profiteth not, such a one goeth backward. The same Father said; When thou forsakest the desire to become better, then thou ceasest to be good. The life of godly men is said to be a certain way, a path, a race: there must be a going, not a standing still.

In the 2nd to the Corinthians, the 3rd chapter, it is written, that We be transformed into the image of Christ, from glory to glory: because this is a

hard thing, he addeth; Even as it were from the spirit of the Lord. Wherefore they, which think upon those things, that concern their calling, are said to repent, because they do abstain from sin: as for anything that they do in the meantime, if their meaning be to go forward in their vocation, they are truly penitent. But they say, it seemeth this cannot be. In repentance there is sorrow unto Godward: but we ought sometimes to rejoice with them that rejoice. Those things cannot be done together. These things are not repugnant, because they have sundry objects. We may rejoice in God; and sorrow in ourselves. We have lamenting mingled with rejoicing, and rejoicing with lamenting. They say that sometimes we must sleep, and then our actions are broken off. And Aristotle said; that During the time of our sleep, although we be happy, we differ not from miserable men. Let us call to mind the saying of Paul; He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord; and he that eateth not, eateth not unto the Lord, &c. Also; Whether we live, or whether we die, we be the Lord's. In like manner we may say; He that sleepeth, sleepeth unto the Lord. And Paul said; Whether ye eat, or whether ye drink, or whatsoever else ye do, do it unto God's glory. So may we say of sleep: for we obey the Lord, who hath so ordered our nature. If we observe this, we sin not. Briefly, all the works of godly men are repentance; for they always depart from evil, because their works be certain renewing's, and new obedience's of God to be dutiful unto him; and if they be not, yet they ought to be. And for this conversion the godly do always pray; I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost; O seek thy servant. Forgive us our trespasses. Be merciful unto me a sinner: and such like. These be the vows of godly men in all their actions; I mean as touching continual renovation. Wherefore let us leave that idle virtue unto Philosophers and Sophistical divines: but we know that it is commanded us to repent.

18. Now let us go forward, and consider of the parts of repentance. Those men have made their parts of repentance, to be contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but how well and truly, we will afterward see; and therewithal will show the true parts of repentance. Some have named two; namely, contrition, and faith. By contrition they say we sorrow for the multitude of sins that be past: therein we are after a sort astonished, and sore afraid. But by faith we embrace the comfort of remission of sins: and they say, that they do this for instructing sake. Others deny that faith is a part of repentance: but they which affirm it to be a part, allege this cause specially; because in repentance there is most done as touching the forgiveness of sins, and that standeth most of all by faith. Wherefore, if we shall not always apply faith, repentance cannot stand. Others say, that this is no good argument; namely, Repentance without faith is unprofitable, Therefore faith is a part of repentance. For then should it be a part of the supper of the Lord, and of baptism. This will no man say; why then is it rather made a part of repentance? Further, they say, that the holy scriptures, when they make mention of repentance, and of faith, do speak as of two distinct things. Christ saith; Repent ye, and believe the Gospel. Paul in the 20th of the Acts, said, that he preached repentance unto the Ephesians, and faith in Christ Jesus. These two he set down as distinct and several things.

I myself, upon the consideration of each part, would say; that faith is no part of repentance, but is joined thereto. We see in a man, that the soul and the body are joined together, yet the body is no part of the soul; nor yet contrariwise, the soul a part of the body: in like manner must we say of faith and of repentance. The same thing do we see in the sin; therein is a figure of a body round, and like unto a globe, and also light and shining: and yet being joined together as they be, neither is the figure a part of the

light, neither the light a part of the figure: even so faith and repentance are joined together in them that be godly; and yet is not the one a part of the other. Faith, hope, and charity, be three virtues, always joined together; and yet is not one of these virtues a part of the other, but they are several. How then shall faith be joined with repentance? It is as it were a beginning thereof, as I have said; and it is meet for the same to give light unto the mind of him that is penitent. And when the mind hath embraced the goodness of God, and the remission of sins through Christ; then followeth a renewing, so as we lay aside our old life, and take a new. Wherefore faith is not a part, but a certain entrance into repentance: and repentance is a consequent joined unto it as an effect.

19. In my judgment, there shall be two parts of repentance; the one, a going back from evil; and the other, an access unto good. And this is rightly said: for seeing repentance is assigned to be a changing, and that all changing consisteth of two ends, or limits; namely, from whom, and to whom: it followeth also, that repentance hath these ends pertaining unto it. And certainly, this is the rule of contraries; that when the one is removed, the other followeth: let naughtiness be removed, holiness must needs follow. And the holy scriptures reckon in this order. Isaiah saith in the first chapter; Be ye washed, be ye clean, put away the evil of your hands from out of my sight, cease from doing wickedly, learn to do well. And in the psalm; Depart from evil, and do good. The apostle Paul giveth a testimony of those parts, and he would have us evermore to cast away the old man, and to put on the new. Be ye renewed (saith he) in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which is made according to God, in righteousness and holiness of truth; saith Paul unto the Ephesians, the fourth chapter.

Wherefore faith is always joined with repentance: otherwise, repentance should be unprofitable.

20. Now let us examine those three papistical parts; contrition, confession, and satisfaction. As touching contrition, it is wont so to be handled by the School-men (as they say) that it is a sorrow received in the will, by reason of sins. And in very deed, whosoever shall diligently consider of this part, shall perceive the very same to be whole repentance, whose beginning is faith. But these men do hold far otherwise: they seem to have taken the name out of the holy scriptures. In the 51st Psalm it is read; A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit; a contrite heart. In the 147th Psalm; Who healeth them that be broken in heart, and bindeth up their contrition's. Isaiah in the 66th chapter saith; that God will have respect unto them that be of a humble and contrite spirit. They acknowledge it to be a metaphor; and they say, that the man which is a stranger from God, is as it were stiff and obstinate in his purpose: for obtaining of salvation, they say that it behooveth him that his heart after a sort should be broken, and that he should use this contrition. Howbeit, because they make it a part of a sacrament, they add that therein must be the purpose both of confessing, and satisfying: how truly, it shall afterward be declared.

Here they, abiding in the same metaphor, have put a difference between attrition, and contrition: for some hard things are so broken, as they be sundered into small pieces: and some so handled, as they be wrought into dust. The more perfect of these, they have called contrition; and the other attrition. Augustine, upon the 146th Psalm, toucheth this matter; He (saith he) is said to be contrite, that punisheth himself for his offense committed, and executeth a most severe judgment against himself. And he declareth in what thing this contrition consisteth; When we perceive (saith he) that the

law in our members striveth against the law of God, and leadeth us captive into the law of sins, whether we assent thereunto, or make much of it, we must cry with the apostle; O unhappy man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death, &c. He that crieth on this wise, doth after a sort break or consume himself. And he taketh a similitude of Physicians, unto whom if ye bring the parts of a man's body, which stand awry, and are out of course; they, to mend them, do break them: they as it were put them out of joint again, and make a new wound, to the intent that those disordered members may be corrected and healed. We are (saith he) of a corrupt heart, we be of a crooked heart, we in a manner can allow of nothing that God alloweth of, his commandments please us not, we complain of him: wherefore there is no other remedy, but that these wicked hearts must be rent in sunder. And nothing else doth your knocking of breasts signify; not that your bones have offended, but you yourselves: God bindeth up your contrition's. Seeing men are on this sort, it behooveth them to bend their eyes unto the word of God, and unto the promises, which are tied unto the sacraments; and then there returneth a perfect health. Thus far Augustine. All these sayings of his are very well spoken.

But the School-men turn things upside down. Some of them say, that contrition is an act of charity, whereby we detest sins, because of God. But they might rather have said, that it is a motion of our mind through faith, whereby we desire righteousness, and detest sins. But they would attribute all wholly unto charity; as though we should be justified by our own works, or merits: for they would, that there should be a certain deserving and disposition unto justification, or forgiveness of sins, as though men, by these things, may deserve justification and forgiveness of their sins. And they so distinguish this contrition from justification, in so much that

Caietanus the Cardinal said; Albeit that this contrition shall be sufficient, and that the special help of God be present, yet the forgiveness of sins is not forthwith granted. God expecteth such a time, as he thinketh good. And while he affirmeth these things, he taketh away all certainty of salvation and justification: for admit one be as contrite as he can, yet is there no justification, and forgiveness of sins. The holy scriptures teach us otherwise: Ezekiel saith; In what hour so ever a sinner shall be sorrowful, I will not remember his wickedness anymore. Howbeit, this must be understood of contrition apprehended by faith; for otherwise that sorrowing furthereth nothing at all unto faith.

21. They say, that if a man be very sorrowful for his sin, but yet only because of the punishment which he feareth to suffer; this man is not contrite, but attrite. This would I call neither contrition, nor yet attrition, but sin; because it cometh not of faith: for if it were of faith, it should be directed unto God; For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. What seek these men by their dispositions (for so they call them) but to decree, that a man by his own mere natural power and strength is able to do something, whereby he may provoke God to justify him? This is most contrary unto truth: for men, as their strength and power is blinded, can do nothing, but that which provoketh God to harden and condemn us. But thou wilt say; By this means we shall provoke unto sin, because we preach repentance unto the wicked. It is a weak reason: when we preach repentance in the name of God, we require the same to come of faith; and not of our mere and natural strength only. Sound repentance is allowed by God: but that repentance, which these men fain, cannot otherwise do, but puff up men, and fraught them with a certain very wicked confidence of themselves. Of them we may

say, that They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, &c. Perhaps some of them have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.

If that be meant to be attrition, which is not of faith; I say and affirm that it is sin. This seemeth to be a hard thing, but yet may the same be proved by many places of the holy scriptures. Christ said; that An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit. Evil be the trees, when they have not faith, neither be they regenerated; and therefore they cannot bring forth any good fruit. Likewise he saith; that A man, out of good treasure bringeth forth good things, and out of evil treasure evil things. Again; If thine eye shall be darkened, how great will the darkness be? But in these men, which as yet be not justified and regenerated, all things be dark. Again; The world hateth me, because I testify against it, that the works of the same are evil. They which be without Christ, be of the world, and their works be evil. Paul said of himself; I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing. That which is born of the flesh, is flesh. These men, for so much as they be not born a new, there is no let or impediment, but that they may be called flesh.

And God saith in Genesis; My spirit shall not strive with man, because he is flesh. In the sixth chapter; The imagination of man's heart is altogether evil. And in the eighth chapter, it is added; From his childhood, and from his infancy. And unto the Romans it is said; The sense or wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God. And unto Timothy; such kind of men are said to be captivated, and bound unto the will of Satan. In the epistle to the Romans, they are said to be sold under sin. In the second to the Ephesians, such men are described; Who be without Christ, strangers from the Common-weal of God, without hope in the world, and without God, strangers from the testament of promise. And in the same epistle, the fourth

chapter; these men are said To walk in the vanity of the mind, in the darkness of the heart, &c. And yet will they have, that such kind of contrition's, and attritions should please God. The epistle to the Hebrews saith, that It is impossible, without faith to please God. Unto the Ephesians, we are said to be dead in sin. And what can dead men bring for their regeneration, that they should live again? They be the children of wrath, and Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, as the same apostle hath most manifestly testified. This I will shall be sufficient, to show that this attrition is sin.

22. The same Scotus proceedeth further, in the fourth of sentences, distinction 14. quest. 2. and saith; that Sometimes a man of his own mere natural gift, (only adding the common influence of God) is able to repent him of his sins, and to detest sin, by considering how far it is against the law of God, how far it hindereth his salvation, and how great punishment and pain of everlasting damnation it bringeth. This he calleth attrition; whereunto if the stirring grace of God be added, which may provoke this act, he saith that contrition is done, and that remission of sins and justification is obtained. But whether that grace be given forthwith, or with some delay, they do not all agree: and so the whole matter is made uncertain. First, as touching the time, because men know not, at what time they are to be received into grace. Further, the cause of the diligence required; because they know not whether they be truly contrite or no. And they will, that a man, which is truly contrite, should hate sin, more than any hateful and detestable thing. They make him that is attrite, to hate sin; but not with so great extremity, not above every hateful and detestable thing.

And they put a difference between these two, not indeed according to the vehemency of sorrow: for sometimes it may be, that a man will sorrow more for his own sin, than for offending of God. But a distinction must be

made by some equal consideration: and therefore they distinguish on this sort, that that motion be made through grace, and for God's cause. Further, that there be a present purpose of not sinning, although all the pleasures of the world should be offered. But this thing hath not he which sorroweth only for punishment sake: for if sin only be set before his eyes, and the punishments taken away, when the punishments be removed, he will make a choice of his own pleasures. Undoubtedly, these men deliver many absurdities: for they place charity before justification, and remission of sins. Christ being minded to show, that the woman, which was a sinner, had obtained remission of her sins, showed the same by the consequents; Her sins be forgiven her, because she loved much. They turn it, and make the antecedents; She loved much, therefore her sins are forgiven her. But what judge they of that attrition, which they have described, which is done only for punishment sake, and by the instinct of nature? They say, that it is good, because it is the way unto justification; so that there be no actual exception, whereby they say: Unless that punishment were before mine eyes, I should surely sin.

23. There be some also among them, being called Nominals, who were of the opinion, that a purpose not to sin is not necessarily required in contrition: and they dare venture to say, that in the holy scriptures there is no mention made of such a purpose. But yet the name of repentance should have admonished them: for what is repentance, but a change of the mind, whereby we proceed from evil unto good, so far as the infirmity of man will suffer? And it behooveth, that therein be a desire of righteousness. Ezekiel saith; If so be he shall repent him of his wickedness, and shall keep my commandments, &c. And Christ required of them, whom he had healed, that they should not sin anymore. Wherefore these men do but cavil. And

the very detestation of sin ought to have respect, not only unto the time that is present and past, but unto that also which is to come: wherefore we must exclude these sort of men. Some of them say, that It may be, that there is attrition, which cometh of man's own natural power, with the common influence of God; so that a man may be sorry, that he hath offended even for God's cause. They prove it; For if I can be sorrowful for offending a certain friend, wherefore is it not also lawful to grant it in human actions, that men may naturally sorrow; because they have offended God, whose goodness they might acknowledge in his creation, and in the multitude of his benefits?

So these men put a difference between contrition and attrition; not by reason of the object, for that the one repenteth because of God, and the other for fear of punishment: but in respect of the efficient cause, for that they will then have it to be contrition, when the grace of God provoketh the same. The one they derive from our own natural ability, and the other from grace which preventeth. What will they have then to be done, when a man is attrite? Let him come (say they) to the sacrament of repentance, and then that unperfectness of attrition shall be taken away; and he shall please God by virtue of the keys: always provided, that he have thought himself to be contrite, and have used all diligence; otherwise absolution can nothing profit him. But to what end deal these men so subtly? He that sorroweth for his sins, can scarcely discern at any time, whether he do it for God's sake, or else for fear of punishment. He that heareth these things; how shall he know? Of an attrite man he is become a contrite man, say they, by the power of the keys. When? If he use all diligence. How shall he understand this? Surely he will never use that diligence: so great is the infirmity of our strength.

Yet these Nominals say, that he which applieth all diligence, shall receive forgiveness of sins, even before he goeth to confession; otherwise that he is driven into desperation, if he have not the help of a priest. If they would say, that contrition itself is repentance, so that it spring of faith; they should speak rightly: but as concerning those attritions of theirs, which be done by the force and strength of man, which were no other than the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas; we be so far from allowing of them, as we say, that it is no other thing, but a doubting of the forgiveness of sins. They make the promises of God to be of none effect, and they call us unto works; whereas Paul calleth us unto grace without works. He that cannot persuade himself hereof, maketh God a liar. Tertullian, in his book *De poenitentia*, saith; that God hath sworn, and that we must give credit unto him for his oaths sake, whom we ought to believe, though he had not sworn. For repentance cometh not in as a price, wherewith we buy justification. And as we have said; when we speak of repentance, we must understand that repentance, which Christ stirreth up in us, whereby (as Joel saith) our hearts be rent, and not our garments: which kind of repentance hath the true sorrowing joined therewith. Some doubt, whether the saints in heaven have repentance with them; because in that place is neither tears, nor yet sorrows. In the *Apocalypse* it is said, that God wipeth away the tears from the eyes of his chosen, entire repentance taketh no place in them; indeed in will they detest sins. But unto us in this life, repentance is given together with sorrow. Thus much of the first part.

24. They add confession to be another part. But the word hath diverse significations; wherefore it must be divided into his proper significations. To confess, is to acknowledge, and to set forth the benefits of God: unto this confession the saints do exhort one another. Another confession there is of

sins, and the same also is of diverse sorts. One is civil, whereby such as be guilty, confess before Judges those things which they have committed. This confession is a work of justice. Joshua said unto Achan; Give the glory unto God. There is another confession, which is done in mind before God; when we acknowledge that we have sinned: and this is very necessary. In the 32nd Psalm, David saith; My sin have I made known unto thee; I will confess mine unrighteousness that is against me. In the 51st Psalm, Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy. In the ninth of Daniel; We have sinned, we have done wickedly. In the first of John, the first chapter; If we confess our sins, God is faithful to forgive.

In the ancient church (as appeareth in the 16th of Leviticus) God would have this confession to be made in the church, by the priest, before the church, in the feast of Purification: the priest laid his hand upon the goat, and confessed the sins of the people. Esdras and Nehemiah's made such confessions for the people. We say; Forgive us our debts: we confess ourselves to be debtors before God. This confession is comprehended in contrition: for we cannot call upon God, unless we acknowledge ourselves to be miserable. There is another confession, which is done before men: as when a man remembereth that he hath hurt another man, he confesseth that he hath offended; and this he doth to make him amends: which thing our savior commended to us in the fifth chapter of Matthew. There is also a certain confession of an unlawful and public sin, which offendeth the whole church: as when men that be fallen into heresy do openly condemn the same heresy. Some confess their sins unto their friends, and unto learned men; to the intent they may have counsel and consolation.

25. Lastly there is a papistical confession, for which they contend; to wit, that it is necessary to salvation to reckon up all our sins unto the priest: they

affirm it to belong unto the law of God. The Canonists say, that that law was ordained by the bishops: others think, to stint the strife by a reason between both; namely, that to confess sins unto the minister, is the law of God, but that the manner and time are added thereunto by the bishop's constitution. But let us hear the reasons which lead them to affirm auricular confession to be warranted by the word of God. Christ (say they) sent the lepers unto the priests, that they should judge of the leprosy: wherefore they which be defiled with spiritual leprosy, must go unto the priests. We read of Lazarus, which was raised up from death, that he was bound with grave cloths: Christ commandeth him to be loosed; so they which be raised up from the death of sin, must be loosed. They which came unto John Baptist, confessed their sins. In the 19th of the Acts, the Ephesians which believed, were many; they not only repented, but they also laid open their sins; they brought forth their superstitious books. In the fifth of James; Confess ye your sins one to another. They say that the keys are given to the ministers, that whatsoever they loose, shall be loosed. But how can they loose, if they know not the faults? In the 27th chapter of the Proverbs it is commanded; Look upon the countenance of thy cattle: but how shall the face of the cattle be known unto the pastor, unless he examine all their doings? Lastly, it is no new devise in the church, it hath been in force of long time; therefore it must not be thought to be any devise of man.

These in a manner be their strongest sort of reasons, howbeit they are very weak. For they which oppose themselves against them, do say, and that truly; that A man may find where auricular confession had his beginnings, which seemeth wholly to be from man. In the decrees, in the title *De remission peccatorum & poenitentia*, in the chapter *Omnis utriusque sexus*, there was a law of Innocent the third, which ordained; that As well men as

women, if they came to the years of discretion, should confess all their sins, and that even once in the year: and he added; Unto their own priest. Further, let them take upon them a satisfaction: but if so be they shall do otherwise, let them be driven from the church, and let burial be denied them. Further, they show out of Sozomenus, in the sixth book, 16th chapter, that There was a beginning of this confession, by the constitution of bishops, specially of the bishops of the West parts: and they add, that it was taken away by Nectarius. These be tokens, that they were devised by man. They add further, that there is no commandment extant thereof in the holy scriptures. For the forgiveness of sins is no judgment of ministers of the church, but only an executing of the benefits of God. Their office they may do, without any acknowledgement of particular sins, either of this person, or of that: a commandment they have to forgive sins, but not to take knowledge of them. Otherwise the whole state of salvation would be made uncertain, no man should be sure of a full confession. Christ saith, that All judgment is given unto him: why then will they judge of particular facts, as to ordain certain years, and penance for particular faults; and for deadly sin, seven years penance? So great account they make of their own decrees, as for the breach of them they exclude men out of the church, and consequently from everlasting salvation. God saith in the prophet Isaiah; I am he who do forgive sins, and besides me there is none other. Wherefore, seeing this matter is so intricate, and as it were a certain tyranny; it is not free to take the use of it from such men, because some think that they do very well, if they do make themselves subject unto such tyranny.

26. As concerning their argument of the lepers, we say, that it is most feeble: and it seemeth marvelous, that at this day they claim not to themselves the knowledge of outward leprosy, seeing the priests in old time

had the knowledge thereof by the commandment of God. But they say that it is an allegory; and that the sin of the mind is called leprosy. But an allegorical argument is not of strength: in allegories every man dallieth, as it seemeth best unto him. Howbeit let them know, that the priesthood is translated unto Christ; he is now our high priest: to him therefore do we confess our sins. The same was a certain civil action of those times, it bindeth not us in this age. Christ sent them unto the priests, because at that time the law of Moses was in force. Christ would not be ill reported of, as though he had taken away the same leprosy by his miracles. Much less do they conclude by the other place, out of the history of Lazarus; Christ raised him up from the dead: he commanded that his grave cloths should be undone. Whom commanded he so to do? Those which stood by: therefore the confession should be made to all others, and not to the sacrificing priests only. Christ raised up Lazarus, to him therefore let us confess our sins; he would have him to be loosed: and least they should think the matter to be counterfeit, he would have him to be known with open face. They came unto John Baptist, confessing their sins: and no marvel, because baptism is an outward token of repentance. In baptism men are dipped in, and rise out again; the old man is laid away, and the new man is taken to us. They confessed that they had sinned, but the confession was openly done, not whispered in the ear. When there is a speaking of confession before baptism, what is this to auricular confession? For the papists judge not that men should confess themselves before baptism; wherefore this place is impertinent.

In the Acts, the Ephesians came, they showed their doings how they were beguiled by Satan; they brought forth their superstitious books that they might be burned. The bearing witness was public; what maketh this unto

auricular confession? James saith; Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be preserved. Two things he would; first, that men should pour out their infirmities into the bosom of some good men, by whom they might receive consolation, counsel, and help of prayers. Further, if one man had hurt another, they should forgive one another, acknowledging their own infirmity, and should not justify themselves. So Christ teacheth in the fifth chapter of Matthew, that if a man had offended the whole church, he should do in like manner. If James had spoken of auricular confession, it should behooove the priests also to confess themselves to lay men. Touching the keys; Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven: we might say, that they themselves should first agree as touching those keys, and afterward let them dispute with us. For of the keys every man feigneth what he will: some appoint them to be the keys of knowledge; others, of power; others, of jurisdiction. Unto us they be nothing else, but the preaching of the Gospel, whereby the ministers promise forgiveness of sins unto them that repent. What will they say, which confess many of their ministers to be unlearned, who know not how to use the keys rightly? What shall they do, which repair unto them, and doubt whether they use well the keys of knowledge?

In knowing, thou shalt know the face of thy cattle. This commandment is profitable, because it teacheth how men should order their substance, after the right form of a good house-keeping. If God have given wealth, let them not suffer it to perish; let them use their own goods, let them abstain from other men's. And seeing these temporal goods, which be granted unto us, are so unstable; and that the crown, that is to say, the glory of works doth not always endure, there had need some care and diligence be applied. These men pass it over unto priests, that they should know the face of their

flock; that is to say, that they should examine all their acts by privy confession. After what manner are these things observed? The bishops do scarcely hear any confessions, they refer them over unto the order of begging friers, while they in the meantime will be pastors, and enjoy the wealth. They hear no confessions, nay rather they hire very abject men to hear them for a piece of bread: wherefore they give an ill interpretation. Further, they do not observe things according to their own interpretation. In the 28th chapter of the Proverbs, it is written; He that hideth his sins, shall not prosper in the land: but who so acknowledgeth them, and forsaketh them, he shall obtain mercy. According to the interpretation of these men, that confession should have been in the Old Testament: for if they will prove such a confession by these places, of necessity the same must have been at that time. But it is spoken of that confession, whereby we confess our sins before God, and desire pardon: the which in that place is promised.

27. They said, that in the church there hath been a continual use of confession; whereby they concluded, that the same sprung from Christ. This is false. In ancient time, there was a kind of confession in the church; but the same was the confession of wicked men: it pertained nothing unto this kind. It was lawful for the bishops to receive the penitent persons, and to admit them into the church without that confession: yet they did it not by reason of the prescript cautions or *provisos* which were prescribed, least they might be deceived. It seemed dishonorable unto them, that he which had committed so gross a sin, should be received. They feared, least the church should have been evil reported of. First, this thing is proved by the history mentioned of Sozomenus, the which I will now better expound. He saith, that confession came by the constitution of bishops, specially of them of the West part, and most of all of the Roman bishops; but not of the

Novatian bishops, which admitted them to no repentance that were fallen after baptism. And the contents thereof was, that there should be ordained in the church one penitential priest. But these men say, that this is given to all sacrificing priests, after that they be consecrated by the bishops: only he heard them, which came to him, and taking knowledge of their sins prayed for them; and enjoined them for a certain time unto prayer and fasting.

But because a certain noble Matrone, which was under the hands of these penance-givers in the church of Constantinople, had dishonor done unto her by a deacon; that thing did very greatly displease the people: wherefore Nectarius did abrogate that confession. He having taken good deliberation, did think he might do this: all the bishops, which were in that church, consented unto him. Nectarius for this cause was not counted a heretic, nor yet deposed from his office. So then it appeareth, that the same confession was not always in the church, nor received of all sorts. If Nectarius may seem to be but of small authority, who nevertheless was of very great authority; let us hear Chrysostom his successor, who also allowed of his judgment. Upon the 51st Psalm, in the second homily, he writeth, that he requireth not that we should declare our sins unto any man, but unto God in our hearts. And in his treatise of the incomprehensible divine essence, against the *Anomaei* the fifth homily, he commandeth that they should confess their sins unto God. Upon the epistle to the Hebrews, and in a manner everywhere, he repeateth this thing. And if that Nectarius did abrogate confession, for one whoredom committed, which was openly known; what ought to be done at this day, when it is the nurse of ribaldry?

Howbeit, least the Grecians alone might seem to have been wise; let us hear what they of the Latin church have written. Leo the pope, (as the Master of the sentences testifieth in the 17th distinction: and it is also read

in the decrees *De poenitentia*, distinct. 1. in the chapter *Quamuis*.) Although that that public confession had been of old, he saw that the same was a dangerous thing: for he saith; There be many things which are not expedient to be spoken so openly; neither do men so willingly declare them, because of their enemies, least they should be upbraided, and least they should be drawn to their answer in place of judgment. Wherefore he removed this disallowable custom of public repentance. It is sufficient that they come unto the priest, who may pray for them, and tell them privily of their faults. Thou seest therefore, that instead of that public confession, he doth institute a secret and private confession. Ambrose is cited in the first distinction *De poenitentia*, in the chapter *Petrus*: and it is read in his tenth book, 22nd chapter upon Luke; Peter (saith he) wept and sorrowed, because he erred as a man; I find not what he said, but I find that he wept. He showed that he had remission of sins, not by outward confession. The Master of the sentences, in the 17th distinction affirmeth Ambrose to have said, that he had not read (yet that it was not therefore proved, that Peter was not confessed. But Ambrose would attribute much unto faith and contrition.

The Master of the sentences addeth; Perhaps repentance was not then instituted: and yet Christ had already said, that he would give the keys, &c. If that place prove a necessity of confession, it was now instituted. The same Master of the sentences, and also the decrees *De poenitentia*, distinction the first, in the chapter *Porro*, in the beginning, do bring *Prosperus*, in the second book, and seventh chapter *De vita contemplatiuae*, who maketh the matter to be free. John, who was the Glosser of the decrees, at the beginning, in the first distinction *De poenitentia*, examineth the question, Whether confession be used by the law of God, or whether it be invented by men? And he saith, that it is an ecclesiastical tradition: adding,

that the Greeks allowed not of such a decree. But Scotus inveigheth against him, and will have it to be a part of God's law. Touching the Greeks he saith, that it is uncertain, whether they confess, or no: that if they do not, they degenerate, as they do in other things.

28. Therefore we conclude, that sins must be showed unto God himself: not to the intent we should put God in mind of them (for he knoweth our hearts,) but that we may know our own selves, and see our own miseries; the which being thoroughly considered, we may the more fervently implore the grace of God. Paul saith; Let a man try himself. He saith not; Let him be tried by others: because if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. There is also a certain practice to be gathered and considered by the histories. Monckery, or sole life, was very much in use, at the time that the vexations of the church first began: that which necessity brought in use, began afterward to please; and so they thought themselves godly, if they did live in solitary places. There have been some, which for the space of fifteen, seventeen, or twenty years lived sole, so as they saw no man: where did they confess their sins? Wherefore the first church knew not of that privy confession. They bind all men by their decree: what then will they do with him that is dumb? They will not receive confessions by writing; they will say, he shall deal by signs. Can the priest understand this? How shall he seek out the circumstances? Admit that a man speak in a strange language; they will say: he must deal by an interpreter: as though a man would also disclose his mind unto interpreters.

Whereas they would have a man confess all his sins; they be fond men: for, Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Jeremiah saith; Corrupt and unsearchable is the heart of man, innumerable things do there lurk in his heart. They say that he must do as much as in him lieth: but he is never

certain whether he have used that diligence that is required of him. They say; Let him repent of his negligence; but how shall he know? Either they will cast men into desperation, or else will make them hypocrites: as if they shall believe that they have done a thing, they should be persuaded they have not done it. Nay rather let them teach to do before God, as did that Publican in the 18th chapter of Luke. We know the way of forgiving sins; there is one manner of way for all men, we must not devise other forms. Let us acknowledge that we have sinned. Christ said; Thy faith hath made thee whole: he requireth not confession. They say, that a man by confession is kept back from wickedness: but if we be more ashamed to confess ourselves before the priest, than unto God, that is not to be allowed. The chiefest shame (if we have any spark of faith) cometh through the remembrance of the presence of God. There be many, which can condemn sacrifice. It is true shame, if we admit God into our heart.

They say, it behooveth that confession be heard; because it is the precept of God. Show the precept, bring forth where it is. It behooveth (say they) that there be confession, because men be not certain of their contrition. But of confession they will be as doubtful, as of contrition; they will remedy one doubt by another. No man (say they) can judge of his own cause: here is no judgment, when remission is done by the word of God; the Ministers have only the execution of another man's benefit. God answereth not (say they) whether he will forgive sins: it behooveth that he answer by the priests. He answereth by the oracles of the holy scriptures. We will add another fault of theirs; they have certain cases, which be reserved, so as each one cannot be absolved of every man, for every matter. The Pope will have many things to be dealt in by himself, and not to be remitted by others: in the 17th distinction, in the chapter *Huic sedi*. The bishops have reserved

many cases unto themselves. In the *Extravagants De sententia excommunicationis*, chapter *Tua*, the offense of setting fire upon places, is reserved unto the Pope, or unto the bishops: so it is of homicide 23rd cause, question eight, chapter *Pessimum*: and in the chapter, *Si membrum*. Christ reserved nothing to himself; he commanded his apostles, that by their preaching they should remit sins: but with those men all things are directed unto gain. We take not away the utility, which might come of confession, which is done unto a godly and learned man; namely, that men should be instructed, and have consolation: so that it be left free unto men. Wherefore, if such a confession that is free, and doth not drive men to the numbering of their sins, be retained in any place; we make no schism for the same: so that they appoint it not a peculiar worshipping of God. If any man think, that he reapeth a commodity thereby; he ought not to speak ill of such a help.

29. Now, setting that part aside, let us come unto satisfaction: many things are written and devised touching the same; I will cut off as much as I can, and be brief. Let us speak of the word. To satisfy, among good authors, is to approve himself to any man in doing of duty. Cicero, in the first of his familiar epistles; I satisfy all other men, in all duty, or rather piety towards thee, but myself I satisfy not. Asconius said, that To satisfy, is to do as much as doth suffice an angry man to revengement. But the School-men, of whom we specially make mention, have spoken otherwise of satisfaction. The Master of the sentences, in the 15th distinction, saith out of Augustine; that To satisfy, is to cut off the causes of crimes and sins, and no longer to yield unto their suggestions. Others have said, that it is a recompense of a wrong that is done, according to a just equality; when we repay so much as we have taken away of another man's goods: and their meaning is, that men, by certain works, should repay so much as they ought to suffer for sin. And

while they will institute a satisfaction of that kind, first they take upon them to affirm, that the fault indeed is forgiven unto men, and the punishment also, in respect of eternity: but yet that there remaineth some things to be suffered of them, for the satisfying of God. Yea and they say, that confession was therefore ordained, to the intent that the priests should understand what they ought to lay up for God. And they allege reasons; namely, that God doth indeed of his great mercy forgive men their sins, yet not without justice.

And although Christ hath made recompense by his death, yet that God will not have the satisfaction of Christ to take place, unless it be as touching them, which work together with the death of Christ; that is to say, which with certain actions will together with Christ satisfy for their sins. The testimonies that they bring are these: in Deuteronomy; Let the measure of the stripes be according to the manner of the offense. In the Revelation of John; Even as much as she hath glorified herself, and hath lived in pleasures, so much torment appoint ye unto her. John said; Bring forth the fruits of repentance. In the sixth chapter to the Romans; As you have given over your members to serve uncleanness, and from one iniquity unto another, so now give your members to serve righteousness. And they think, that their opinion is most of all confirmed by the words of Christ; Whatsoever ye shall bind in earth, shall also be bound in heaven, &c. For they understand [Loosing] not only as touching sins, but also, as concerning punishments. And they say, that this appointing of punishment was commanded to the priests; that whatsoever they have set down without error of the key, should be established.

30. That the punishment still remaineth to be suffered, the fault being remitted, they confirm by the example of David, who sinning twice, had the

fault forgiven him: yet that there were punishments remaining for him to suffer. And that there is no doubt, but Moses had his sin forgiven him, yet that the punishment remained; namely, that he should die before he entered into the land of Canaan. Afterward they stand at contention among themselves, whether this penance enjoined after confession, ought to be rendered unto God by innocents, or may be also performed of the residue. Scotus affirmeth it; Because (saith he) that these be only punishments, and temporal things, whether they be done by one that is worthy, or unworthy; so they be done, it sufficeth. Others deny this, and say, that no works can satisfy God, unless they be acceptable: but the works of them that continue in sin, please not God, therefore they make no satisfaction. They leave the matter imperfect; but yet in effect they agree, that a man may make satisfaction to God for sins. They distinguish the satisfaction of Christ, from our satisfaction; they ascribe unto him the greater perfection: For (say they) he was God and man, and was one person; and there the divinity wrought by the humanity. But men, though not so fully, do satisfy notwithstanding, through the grace that is bestowed upon them.

They conclude, that the actions of perfect men do merit of condignity; so as the punishments, which should have been suffered, are taken away. They say, that Christ satisfied for the fault, and that satisfactions are in force for the residue of punishments. If thou demand; How can ye satisfy, when as all your actions be already bound unto Christ? They will answer, that God might have bound a man, so that all his acts should have been of duty; yet that he would not, but of his own goodness left many things at liberty. Neither understand they, that seeing God commanded, that we should love him with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength, that there is nothing more for us left at liberty. They proceed further, and say;

that We be able to satisfy God for punishments, even in those actions, which be commanded by the law of God; because he indeed commanded these actions: but we be lords over our actions, when we do them with a free will, we satisfy God with a free action. And they say, that we not only may satisfy for ourselves; but for others also: as in civil matters, one man may pay for another. And to the intent they may seem to cloak their opinion by scriptures, they bring a place to the Colossians; I rejoyce in my sufferings for you, and supply that which wanted of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body, which is the church. They say, that Paul was a man, and said, that with his sufferings he fulfilled that, which was wanting.

They add; We say not, that there was anything that wanted in the passion of Christ: but because we are the members of Christ, the good things that we do, are said to be Christ's. From hence had pardons their original. They say, that the Pope is the disposer of the sufferings of Christ, and of the blood of the martyrs, and of the labors of other saints. Undoubtedly they make a great gain thereof: for the matter is brought to that pass, that they communicate of their own works unto others, which be of their own company. Yea, and they say, that it may be, that a man may first satisfy for another man, before he satisfy for himself. But Paul said, that he supplied those things, which were lacking unto the passion of Christ; because it behooved, that the same should be preached unto the Gentiles: this did not Christ by himself; he was minister of the circumcision: but this could not be done without afflictions. And Paul sorrowed not in them, but saith, that he rejoiced in them. Notwithstanding they say, that sometimes it may be, that satisfaction is not required to be made for these punishments; but they are freely remitted, namely, in baptism. For that they saw, that the primitive church appointed not public confession unto those which came to baptism,

they framed this reason; Because (say they) in baptism, the death of Christ worketh by itself, without our will, but not in repentance.

I marvel how these men dare utter such things: as though they, which come unto baptism, come not of their own accord, and profess their faith willingly. They say, that therein is no need of dispositions; that it is sufficient that there be no hindrance; that is, that we be not delighted with the act of sin. In the other case they say, that punishments are remitted, when a man is prevented by martyrdom. They appoint very many works of satisfaction, but they reduce them unto three points; namely, fasting's, prayers, and alms-deeds: otherwhiles they add, lying on the ground, and pilgrimages. And least they should seem to deal without the scriptures, they bring forth a place out of Daniel; Redeem thy sins with alms-deeds. And out of Luke; Give alms, and all things shall be clean unto you. In the second of Joel; Turn unto me with all your heart, with fasting, with weeping, and with morning. They bring many examples of prayers, which were usual among the prophets.

31. Now that we have heard their opinion, let us argue against them. First, we must be assured, that lewd concupiscence, corruption of nature, and contamination (whereby men are let from doing of perfect works) is not taken away after justification. Paul saith, that he feeleth another law in his members. Unto the Galatians; The flesh so striveth against the spirit, as ye do those things which ye would not do. Seeing therefore we do no perfect works; how shall works satisfy God? Christ said; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: but these must be perfectly kept, otherwise we cannot have life by desert of these works. Let them consider moreover, that if they do any good thing, they do it not of themselves, but by the grace of God: therefore we do not satisfy by our own work. If God would deal with

men in the rigor of his justice, undoubtedly he should do no injury to them, if he should throw down all the saints which be in heaven: but he cannot, because he hath bound himself by his promise. David said, that God crowneth us in mercy, and loving kindness, and not in satisfactions. There shall no man living (saith the same Prophet) be justified in thy sight. Suppose we, that God sitting in place of judgment, one of these that justify themselves should come unto him: God will say unto him; What hast thou brought that I have not given unto thee? In the 17th of Luke it is said; When ye have done all these things, say that ye be unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do, we were bound thereunto by the laws.

Even Aristotle saw this: for he saith; We cannot make just recompense to our parents, and to the gods. Paul in the 8th chapter to the Romans saith; that The sufferings of this life, are not worthy of the glory that is to come, which shall be revealed in us: and yet these men in the meantime boast of the merit of worthiness. But when we speak (say they) of satisfying, that particle [*satis*] betokeneth not perfect satisfaction; but some portion, which we are able. But what do they say? (Forsooth) nothing: for that which we give, is none of our own; we can do nothing, unless we do it by grace. Further, their definition faileth; to wit, that recompense is according to equality. In this there is a relation to be had; not only our own power must be considered, but also the thing that is recompensed. Further, if they will that there shall be satisfactions for punishments, it behooveth to weigh satisfactions, that they may have a proportion with the punishments. Who hath been a counselor unto God, to know how much he will punish every sin? What sought Christ at the hands of the thief? What punishments did he lay upon the woman that was a sinner? He said unto the adulteress; Go thy

ways, I will that thou sin no more: if Christ dealt in this sort, why do they devise new ways?

32. But the church (say they) in old time had satisfactions; the Fathers make mention of them. I deny not; but what manner of satisfactions were they? Even significations of true repentance. They would not in times past receive forthwith such as were very great sinners: their desire was, that the church might be well reported of. But at this day, this kind of satisfactions is abolished; neither the papists themselves retain it: nay rather, in their satisfactions they have subverted the old order. In the old time these satisfactions were required before they should be absolved: but these men first absolve, and receive a sinner, and then they will have him to do I know not what. Such was the order in the church in times past. They which were penitent remained apart from others, they heard sermons, and were present at prayers, but yet in the degree of penitents: at such time as sacraments were ministered, they went their ways. But these things are out of use. Paul in the 2nd to the Corinthians, the 7th chapter saith; Behold even this thing, that ye have been godlily sorry, what great care hath it wrought in you, yea what satisfaction? The Greek text hath ἀπολογία, that is, Excusation: because the Corinthians being rebuked of Paul, satisfied him, that is, they excused and approved themselves unto him by these actions: for they abandoned incest. They urge and say, that The works of them that be penitent, are said by the Fathers to satisfy God also, and not the church alone, the which those did offend that had an ill name.

Let us see how they understood this. Undoubtedly, the Fathers did not think, that men receive forgiveness of sins by these actions of penitent persons; they knew that this is only due unto Christ: but they understood, that men, while they thus work by faith, do allow themselves unto God,

according as they may; and that when they crave pardon of the sins that be past, they as it were purge and satisfy themselves. When one hath hurt another man, he is wont to satisfy him by sorrowing, by making request, and by offering his service unto him. The party offended saith; Now am I satisfied, although recompense be not made of the injury done. But we, if we shall speak of true satisfaction, do only attribute that unto Christ: He is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world. And after what sort he satisfied the Father, I will in few words contrive. Some have thought that the death of Christ, and that same obedience according to his humanity, is of a limited worthiness; and that it did not satisfy the Father, further than he accepted the same. They will not grant, that if the thing be considered by itself, it was a thing of equal value. They add also, that God might have dealt by other means; but that he accepted this means.

There is another way, which seemeth much better unto me; to wit, that the obedience of Christ and his death is to be considered: not as in the power of his human nature only, because they be actions (as the School-men term them) of subjects, persons, and of indivisible things. The person of Christ, although it have two natures, yet is it one; wherefore those be the actions of the son of God: and not considering the human nature apart, we may say, that the divine nature wrought by the human. So did those actions truly merit remission of sins, and were condign, and of equal value. But they were due (say they:) for Christ was a creature, and did owe all his works. But he was God, and of one substance with the Father; he had the fullness of grace, but no craved grace: wherefore he satisfied, and not alonely took away the fault, but the punishment also. If the godly be afflicted, it is for another cause, as we shall understand. Wherefore we must not seek other

satisfactions; this is freely given. Isaiah saith; Ye shall be redeemed without money.

33. They say; But God hath promised many things unto our works. The prophet Isaiah saith; Break bread unto the hungry, and God will give thee rest, &c. God dealeth with man, after the manner of man: when we would invite any man to do well, we promise him rewards. There is brought an example; The father mindeth freely to give a garment unto his son: yet to stir him up unto learning, he saith; I will give thee a garment, if thou canst recite this or that thing without the book. Thus doth God deal, when he giveth freely; and the works be not the causes of rewards, nor can be compared with them in worthiness: yet deny we not, but that men by living well, may mitigate the afflictions of this world; because obedience pleaseth God. Paul said; If we would judge ourselves, we should not then be judged. A man to judge himself, is no other thing, than to be sorry for his sins committed; to live uprightly, and to change his life. Tears and lamentation are used therewithal; because they be the effects of true sorrow. To the intent they may show, that there is much due unto these works, they allege places of the scripture; Give alms, and all things shall be clean unto you.

Many (as Augustine in his book *De civitate Dei*, and in his *Euchiridion* unto Laurence saith) have abused this sentence, supposing, that notwithstanding they had lien still in the filthiness of their sins, yet they should be saved, so they had given alms. Christ reproveth the Scribes and Pharisees, because they were unclean, and yet retained outwardly the show of good works: and said, that they did not rightly, for that the platter and cup, the which stood upon the table, should first be cleansed within, and then be made clean outwardly. He exhorteth them to inward cleanness. When men inwardly become pure, they do outwardly the office of charity,

which Christ comprehended under the name of alms-deeds; and then all things be clean. In Daniel it is said; Redeem thy sins with alms. When Isaiah had said; Be ye washed, be ye clean: he added; Then contend with me in judgment. If your sins be as the scarlet, yet shall they become white like the snow.

We answer, that good works are not nakedly required by God, as they be outward acts, but that they be done with a true faith: then, if they shall be done with faith, it is no marvel if for them there be made a promise, the which is apprehended only by faith, because in those actions (as Augustine saith) we must have respect unto the root. Or else we may interpret sins to be punishments for sins, the which God doth lay upon us in this life; those are mitigated. Indeed, these good works of godly men have the analogy and force of prayers. They that will obtain anything by prayer, do change their garment, mingle their prayers with tears; and when these things be done in faith, they be heard of God: not that there is so great a worthiness of works, that they deserve one thing or other. Cyprian in the 3rd epistle of his first book *De lapsis*, saith; that They which were counted among them that did penance, would have peace to be straightways granted them at the first. This they do, because Christ should not be entreated by prayers and satisfactions. Therefore he testifieth, that satisfactions appertain unto prayers, and are not recompenses for punishments.

The same Cyprian against Demetrianus; When we shall (saith he) depart from hence, there will be no place for repentance or satisfaction. Why do not the Papists mark, that their purgatory is overthrown by this place? And undoubtedly, the satisfactions devised by the School-men have bred those most wicked and ugly monsters, purgatory, and pardons. They affirm, that satisfactions depend upon the word of God; that they be commanded, and

therefore be things due. How will they afterward have them to consist of the free works of supererogation? Wherefore they are against themselves. Also, when they affirm, that he which hath confessed his sins, and testifieth that they are displeasing unto him, and yet will not go about to make satisfaction; must be absolved, and sent unto the pains of purgatory. This is against the fathers, for they would not have absolved him. Further, they absolve him that is unpenitent; for insomuch as he will not take in hand to make satisfactions, he doth not repent: for they appoint satisfaction to be the third part of repentance. Briefly, there is great repugnancy among themselves.

34. But this is their foundation, that the fault is forgiven; and the punishment retained. We answer; It cannot be denied, but that men be chastened in this life. Even the godly men are wrapped in afflictions: but God hath forgiven both the fault and the punishment. If he mind to correct us fatherly, it is no plaguing of us: for they are plagued, with whom the Lord is angry; and to them doth he show how much he is offended with sin. But those, whom he chasteneth, he will that they be sorry for their sins: the first he doth terrify, his own he doth exercise. Also [afflictions] are testimonies of the immortality of souls. Neither doth God always punish men after justification, but sometimes he doth. Further, it is in his hands to temper these things, to assuage them, and to aggravate them: this is not in the hands of the priests. Wherefore, if by satisfactions they would understand godly life and prayers, for because those should be approbations and fruits of repentance; we would say as they say: but whereas they say, that they be just recompensing's of punishments, we cannot yield unto them. As touching Christ, we have in Isaiah, that God put all our sins upon him, that he bare our infirmities. Oseas said; O death, I will be thy death.

And thus he took away death, and all the retinue thereof. So then, the property of satisfaction should be attributed unto Christ, and not transferred unto creatures, and works of men.

Indeed the mortifications of the body do endure, but they be no satisfactions: neither ought they to be dispensed by the priests, for they have no right thereunto. They say they have the key which erreth not. When erred not this key? If God commanded this unto them, that they should enjoin penance, they should constantly have retained it. But they have invented pardons, the which do remit many of these punishments, and diminish much of the penance enjoined. If there had been a purgatory, it was their part to give warning that men should not sin; least they fall into those punishments: and if they had sinned, that they should with a valiant mind (for Christ his sake) endure those torments, which God would have to be done. But by this means we have two redemptions: Christ redeemed us from the fault, and men from the punishments. They enjoin not fasting's, for bridling of the flesh; nor prayers, for obtaining anything of God; nor alms-deeds, for helping of our neighbor: but only, that there may be a recompense made for the punishments. They say, they have testimonies, that the actions be good; but not with these petty forms, and numbers, and pilgrimages: neither yet to this end, that they should acquit punishments.

We may wonder at a place in the Decretals, *De poenitentia & remission peccatorum*, in the chapter *Cùm ex eo*, out of the Lateran Council held under Innocentius the third. For they appoint pardons, and will have them to be of strength to the remission of sins, and also to the diminishing of satisfactions enjoined. This began the Papists to deny, which wrote against Doctor Luther. They say, that none hath said, that pardons do satisfy for sins, but for punishments only. In that point a man must hold them hard: for

ye say that no man hath said so; Innocentius spake it in the same sort. In very deed, they pretend nothing else by their satisfactions, but to obscure the Gospel, and the worthiness of Christ: yea, and they deface the law. They appoint some works free, some undue works, and some works of supererogation, as though the law bindeth not all the motions of men. But we, on our part, fall not into these evils. Albeit we say that afflictions be asswaged, yet do we not say, that the same is done by undue works; but by entering into an obedience which pleaseth God. Those things which they speak, are snares to the conscience, traditions of men, and not voluntary worshipping of God. We deny not, but that the godly men, which be already justified, do restrain their flesh; but that cometh not by any constraint of men: everyone doth it, as he perceiveth it needful. Paul saith; I chastise my body, and bring the same into servitude. They cry out, that we open a window unto idleness, but this they themselves rather do; for true faith and repentance be never idle. If we understand satisfaction for a godly life, we say that it is one of the parts of repentance.

35. There remaineth, that we answer to the arguments of our adversaries. Whereas they say, that God doth so forgive the fault, as yet he will lay some punishments upon us: that is false. God by Christ forgiveth the fault, and taketh away the punishment. This doth the scripture testify; In what hour soever a sinner shall lament him, I will no more remember his sins: but if he mind to punish any man, he will remember them. Ezekiel; If they will repent them, I also will repent me of the evil which I determined to bring upon them. He speaketh of the evil of punishment. The prophet Hosea; O death, I will be thy death. If they which be converted, be sometimes veered; those are properly no punishments. They said, that confession was therefore invented, to the intent that priests might redeem penance by sacrificing. But

that is untrue: for penance was done to satisfy the congregation, and to testify, that men did truly repent. Auricular confession was appointed, that men might receive comfort, instruction, help by prayers, and such like. They say, that the death of Christ, in respect of worthiness, did satisfy for all men: yet that God would not have his death to be of efficacy, to any others, but such as by repentance do work together with the death of Christ; and because we be his members, our good works are called his. But if they be his works, then are they none of ours. It behooveth them that do truly satisfy, that they satisfy with that which is their own. In the first epistle to Timothy; the second chapter, it is said of Christ; Who gave himself a ransom for all men: he saith not; For them which be laborers together with him. Unto the Ephesians, the first: in the first to the Colossians; In whom (that is to say, in Christ) we have redemption. In the first to the Corinthians, the first chapter, it is said of Christ; Who was made for us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.

They brought a place out of Deuteronomy; According as the measure of the fault is, so let the measure of the stripes be. This is a civil proportion: he commanded, that when any man should be beaten, he should suffer forty stripes: under that number they might bring in according to the proportion of the fault. But if they will retain civil precepts in confession, why do they not also decree, that if any man happen to steal an ox, he must repay five for it; if he steal one sheep, he must repay four? I marvel that they brought a place out of the Apocalypse; Even so much as she magnified herself, so much as she lived in pleasure, so much shall she receive of torments. These sayings recoil against themselves. In that place it is entreated of the harlot, with whom princes have committed fornication: how much as the same hath lived in pleasures, so much shall she receive of torments; and that not at the

decree of the priests, but according to the judgment of God. Do ye the fruits of repentance. This sentence we embrace: we say it is the commandment of the Lord, we appoint fruits of repentance. Of less weight is that saying; As you have given over your members, to be armor of uncleanness and iniquity, &c. These things be the duties of our life, these things we ought to do, being absolved by Christ: if they be commandments, they be no works of supererogation. They say, that the dispensation is committed unto priests; but they are not able to show the scriptures for the same: they bring forth that sentence; Whatsoever ye bind in earth, &c. They are never without their erring key, because their keys be counterfeited and forged with traditions. How know they how great a part of them is to be retained?

36. They that would have repentance to be of value, although that satisfaction come not thereunto; do object the repentance of Ahab, who as yet was in sin. He had not yet put away the hatred which he bare against the prophets, he kept still the vineyard of Naboth; yet they say, that that repentance pleased God. Augustine, in his sermon De tempore, saith; That repentance was for a time, and therefore after a sort it pleased God. He interpreteth these words; He became humble before me: that is to say; For my cause. Others think it was no temporal, but a hypocritical repentance, which was wrested from him only through fear. Helias had threatened him, whom he knew to be no vain man: wherefore he was sore afraid, by some certain faith, such as it was; no justifying faith, but a faith gathered by experience. God gave something unto that repentance, as an outward discipline; even as he giveth to hypocrites, that for a time they be of estimation. God hath set such an order of things, as men may follow either this or that; yet nevertheless they please not God. What did the Lord grant

unto Ahab? But little; he deferred his punishment for a while, but at length he was slain, and the dogs licked his blood.

Neither is it true, which they said; that God may bind all our acts unto him, but would not. Nay rather, he hath made all that is in us, subject unto him, saying; Thou shalt love me with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. They said also: We may perform the works that be due; for we be lords of our own actions. This is a great arrogancy, when as they will make themselves lords, especially of good actions; It is neither in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in the Lord that hath mercy. Howbeit, admit that we be lords of our own doings: doth not the law require, that these things be done willingly? They said that a man may satisfy, not only for himself, but for others also. But if they cannot do it for themselves, much less can they do it for others. I add, that there is none in the world, which at the judgment seat of God, hath this right of forgiving of sins: notwithstanding, by prayer he may help another,

37. If we weigh the parts, which these men make of penance; we shall see, that they are all uncertain. They will have men perpetually to doubt, whether they be contrite or no. The confession is uncertain; no man is able at any time to know, whether he have confessed himself of all things. Satisfactions be uncertain; because they must be made in the state of grace; but as concerning grace, they stand in doubt. Pardons be uncertain; for they grant them unto such as be contrite, and have confessed themselves: but those be doubtful things. If any man will see how uncertain they be, let him read the text and gloss, in the *Extravagants, De poenitentia, & remission peccatorum*, in the chapter that beginneth *Quod autem*. He shall reckon five or six opinions, which endeavor to declare how indulgences or pardons are of force, or not of force; and one of them is less probable than another, and

always the latter the worser. Those things being so uncertain, are no gift: for a doubtful gift is no gift. By their indulgences they corrupt good works: for they take from alms-deeds their appointed end; namely, to be given and bestowed to the glory of God. They say they be given, to the end that punishments may be taken away. They say that indulgences be godly deceits, whereby men are invited or allured to do well. It is a wonder, that they cry out upon us, that we open windows unto sins; seeing they themselves set the gates wide open unto iniquity. When as men know that they may have pardons, they do sin the more boldly. By liberty we all become the worse: for what are indulgences, but licenses to sin? Further, they have in them an intolerable accepting of persons: he that is not rich, is cut short from coming by pardons: pardons dispense with penance enjoined. Howbeit, concerning alms-deeds, fasting's, and prayers, &c. men should not be released from them, but incited to them. Whereas these works were enjoined by the church to them that did penance, they belonged to a certain outward policy: but these men have esteemed them among internal and spiritual things. Those were not then of the substance of the Gospel, neither is it necessary that they should at this day be revived. We have answered to their arguments.

38. There remaineth, that we embrace true repentance which cometh by faith, and that speedily. The matter is not to be driven off from day today: for else that fig tree, which to no purpose occupieth the ground, shall be cut down. Art thou ignorant (saith Paul) that the bountifulness of God calleth thee to repentance? John said; Now is the axe put unto the root. No man knoweth when he shall depart from hence. Christ said; Unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise die. If we will embrace repentance, let us not seek the same in ourselves; let us crave it of God: Christ doth then give it, when he

causeth his preaching to work effectually in our minds. That repentance is the gift of God, the apostle testifieth unto Timothy, when he admonisheth a bishop, that he should diligently teach sound doctrine, if happily God shall give them repentance. Ambrose, in his notable work upon Luke, the tenth book, 22nd chapter; Men (saith he) do then repent, when Christ looketh unto them. And to persuade the same, he addeth: First Peter denied, and wept not, for the Lord looked not towards him: the second time he denied, and wept not; because the Lord looked not towards him: the third time he denied, and wept, because the Lord looked towards him. And yet, to expound the matter more plain, he added; When Peter denied Christ by the fire side, among the servants and handmaidens, he was beneath; but the Lord was within and above: therefore with the outward eye he looked not back upon him, but with the eye of clemency. Further, the mercy of God did secretly help Peter, he touched his heart, he had him in remembrance, and by his grace visited him. The same father, in the sixth book writeth; Whom God hath vouchsafed, them he calleth; and whom he will, those he maketh religious. Seeing we know these things, we must sue unto God for repentance.

Those words so pleased Augustine, as he alleged them in his book De gratia, against Pelagius, and Coelestinus, the 45th and 46th chapters. But let us desire true repentance. There be many, which say, that they repent; but they retain still their ill-gotten goods. Let us constantly desire in faith. But thou sayest; Forgiveness is uncertain, why would Peter else have said unto Simon Magus; Repent and pray, if happily God will forgive thee thine iniquity. This he saith, not to the intent he would make us uncertain of the forgiveness of our sins; but because every man may be certain of himself, and not of another. Therefore he thus speaketh, because he was uncertain,

whether Simon believed. Further, he would the more stir him up unto repentance; that he might understand sin to be a grievous thing, and that it had need of more than ordinary prayer. When we have called upon God for obtaining of repentance, it behooveth, that we prick forwards our own selves with his words: repentance must be preached unto others, and also unto our own selves. And by what words of God a man is chiefly allured, it may be comprehended briefly; to wit, if the death of Christ be diligently preached: for then men do see, how many, and how great things God would have his son to suffer for the taking away of sins. Look in Paul to the Romans, the fifth and sixth chapters.

It also furthereth much, if the life of Christ be set forth, if his godliness be showed; that by comparing the contrary in us, we may understand how far off we be from Christ. Moreover, if we be often put in mind of the promises of God, and the honor of them set forth at large; and that it be showed, that sin doth exclude us from them. Thirdly, if the law itself be urged, and rightly expounded; that we may see what it requireth, and how much we be debtors. There may also out of the scriptures be added examples of repentance, even of such as were excellent men in human worthiness: such were David, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Peter.

These examples show, that this way, which Christ taught, must be followed. The effects must be weighed; namely, refreshing: Christ said; I will refresh you. This repentance worketh marvelous joys; first of all in us; secondly in the church; also among the heavenly company. Christ saith; Greater is the joy in heaven, upon one penitent sinner, than of ninety and nine that are just. This place doth Augustine handle, in his book of Confessions: for Victorinus at that time was converted unto the faith at Rome; a confession whereof he made: a great joy was raised in the church.

Lastly, the mercy of God must be set forth, how ready he is to receive penitents. Hereunto serveth the history of the prodigal child. Further, that which Christ spake of the shepherd, which leaving his whole flock, went to seek for one sheep. Also that which is spoken of the woman, which found a groat, in the 15th of Luke. Let this suffice which we have spoken of repentance.

CHAP. IX. Wherein is treated and discoursed of works of Supererogation, of Purgatory, and of other Papistical corruptions.

But forsomuch as superstitious men do labor, by some places of the scripture, to thrust upon the church many of the works of supererogation; first we will see what the opinion of these men is, and by what reasons they confirm the same; afterward we will bring weighty arguments against their error; further, we will consider what must be determined by the word of God; lastly shall be confuted the reasons, which seem to withstand this discourse. Touching the first, it is taught in the schools; that God is so very good, that whereas he might have compelled us to many, and almost to an infinite number of things; yet would he not bind us so greatly, as he might have done: but in the keeping of the law, he limited us within certain bounds and lattices, within which whosoever shall keep themselves, shall attain unto salvation. But and if so be there be any found so prompt and willing, as they will go beyond the bounds prescribed them in the commandments, that is very lawful; neither is it done without great praise and reward. Wherefore they term such works, not to be works of duty, whereunto we are bound by the law. And seeing such kind of

actions (as they say) be most honest, and most holy, they call them works of supererogation, [that is, an overplus of well deserving:] as though by them we bestow and give more than we are bound to do.

2. For the confirming of these things, they bring the first argument out of the epistle to the Corinthians. It was lawful for Paul, and that by all laws, to take his expenses while he preached; and yet he did not take them: wherefore he gave more than was necessary by the commandment of God. Whereupon he sharply rebuked the Corinthians, saying; I abstained even from those things which were lawful for me, and will not ye temper yourselves from the things that be unlawful? Further, they bring forth the young man, which was desirous to obtain everlasting life: to whom the Lord said; Keep the commandments. Behold (say they) Christ describeth to him a general keeping of the commandments, as being necessary for his salvation. The young man goeth yet further, and testifieth, that he kept those commandments from his childhood. Christ hearing this, looked upon him, and loved him, and said; If thou wilt be perfect, go thy ways, sell all that thou possessest, and give it to the poor, and follow me. This (say they) is a work of supererogation: for he had first as much as was required unto salvation. This did Christ, as being perfect, set before him, which was put to his choice, whether he would do it or no.

Also they bring an argument out of the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, touching sole life or virginity, which state is so freely laid before us, as he which taketh not the same upon him, may have salvation: but he which doth take it upon him, is both commended the more, and is said to do somewhat better. Wherefore the apostle saith; He that giveth his daughter in marriage, doth well: but he that giveth her not, doth better. And he plainly testifieth; that He hath no commandment touching

this matter, but only that he giveth counsel. Whereupon they appoint many evangelical counsels: the which Thomas, and other School-men do thus define; namely, that they be persuasions of a greater good added to the commandments, that a more ready and better end may be attained: the which things do not bind us to assent unto them, but only that we condemn them not; and that as touching the preparation of the mind, we at a certain time both admit and execute them.

They gather a reason also of alms-deeds; as if a man be bound to give the tenth, and he giveth the fifth part; this man (say they) doth undoubtedly more than he is bound to do. Wherefore Christ, in the 21st chapter of Luke, commendeth the poor silly widow, because she, pouring out all her substance, being but one small farthing, offered more than the rest; seeing others gave of that which was overplus unto them: and thus they conclude, that she bestowed more than she was bound to do. Yea moreover, if thou take away from these men the works of supererogation, they shall have no satisfactions for sins: wherein the third part of repentance consisteth: because unto such satisfactions they require works, which otherwise be not due. For if that penitent persons should be bound, in any other respect, to do those things; they should not satisfy for sins. Lastly, I have heard many allege that place out of the epistle to the Romans; For thee are we killed all the day long, we have been counted as sheep appointed to the slaughter; but in all these things we have prevailed, and done more than overcome. It had been enough (say they) to have overcome; but when they do more than overcome, then do they more than they are bound to do.

3. But on the other side, there be many things which overthrow this assertion: for the Lord requireth, that we should love him with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength. Wherefore there is no overplus

in us, that we can give more than is due. For whatsoever we do, we do it with heart, with soul, with mind, and with strength: therefore are we bound, and do owe unto God all that is in us. And Augustine saith in his book *De doctrina christiana*; When he saith, With all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, he hath left nothing in thee untouched: so then thou must refer all thy cogitations, and forces, and labors, unto that end whereunto they were given thee. And whatsoever happeneth unto thee to be beloved, it must of necessity be drawn to that place, whereunto the whole stream of love runneth. But more evidently in his book *De spiritu & litera*, at the end he saith; Seeing we know not God perfectly, while we live here, we cannot perfectly love him: for no man loveth more than he can know. Here we know by a glass, and in a dark saying; now we know in part: whereupon we love in part. In the heavenly habitation we shall fulfill that commandment: and it shall not be fulfilled, unless it be with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the strength. And thus it followeth, that we do not now love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength; but with all these, as they be diminished and abated.

And if peradventure thou wilt demand, why God hath commanded us to keep that which in this life we are not able to do? He answereth; It is done, to the intent that our faith, while it seeth whereunto it must be bent, may make us more earnest in prayers, and endeavor to go forward: so as we will never judge ourselves to become unto the fullness of perfection. Yea, and in religion he doth most of all profit, which beholdeth how far he is from that which he ought to perform. Wherefore it appeareth by these things, that we are so tied in the midst, between the first commandment, as touching the embracing of one God; and the last, which commandeth us to shun all lust:

that there is not in us to do and answer that which is commanded. For whatsoever good thing we do, either in abstaining from the ill, or following of the good, that is contained in these two commandments. Further, Christ said; that The gate is narrow, and the way straight that leadeth unto life. Neither spake he here of overplus of good works, but of such as are necessary unto life. Now then, how dare these men declare those things to be so easy, as not only they may be performed; but also that a great deal more than enough is added by many.

Further, in what sort our works be imperfect, and how there is found a great lack in each one of them; the holy scriptures in every place bear record. Paul unto the Romans doth confess, that he is sold under sin, and plainly saith, that in his flesh dwelleth no good thing: so as he doth not that which he would, but rather that which he would not. In my mind (saith he) I serve the law of God, but in my flesh the law of sin: and I feel another law in my members, resisting the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin and death. And unto the Galatians; So that ye do not those things that ye would. And Job said, that he doth perpetually fear his own works. And in Isaiah; Our righteousness will appear like filthy rags. Wherefore David cried out; Enter not into judgment with thy servant. Which things being on this wise, with what face can we affirm that there be works of supererogation?

4. The words also of Christ, which are in the 17th of Luke, do utterly confute this feigned devise; When ye shall have done all these things, say ye: we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do. Christ would have us thus to say, when we have done that which is well: certainly he would not have us to lie. Wherefore the servants of God, if they do anything, they are bound to do it; neither do they any more than their

duty is to do: for a servant, of what value so ever he be, oweth to his master all that is in him. Besides this, we are bound by the commandment of Christ, to pray continually; Forgive us our trespasses. And in John we read; If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us. And in the epistle of James; In many things we offend all. And in another place; There is no man that liveth upon the earth without sin. And Christ said; that He which trusteth in his riches, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven: whereupon the Apostles marveled, and said; Who is he that can be saved? So far were they off from thinking of the works of supererogation, as there was in them a doubt of salvation itself. Neither did Christ answer them; Ye not only may be saved, but may also attain to an overplus of well doing, and impart thereof to others: but as touching salvation he said; That which is impossible to men, is possible for God. Jeremiah saith; Cursed is he that trusteth in man. And also; Cursed is he that doth the work of God negligently. Here let every man examine himself, and he shall see, whether he do the works of supererogation.

And touching the love of our neighbor, Christ commanded that we should love one another, as he himself loved us, who died for us. Let a man see what he is able to do, as touching these things, over and above that which he ought; when as Christ himself gave his life for them that be weak, and for his enemies. Who seeth not, that we must first do those works that be necessary, before we do aspire to works of supererogation? It were a perverse endeavor for a man to give more than he is bound unto; and not to yield those things which are of duty greatly required. I let pass that which we read in Deuteronomy; God would have nothing to be added unto his law. Seeing then these works, as they say, be not due, they were added over and above unto the law. We know that our actions, whatsoever they shall be,

do partly pertain unto God, and partly unto our neighbor: and in respect of each kind, we are so bound and indebted, as no man seeth himself able to pay. Either it must be said, that these works of supererogation do neither appertain unto God, nor yet unto our neighbor; which is most absurd: or else, that they do appertain unto them, and then all supererogation shall be utterly overthrown.

In the epistle to the Philippians, the 4th chapter, it is written; As to the rest, my brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are worthy of love, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think upon these things, which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me; these things do, and the God of peace shall be with you. Let these sharp-witted men find out, what can be added moreover unto this commandment of Paul. These things the holy Ghost requireth to this end, that the God of peace may be with us. I demand of thee whether thou be able or not, to do anything beyond the law? If thou canst not, wherefore contend we? We agree very well together. But if thou wilt say that thou canst; then say I, that thou art altogether bound by the law, seeing the same requireth both all thy power, and strength, and whatsoever thou canst do. Neither doth it help thee, if thou fain, that these works of supererogation do serve for the removing of impediments, and help us for the more ready serving of God: because I will answer, that we are bound so much as we can, to take away those things which do hinder; in so much as we are not to account of our father and mother, if they call us back from the obedience of God.

Neither is it without pride, and infinite arrogancy, to say, that thou doest more than thou art bound to do: and it is no small injury unto Christ, who

shall be said to have died in vain, if thou mightest be able to perform the law, or to do more than hath been commanded in the same. And it is a marvel how they can affirm, that there be some good works, which if we will not do when we may, yet that we sin nothing at all; seeing it is a most grievous sin, not to be willing to love God more if thou canst. What else will this be, then to deny God to be the chiefest good; when as thou wilt not love him so much as thou canst? Will not that be even to abuse his gift and grace? To this end hath he given thee power to love him more than thou doest love, that the same should neither be in vain, nor rest idle.

5. They have used to say, that it may be, that sometimes, by reason of our infirmity and weakness, we miss of our duty in the commandments which be necessary to salvation: and yet, that in the meantime, we take in hand certain works that be not due. But I will ask them, what manner of works (I beseech you) be these? To live loosely and sometime shamefully, and to provide that certain Masses may be said for them, to take pilgrimages in hand, to make a choice of meats, and other things of like sort: or else, to bind himself by a vow of single life, and to forsake his parents, to rehearse every day a full number of small prayers, no whit reforming his life [and manners,] and to repose a confidence in these works, as though thou shouldest by them have salvation, and excel all other men. These be verily the works of supererogation, vain (I mean,) superfluous, and (to say as the Greeks do) ἔργα πάρεργα, that is, Works and by works: of which the Lord shall say in his judgment, as we read in Isaiah; Who hath required these things at your hands? Whie do ye lay out money and not for bread? Thou seemest (will they say) to persuade a certain desperation: undoubtedly this I affirm, that we despair of our own strength, and not of the favor, grace, and mercy of God, whereby he giveth strength to enter into an obedience of the

law: and that he imputeth not unto us the sin which we commit, but maketh the righteousness of his son our Lord Jesus Christ common unto us.

6. Now that we have alleged reasons, and that out of the scriptures, against this assertion, we think it good to set down what may seem meet to be determined in this disputation. First of all we grant, that the observation of the law is diverse, and after many sorts among the faithful, by reason of the diversity of degrees: for all men tread not alike in the same; which ariseth, through the difference of men's strength and ableness. All men cannot do alike, every man hath his measure of faith distributed unto him by God. And there are found among the Christians, not only some, which do negligently; but those also, which sometimes fall, and that into most grievous sins, for which they deserve to be excluded from the kingdom of heaven, unless they should repent: which thing is always granted unto them, that are predestinated unto eternal life. Wherefore there be found diverse degrees of keeping the law, unto the lesser sort of which degrees, they that be weak of strength do attain: and though there be much wanting in them, yet have they salvation; because the mercy of God through faith in Christ supplieth their want. But they which be the stronger sort, and go forward beyond the lowest degrees, do not more than is their duty to do; seeing they have a greater power and ability. Wherefore they are without all doubt bound to do more; and if they go not so far forward, as they can, they sin. So that there is in a manner none to be found, which is not specially guilty of this vice; namely, that he doth less than he ought to do.

And to speak briefly, the law of God may be considered two manner of ways: either as it is given generally, and may be exacted of men by outward judgment; in which respect I would grant, that something may be done of us, besides that which in man's judgment is exacted generally of all men.

For they, which be the stronger, do more than the weaker and common sort of other men; unto which things no man by external judgment might compel them. Even as Paul received no sustenance of the churches, therefore he proceeded further than other teachers, and pastors: and for the doing hereof, he could not be compelled by any law of men. Again, the law may be considered of, according as God hath required the same of us in his own judgment. And then in our actions we can do nothing, that we are not bound unto: for God very well knoweth what we are able to do, seeing our strength came from him; and he himself strictly requireth so much of us, as we are able to do through him. Which if we shall not perform, we are by his judgment accounted guilty: the which thing men cannot judge, who know not how much we are able to do. So then, that our conscience may be quiet, we must not consider what is required of us by the rule of man; but so much as our own strength is able to bear. These things if we thus determine, all things will be made manifest and plain. Wherefore let us now take in hand to confute the arguments of our adversaries.

7. Touching the place of Paul, it is manifest, that he had not any respect to supererogation: for he said, that it was better for him to die, than that any man should make this rejoicing of his in vain. But there is none that would choose to die, to have an overplus of good works. And he addeth further, that he in performing of this, shall have a reward: as though otherwise he should want the same. Which is not convenient in works that be not due: for though the adversaries in these things appoint some reward; yet (as I think) they appoint them not so, as in other necessary works it should not be hoped for. Wherefore, if Paul should not have had a singular reward for this thing, yet in taking of necessities for life as well as others, when he preached; he should not have lacked his reward. He added moreover; That I abuse not

mine authority: which if he had committed, there is none but seeth, that it had been sin; seeing it is never lawful for a Christian man to abuse his authority. Doeth he not afterward say; That I may win many? And by the commandment of loving our neighbor, every man is bound (to his power) to engraft as many unto God as he can. Neither did the apostle, by this his singular example, endeavor any other thing, than to take away the occasions and offenses, whereby the Corinthians might have been drawn back from their salvation. But the Lord commanded with great severity, that offenses should be removed. Neither is it true, that he did compare together that which was of necessity, and that which he did of his own accord: for (as we have declared) he said, that it stood him in hand of necessity to preach the Gospel; and that woe should be to him, if he did not perform the same. But he addeth: that he might do this work rightly, and with profit, it was so to be determined, that he should freely plant the Gospel; otherwise he had given an offense, and had abused his authority. And because he was willing of his own accord to obey God, therefore he gladly and willingly did that, which was to be done.

8. Touching the young man that came unto Christ, we have spoken elsewhere: and now we say again, that he did arrogate over-much unto himself. For he was blinded in the error of our adversaries, and would do more than the law had required: for this cause he was reprov'd by Christ. This man sought righteousness and eternal life by works: for he said; What shall I do to attain unto everlasting life? Christ answered him unto his demand; If that salvation must be sought by works, the whole law ought to be fulfilled. Furthermore, he reduced the young man (who had an ill opinion, as touching the observation of the law) from the path of error, unto the way of life; to the intent he might perceive, how far he was from keeping the

commandments of God, by that which Christ commanded him. Neither doth it hinder, that because it is said, that Christ looked on him, and loved him: doubtless he entreated him courteously; neither did sharply reprove him, as his arrogancy deserved. Certainly he might have said; O hypocrite! Why dost thou boast thyself, as though thou hadst satisfied the law, whereas thou art so far from doing the same? His endeavor pleased also Christ, in that he seemed desirous of salvation: and so did his study, which from his childhood he bestowed in the law. And finally it might be, that this young man pertained to the number of them that were predestinate: touching the success of whose life, the scriptures make no mention; only we hear that he went his way. There is no mention made of his blasphemies or contumelies vainly spoken against Christ. If he had loved Christ with all his heart, and with all his strength; seeing he heard that God required this by Christ, that he should distribute his goods unto the poor; he would not have lingered. Therefore he learned by the words of Christ how smally he had profited.

9. It was objected unto us as touching virginity and sole life, according as it is entreated of these things in the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. We answer, that Paul understood [good and better] not for a thing either more grateful, or more acceptable to God; seeing there be oftentimes married folks, which please God, more than such as live a sole life: but he taketh those words for that which is more commodious, or commodiously. For in matrimony there do happen more occupations than there do in single life; not always indeed, yet for the most part. Those men feign I wot not what of counsels, as though they may be given of a better good thing, and of that which is more than due. But (as it hath been proved) whatsoever good thing we can devise, it is contained in the law of God. Yet we grant, that if thou have respect to all mankind, sole life and matrimony

might after a sort be called counsels; in this sense I mean, that one and the same state is not convenient for all sorts of men. So then, according as we shall perceive either the one or the other of these to be fit for any man, that we must counsel him unto. Wherefore Paul said, that he hath no precept, whereby he should comprise and constrain all men: but I give counsel (saith he) namely, that every man take hold of that which shall be profitable for himself. Further, if thou shalt particularly have respect unto men, which burn in lust, and be not continent; these have commandment to marry, and it is not in their liberty and choice to live a sole life. So as it cannot properly be called counsel, in respect of them; as though the matter were put in their power and choice. And again, they which have the gift of sole life, and are in the same state and vocation, and do well perceive themselves to do better without matrimony, and see that their sole life may stand them in great stead to advance the glory of God, they should sin by refusing of that state: for they ought to follow the example of Paul.

But we in no wise admit this doctrine of counsels, by which these men reckon many of the commandments of God among counsels: such as are the forbidding to revenge injuries, the turning of our cheek unto him that striketh us, the letting go of our cloak and coat to him that will take it; and such other like things. For these be commandments of God, whereof the Lord hath pronounced, that he who shall break the least of them, shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Also he said; Unless your righteousness shall more abound than the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But it will not abound, unless we so understand the law, as Christ hath interpreted it. As touching the widow which offered with others; we answer, that she might not have been constrained by the judgment of man, to have poured out all her substance in

that offering. But God, who had given her strength beforehand, that she should be content to make so great an offering, and knew right well how much she was able to give, would have accused her by his own judgment, unless she had offered according to the strength wherewith her mind was prepared.

As touching satisfactions, we pass not much what they say; seeing we understand that those were altogether vain and superfluous, yea and contumelious against Christ: for they seemed therefore to be used, as though that Christ had not abundantly satisfied for us. But if that by satisfying, they understand; a man to approve himself unto God, (according as I have above declared) we well allow of the word: but it will not serve their purpose. For to satisfy God in that sort, is to render unto him those things which we do owe unto him. That which lastly they brought out of the epistle to the Romans; namely, that the apostle saith; We have more than overcome, it is so frivolous, as I think it scarce worth the answering. For there Paul only sheweth the large and plentiful victory, which the Lord giveth unto his people against temptations.

10. But because there be certain places not to be over-skipped, which seem to be against our assertion, wherein we affirmed, that in the works of godly men there is a great want; seeing in the scriptures they be called imperfect works: now will I allege those places, and make answer unto them. We read in Deuteronomy, and also in the book of Genesis; Be thou perfect. And in the gospel; Be ye perfect, as your heavenly father is perfect. Unto the Corinthians; From henceforth brethren rejoice, be ye perfect. Unto the Colossians; Exhorting every man, teaching them all wisdom, that we may make a perfect man in Christ. Unto the Philippians; Do all things without any murmuring, that ye may be blameless and pure children of

God, without spot. Unto the Ephesians; Blessed be God, and the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all spiritual blessing in heavenly things, that we should be holy and without blame before him. And in that epistle it is written of the church, that Christ cleansed the same, to the intent he might make it unto himself a glorious church, having neither spot nor wrinkle, that it may be holy and without blame, &c. And Peter exhorteth, that we should be holy and without blame in our conversation: because it is written; Be ye holy, for I am holy. And David saith; I shall be unrebukable before him. And again; Blessed are they that are undefiled in the way. Which testimonies seem to tend unto this; namely, that we should not think our perfection to be without hope of recovery in this life.

Augustine in a little book of his, entitled *De justitia Christi*, against Coelestinus, that is in the seventh tome, objecteth all these testimonies against himself, and answereth by these points. He will in these places, that certain things be so spoken, as they may be exhortations, by the which we are stirred up to walk perfectly. But in laws and admonitions it is not required, that we should perform so much as is persuaded; but there is showed how far we ought to endeavor (as now it hath been said) touching the precept, which is given unto us for the loving of God with all the heart, with all the mind, and with all the strength. Another chief point is, that many of these things do show, not what manner of persons we be now; but such as we shall become in the end, when this life hath run his course: for then we shall be perfect, when we shall be thoroughly come to the place whither we tend. The third point is, that by unblameable and perfect persons, he understandeth them which be without damnable crimes: and such should they be, that are chosen ministers of the church. After which sort it is written, that many of the saints have been perfect: not as though

they committed not some sins, which is an impossible thing in this life; but because they led their life without doing of the damnable and the grosser sins. Wherefore, although they were innocent after this manner, yet with others they were constrained to pray; Forgive us Lord our trespasses. Lastly he answereth, that the godly sort lived as innocent, perfect, and unblameable; because infirmities and sins committed, shall not be imputed unto them, by reason of their faith in Christ: according to the saying of David; Blessed be they, whose iniquities are remitted, and whose sins be covered: blessed is the man, unto whom the Lord hath imputed no sin.

Of Purgatory, the Papistical fire.

11. But now let us speak of purgatory. It is feigned to be a middle place after this life, between everlasting felicity, and the punishments of damned souls; in such wise as they which be there, are after a sort partakers of both. For in so much as they be adorned with grace, and be confirmed with hope, that felicity shall be given unto them, and do suffer punishments with a patient mind, they be counted among the number of the saints and blessed souls. But in that they be tormented, and do suffer grievous and manifold kinds of punishments, in that respect they draw near unto the lot and condition of them that are in hell fire. And they add, that purgatory punishments have not only an end and a set term; but that it may be eased by the good works and prayers of them that be alive. The adversaries endeavor by many reasons, to persuade, that we must grant that there is such a place, as we have here defined. Out of the Old Testament they cite the history of the *Machabeis*, where we read, that Judas (a man well commended) did believe, that the prayer for the dead to be delivered from their sins, is both comfortable and godly. Further, they fly unto Zechariah the prophet, where we read in the 9th chapter; Thou hast loosed thy

prisoners out of the pit wherein was no water. Also the 4th chapter of Ecclesiastes; Otherwhile a man cometh forth of prison and chains, and is made a king. They bring also the psalm, where David saith; We passed through fire and water, and thou broughtest us forth into a place of refreshing.

Moreover, they repair unto the New Testament, and say, that in the Gospel there is such a kind of sin, as shall neither be forgiven in this world, nor yet in the other world: which then might not be spoken (say they) unless there should remain purging's of sins in another life. And they object that saying in Matthew; Least the Gaoler cast thee into prison, verily I say unto thee, thou shalt not depart thence, until thou have paid the uttermost farthing. Also they bring that which is spoken by Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the 3rd chapter; But he himself shall be saved, as it were by fire, &c. To this purpose also they would have that to tend, which is said of beggarly Lazarus full of botches, and of the riotous rich man. They pretend also that place in the Apocalypse, where it is read; that No impure thing shall be admitted into the holy city. And they think that to make on their side, which Paul writeth; to wit, that All knees shall bow unto God, both of things that be in heaven, and things that be in earth, and things that be under the earth. Again, they cite the Apocalypse, in the 5th chapter; that All creatures which are in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, &c. shall speak praises unto God. These, and such other places of scripture, they think do make for them.

12. But we must mark this, that the assertion of them, which would needs have a purgatory, is not one and the same. For some will force it to be as a sure doctrine, and an article of faith. Others do not so resolutely and constantly affirm the same, but only they suppose and have opinion, that

such a thing there is. First therefore it seemeth good to show, that it belongeth not to the articles of our faith, and that it is not a thing of necessity to be believed. Secondly, we will make it plain, whether either the opinion or suspicion, whereby purgatory is believed, be reasonable or just. As touching them which do affirm that the doctrine of purgatory is of necessity, we must needs absolutely hold, that the doctrine and articles of our faith ought to be certain and steadfast; and are most plainly to be proved by testimonies of the scriptures. For we are not of their opinion, which will make the Fathers or men to be authors of believing of things: for we should judge of the holy Ghost contumeliously, if we should think that such scriptures were delivered to us, in the which is not wholly and perfectly contained whatsoever belongeth to our salvation. The epistle unto Timothy doth sufficiently reprove these men, when it saith; that The scripture inspired by God, is profitable to teach and confute, and also to correct and instruct, that the man of God may be perfect and sincere, and instructed to every good work. Wherefore, if thou bring any work that thou affirmest to be good, or anything necessary to be believed, which cannot be confirmed by the holy scriptures; I truly would rather not say, that the things which thou hast brought are not good or profitable, than to pronounce otherwise of the scripture than the apostle hath judged thereof.

For we must not admit that which they commonly vaunt of; namely, that the apostles taught not all things, nor that the primitive church commanded all, whatsoever should be for our comfort: as though it were necessary day by day afterward, that more things should be made manifest. This perhaps we might grant as touching politic government, and of things not necessary to salvation; but as touching doctrine, and the articles of faith necessarily to be believed, the ancient Fathers had all no less than we have, Tertullian in

his book *De praescriptionibus*, saith; Happy is the church, unto the which the apostles have poured out their whole doctrine with their blood. Christ said also; All those things which I have heard of my father, I have made them known unto you. These men say; that indeed all things were insinuated by the apostles, but that the apostles did not make all things known unto us. Here say we, that they, although they wrote not all things; yet they provided that those things, which they taught, may be manifestly inferred by those things which be written, either by themselves, or in other holy books. For otherwise, sundry superstitions received in old time, would everywhere be boasted of, as things delivered by the apostles: which things can no other ways be known, but because they be altogether strange from the scriptures. And that which I have affirmed, we may prove out of the scriptures themselves. There is a tradition of Paul, that A woman should have her head covered in the church, and should be silent in that place: and that the Christians, which be poor, should labor with their hands, least they should live idlily. But these things, seeing he confessed to be his traditions, he endeavored to prove them by the holy scriptures. Thus let our adversaries do, if they will have any place to be left for their traditions.

13. But to return to our purpose. Very oftentimes there hath been a doubt made of purgatory: and the Greek church in the council of Florence long resisted. And it is a wicked thing to expound the places of the scripture, which are brought for the proof of this opinion, otherwise than the proper and lawful interpretation doth require. But those places being understood on this wise, they leave no place for purgatory: as we shall perceive, when we come to the declaration of the same. Augustine also spake diversely of purgatory: for in his *Enchiridion* unto Laurence, in the 66th chapter, and again, about the end of the 68th chapter writeth; that It is not incredible, but

that there happeneth some such thing after this life: yet he saith, a question may be moved, whether it be so or no, and that it may or may not be. The very which words he plainly writeth unto Dulcitius, question the first. Also in his treatise *De fide & operibus*, the 16th chapter he saith; Whether therefore men suffer these things only in this life, or else whether some such judgments do also follow after this life, it is not far (as I think) from reason. He useth, as thou mayest see, a disjunctive speech: and that the same be true, it sufficeth that either part be true. But of an article of faith, who would speak so doubtfully, as to say; whether Christ had true flesh or fantastical; whether in Christ were the divine nature, or only the human nature: and such other sayings? Those things which belong unto faith, must of necessity be defined, and ought to be certain. The very same Father in the 12th book *De civitate Dei*, the 26th chapter, speaking of the fire of purgatory; I do not (saith he) reprove this, because peradventure some such thing is. But as touching those things, which are necessary to be believed unto salvation, it is not lawful either to write or deal in that sort. Thou wilt say perhaps; Although Augustine in these places seem to be doubtful, yet that in other places he doth certainly affirm it. I answer, that those places, wherein he seemeth to affirm it, must be interpreted by these four other places, in which he hideth not the ambiguity of the thing. Whereby we must confess, that he was rather persuaded thereof by a certain opinion, than that he believed it so to be without all doubt: because the nature of an opinion is, that we give an assent, not without some fear or doubt, that the contrary opinion is true.

14. But me thinketh, this maketh very much against this feigned devise; that the holy scriptures have passed over in silence, and made no mention of this so great a work of charity; whereby brethren, parents, and children

might be released from the most grievous vexations of purgatory. Assuredly, this were very much to be wondered at. In the Old Testament it is very diligently set forth, that funerals were extolled; for Abraham bought a field for the burial of his wife. The cave is described, the price is expressed, and all such things are so diligently recited, as thou canst not think anything to be over-skipped: where notwithstanding there is not any mention made, either of purgatory, or of ridding the soul of him that is departed from the pains thereof, either by sacrifices or prayers. And in Leviticus, and other books, wherein the law is described; seeing there be sacrifices and oblations described for all states of men, and for every kind of fault: who will not marvel, that there was nothing appointed for the dead, and that there was so deep silence as concerning the purging of souls in purgatory? The prophets also, being excellent interpreters of the law, when in every place they do commend the duties of godliness and charity, never set forth unto us in their sermons anything that might provoke and draw us once to think hereof.

Paul, having the like occasion offered unto him, when he wrote unto the Thessalonians (for he taught how to use mourning's in funerals, and those whom he admonisheth, he only encourageth with the hope of resurrection) should at the least wise in that place have admonished, that setting aside tears for them which they loved dearly, they should pray, that they might not long be vexed with the pains of purgatory. He bringeth no such thing, but after the doctrine of resurrection, at the end of his exhortation, he saith; Therefore comfort yourselves one another with these words. Yea and Dionysius, whom they call Areopagita, in his treatise *De Hierarchia ecclesiastica*, when he purposely demandeth the question, why the minister of the church hath prayers for him that is already dead, he maketh no mention of purgatory; but laboreth earnestly to show other causes. But if he

had believed, that there is a purgatory; he might very easily have satisfied the question propounded: but it seemeth, that he would rather determine of anything, than to teach, that by those prayers the souls of them that were departed, should be delivered from the pains of purgatory.

15. But now let us see how the holy scriptures be against this opinion. In the fifth of John it is written; He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, shall not come into judgment, but hath life everlasting, and passeth out of death unto life. If Christ say, that they which believe, pass forth out of death unto life; how is it decreed by these men, that they which die in faith do pass into pains and torments? I know, they be wont to say, that therefore it is spoken, that a man shall pass into life; because at length he shall have it, albeit he must in the meantime be somewhat punished in purgatory. But how much this exposition serveth to the purpose, it is showed in the 14th chapter of the Apocalypse; Blessed be they which die in the Lord. They will answer, that they are therefore blessed which die in Christ; because they be sure of felicity, although those fires remain for a certain time.

But admit it were so, let us look upon the sequel: it appeareth that they are therefore called happy, because they may rest from their labors; but to burn with fire is not to rest from labors. It is added also; Because their works follow them. Wherefore, seeing that they were the servants of God, that they lived well, and suffered many things while they lived, (as of necessity it must happen to all godly men:) it is meet that they should have a reward, and (as the scripture there showeth) that they should rest from their labors. But if that they will in any wise contend, that they which have lived rightly, have yet some blemish and corruptions that must be purged; what answer (I beseech you) will they make as concerning the thief? Did not he behave

himself ill, even until the end; seeing of his naughty demeanor, as well the public judgment, as the holy scriptures do give an evident testimony? Yet did Christ say unto him; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. And these things be spoken against them, which would have purgatory to be a doctrine or opinion, that must of necessity be believed, and an article of our faith.

16. Now let us deal with them, who are led by opinion to believe the same. And albeit they may pretend many causes, why they should suspect the same to be, (for Plato, among the Ethnics, and together with him many notable Poets have ordained a purging of souls by many kinds of pains after this life:) yet very likely it is, that they were chiefly driven to think thus, through ecclesiastical satisfactions; wherein in we ought to beware, least we diminish the merit of the cross and death of Christ, by ascribing unto our works, that which specially and solely is granted unto him; to wit, that he should forgive sins, and redeem us from eternal damnation. We grant, that the church, even from the beginning used satisfactions; which were only invented, to the intent that they, which fell into grievous sins, should be proved by the Ministers, and by the whole church, whether they earnestly repented or no of their offenses committed. For such men being excluded by reason of their sins, from the communion of the faithful; because they might redeem the ignominy, and be reconciled, did sometime dissemble a repentance, and deceived the expectation of the godly. For to the great offense of the brethren, they were perceived to be again admitted unto the sacraments; being not amended, as they which still cleaved unto their wickedness.

Wherefore satisfactions being added, both they were tried: and, though God were not satisfied, yet the church (after a sort) was edified; the which

they by their wicked acts had both hurt and dishonored. Which thing Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, unto Laurence, in the 65th chapter testifieth; for the repentance and groanings of one man, seeing they pertain unto the mind, are not known and made evident unto others: wherefore tokens of repentance are required for satisfaction of the church. And it is a common saying, that satisfaction is an occasion to cut off sins; so that men thereby should have no more recourse unto them: by reason whereof it brought some fruit, not only unto the church, but unto him also that was penitent. And it is sometime read among the Fathers, that the penitent persons used to obtain remedies for the wounds of their sins, by the means of such ecclesiastical satisfactions; namely, in this sense, because instead of ill actions they did put good in place: and they which offended the church, did by their wholesome example make amends; and they which had been accustomed to many sins, [bid] themselves to do well.

Cyprian, in his sermon *De lapsis*, calleth satisfaction the confession of the three children, which they made, when they were put into the fire: and also the confession of Daniel, which we read in the sixth chapter of his book. And the same martyr seemeth to draw satisfactions out of the prophet Joel, when as he exhorteth men, that they should turn unto the Lord in all their heart, in fasting, in mourning, and weeping; so as they should not rent their garments, but rather their hearts. And it is to be thought, that the incestuous man, which by the commandment of the apostle was excommunicated, showed such tokens of repentance: in so much as the apostle, in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, commended him unto the church; least perhaps he should be overwhelmed with too much sorrow. Howbeit, all these things at this day are taken away, seeing the discipline of the church is almost utterly lost: which thing nevertheless I would not have so to be restored, as

they should become an intolerable yoke, and should at length be drawn to superstition.

17. In the Nicene and Ancyran Synod, and in certain others, mention is made of these satisfactions; and there are specified diverse degrees of repentance. We may observe, that those laudable customs degenerated by little and little into laws: so as in the decrees, and especially in Brocard, there be extant penitential canons, and in such sort extant, as they are grown into an exceeding multitude; whereby they are become so intolerable, that they lie contemned; neither could men endure them any longer. Yet they being led by a false persuasion, as though they might not obtain salvation, if those satisfactions were intermitted, they desired that the bishops might release them of the same. And from thence had indulgences their beginning, which also began to be redeemed for money. And superstition took so deep root, as he that had not by this means, while he lived, either abidden punishment, or else redeemed the same for money, was thought, that after his death he should pay them in purgatory, and that with grievous punishments; as though God would in any wise, that the laws which the church hath made, should be established.

It appeareth therefore, that even through the satisfactions of the church, no small occasion is given unto purgatory; and that, which in the beginning was decreed of no ill purpose, is grown in time to a most grievous abuse. For who will not account it a grievous crime, that he, which a few days past, was an open adulterer, and a manifest murderer, should (upon the sudden) be brought to the table of Christ, and be reconciled unto the church; when he is neither tried nor proved, yea without testimony of any true repentance? Neither do we say, that these works of satisfaction were unprofitable, while discipline was of strength in the church: for besides the

commodities, which a little before we recited, this also was an excellent thing; namely, that by them faith was exercised, and did more and more apprehend the promises of God: not by the merit or worthiness of the works, but by reason of a more vehement attention of faith. But this we most inveigh against; to wit, that God should be thought to be pleased with men for these works sake; seeing this honor must only be given unto Christ.

And let us note, that To satisfy, is otherwhile (as saith Asconius) To do only so much as is sufficient to an angry man for revenge: but this none of us is able to do; namely, to recompense the wrath of God so much as we were bound to do. This did Christ only perform. But there is another signification of this word among the Latins; as is, To answer unto the judgment and opinion conceived of him: even as Cicero writeth in his first familiar epistle unto Lentulus; I in all duty, or rather piety towards thee, do satisfy all other men, but myself I never satisfy, &c. And in this sort did the fathers sometime write; not that God is satisfied with these ecclesiastical punishments: but because in edifying the church in this wise, by rendering of good actions in the stead of evil, and by exercising of our faith, we approve ourselves unto God; and answer unto the opinion and duty which is required of penitents, obedience at the least wise being begun.

18. But now, in the place of these satisfactions, which perhaps were not in all respects to be disallowed, there hath succeeded an abuse of auricular confession; wherein the papistical priests do enjoin private satisfactions: in which doing they err two manner of ways. First, in that they absolve from sins, before such satisfactions be done; whereas the true and ancient order required those satisfactions, before that either peace or absolution should be declared. Moreover, they will have, that such satisfactions as these, should consist of works, otherwise not due unto God: where nevertheless,

whatsoever work is good, the same is due unto him; and that which is not due unto him, is not to be accounted good. There happeneth also a third error: for because they say, that by virtue of the keys, perpetual punishments are converted into temporal pains. This only pertaineth unto Christ; namely, to deliver from eternal death: therefore it is written in Osee; O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy plague. And some of the School-men dare write that which is altogether intolerable and wicked; to wit, that such private satisfactions are also of strength, if (as they speak) they be truly paid in deadly sin. And thus they attribute that, which belonged to Christ, unto our works; being such works, as proceed neither of faith, nor yet of charity.

But Isaiah crieth out against these men; Ye are sold for naught, and ye be redeemed without money. And Paul teacheth, that Justification is without works, and is offered unto God freely. Neither must we give ear unto them, which would these sort of sayings to have place in our first conversation, and in baptism: but and if we fall afterward, they affirm, that we ourselves ought to satisfy: as who would say, that after baptism, Christ were not our mediator as before. John, writing unto them which already believed in Christ, and were baptized, If we have sinned, we have Christ our advocate and intercessor with the father. And Ezekiel; In what hour soever an unjust man shall depart from his unrighteousness, I will no more remember his unrighteousness. And that God will forget, and not remember, is as much to say, as he will not punish, nor take revenge of any man. Wherefore Augustine upon the psalm; Blessed be they, whose iniquities be forgiven, &c: writeth of God, that he doth not mark our sins, because he will not punish them. And in Leviticus, sacrifice was required for sins; that it might

be notified, how the purging of them was to be sought only from the death of Christ.

19. Perhaps thou wilt demand; Shall we not require something of him that is penitent, when he confesseth himself to have sinned? Yes verily, even that he cut off the causes of sins; and when he hath given an offense, let him edify, that he may bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. And as it is said unto the Romans; As ye have given your members to serve uncleanness unto iniquity, so now give your members to be the armor of righteousness, &c. And these things ought not to be commanded for escaping of the pains of purgatory; or to the intent that eternal death should be changed into temporal death: because that God, when he forgiveth the fault, doth also deliver from punishments. But if that he seem sometimes to afflict them, whom he hath already received into grace; those scourges, which are so laid upon us, are not to be called punishments, but are fatherly corrections: as it shall be said else-where. But admit we should grant, these scourges of God to be punishments; yet do they nothing further our adversaries. For so much as they shall be called temporal punishments; the which God hath not put under the power of the keys, that they should be ordered by them: seeing God hath distributed them at his own pleasure, and doth oftentimes turn them away, or mitigate them, according as he is called upon by the saints, and as he seeth them to be converted unto him earnestly and with true repentance: as it may plainly appear in Hezekiah, and in the Ninevites.

In which sense that may be understood, which is written in Daniel; Redeem thou thy sins with alms: that is to say; thy punishments, which remain by the severity of God's judgment. Or else understand the same on this wise; Even as thou hast afflicted the poor, and hast oppressed them that be weak; so on the other part, take thou pity upon them. So that [To redeem]

is To put that which is good, in the place of that which is evil. God punisheth not the faithful sort like a revenger and judge, but he chasteneth them as a father. Neither doth he always, and of all men exact punishments after sins be forgiven: for he hath forgiven many sins to many, without laying those punishments upon them. For unto the thief he said; This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. And the Publican, which prayed; Have mercy upon me a sinner, went his way justified. And Peter; when he had forsworn Christ, only wept, and was received into grace. Whereupon as touching his repentance, Ambrose wrote; I read of the tears of Peter, but I read not of his satisfaction. Also, it was said unto the man sick of the palsy; Son, thy sins are forgiven thee; neither did the Lord require any other thing of him.

20. They are wont to object, that the woman, which was a sinner, did therefore obtain remission of sins; because she washed the Lord's feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and anointed him with precious ointment. They cry out, that all these things were satisfactions for sins. Howbeit these men ought to consider, that our Savior showed how sins were forgiven to that woman in two respects. First, when he said unto her; Thy faith hath made thee whole: and this way was a right way, as an effect proceeding from the causes; namely, from the mercy of God, which that woman comprehended by faith. Further, unto the Pharisee (which could not perceive the faith that lay hidden in the woman's mind) he showed, that her sins were pardoned and forgiven her for another cause; to wit, that seeing he loveth most, to whom most is forgiven; and that the Pharisee saw, that that woman loved Christ more than he did, he might thereby know, that she was no longer a sinner, but a true justified woman. And he showeth by tokens of charity, that she most loved him; the which tokens she did at his feet, in the

sight of all men. Wherefore it is certain, that these effects of love, which these men call satisfactions, are not done before justification, but do rather follow after the same.

21. And whereas these men feign, that souls do satisfy through pains and torments in purgatory, after this life; they are very repugnant unto the saying of Cyprian, who in the end of his book against Demetrianus, writeth; When we shall pass from hence, there shall neither be place for repentance, neither yet effect of satisfaction. The adversaries are wont to pretend unto this their opinion an endeavor of pity, because they will not esteem them to be damned, which are departed in the confession of Christ; when as nevertheless they should be detained in some blemish of their sins. But it is a foolish pity, which doth drive us to decree those things, which we are ignorant of, whether they make to the glory of God, and cannot be showed out of the holy scriptures. Further, we are bound to love God with all our strength, and with all our soul. And we ought neither to appoint nor begin anything, which we know not to be allowed by him, or that shall make to his glory. But purgatory maketh many to be negligent of living well; because they suppose, that by their riches they may easily purchase men to pray for them, when they be dead. The very which inconvenience followed the opinion of Origin, wherein he affirmed, that the punishment of damned souls should at one time or other finish.

Whereby appeareth, that this opinion of purgatory, neither edified the church, neither yet provoked men unto godly life: and therefore it was not prudently devised. And further, by this devise, many poor folks are defrauded of just alms: and an intolerable market of Popes pardons break forth. Also by this abuse is maintained the slothfulness of Monks, and popish priests; who, that they may be well maintained, and that through

their prayers they may release the pains of men's souls in purgatory, the right heirs in undutiful testaments are skipped over: so as all things in a manner are given to the fat paunches of these men. Here are all things uncertain. They which judge, that the souls of them that be departed in the faith of Christ, be not forthwith admitted into the heavenly rest; how can they know that such persons be tormented by fires? Unto whom also, if thou shouldest grant, that they are afflicted with flames; how will they prove, that they can be holpen by our prayers and suits?

22. But and if we should suffer the suspicions of men to take place, perhaps some will be found, which for purgatory will appoint (as I may say) an eruditory or instructing place, wherein the souls of infidels, which in this life had nothing of Christ; or the souls of rude persons and of infants, which were never taught, may yet there at the least wise learn, and obtain an occasion of believing. For unto some it will seem an unmeet thing, that either ignorant men should be damned eternally; or else that those, which be not yet adorned with the knowledge of God, should be brought into the kingdom of heaven. And many other such things (seeing there be an abundance of errors) may be feigned. Now have we seen, that purgatory is no opinion necessary to be believed. Further, if by suspect and opinion it be received, it hath weak and slender reasons to cleave unto; and it rather hindereth godliness, than furthereth the same. Wherefore they which be of an opinion, that there is purgatory, do not well; if they obtrude the same unto the church to be believed: in which church, as things to be believed, nothing must be taught, but that which certainly and undoubtedly may be proved by the scriptures.

23. Now there remaineth, that we confute the arguments, which were set forth at the beginning. First was objected a place out of the 2nd book of

Machabeis, which can be no hindrance to the truth; because those books be none of the canonical scriptures. But these men say, that although the Hebrews have not those books; yet that our church hath received them. I grant that the church hath received them, but (as Cyprian testified in the exposition of the Creed) to the intent they should be read in the church, but not that our faith should thereby be confirmed. In the which place, the blessed martyr reckoned up the canonical books, and added; These be the books, out of which the fathers would have the grounds of our faith to consist. And Jerome, when he citeth the books of the *Machabeis*, is wont to add; If any man will believe them or receive them. Augustine also, against the second epistle of Gaudentius, saith; that They were received, but not equally with the books of the law, the prophets, and the psalms: yet he saith, that they be not unprofitable, so they be read and heard discretely. Discretely I say, that we may judge, wherein they either consent or disagree with the scriptures.

Also Melito, bishop of Sardine, in the recital which he maketh of the canonical books unto Eusebius, reckoneth not these books among them. Epiphanius also over-skipped them. Unto these things add, that in those books is the history of one Razias, who killed himself, because he would not come into the hands of his enemies; and there both the man and his acts are commended; whose example, in the time of Augustine, the Circumcellion's did abuse, when as they did violently murder themselves: wherefore Augustine, against the Donatists, labored much to defend the book; but how much he profited, let other men judge. To conclude, at the end of these books it is read; If I have written well, that was my desire; but if I have spoken slenderly and barely, I have done that I could. Which words are not beseeming, where the holy Ghost is author.

24. Secondly, there was brought Zechariah the ninth chapter. But by the lake, wherein no water was, Jerome expressly understandeth hell; where there is no mercy: the which being prepared for us, worthily are we redeemed from thence by Christ. Also the place is expounded by some, to be that receptacle or room, wherein the souls of the fathers were, before Christ ascended into heaven; from whence, by the benefit of him, they were delivered, and carried into heaven: yea, and Jerome affirmeth, that in the same lake, the riotous rich man was in torments. Whereby it appeareth, that their exposition of purgatory faileth. Also the sentence of Ecclesiastes, wherein it is said; Out of bonds and prisonments, some are otherwhile advanced unto kingdoms, serveth nothing unto this purpose, seeing in that place there is only a discourse of the daily alteration of things. And Gregory the bishop of Pontus, who was of Laodicea, saith (as Jerome citeth:) Even as a king, who is both a fool, and an old man, may be easily cast out of his kingdom; so on the other side, a young man, although he be poor, so he be wise, may be advanced from a low state, unto a kingdom. But Origin and Victorinus turn it to an allegory, and say; that An old king, and To be cast out, betokeneth unto us the devil, who otherwise is called the prince of this world: and they understand the young man to be Christ; who (so soon as he came unto his father) received full power, whereas before he was greatly vexed in the world, as in a prison. That which is in the Psalms; We have passed through fire and water, &c. Augustine expounded, concerning the temptations of this world; so as adversities are described by the fire, and prosperities by the waters: at which temptations, while the godly do not shrink, they are led unto the heavenly refreshing's.

25. But now let us see what they have objected out of the New Testament. That which is written in the gospel, of not forgiving of sin against the holy

Ghost, neither in this world, nor yet in the world to come; proveth not, that there be any sins which be forgiven in another life. Among the Logicians, two negative propositions are not wont to conclude an affirmative: wherefor, Not to be forgiven in this world; and, Not to be forgiven in another world, do not affirm a forgiveness of sins to be after this life. And it plainly appeareth, that those things were spoken of Christ by exaggeration or amplifying; that thereby the greatness of that sin might be the more evident. And when as Mark writeth the same thing, he saith; It shall never be forgiven; making no mention, either of this world, or of the world to come. As touching him that would not agree with his adversary, while he is in the way, and therefore is commanded to be delivered unto the officer, by whom he may be cast into prison, so as he shall not come forth from thence, until he have paid the uttermost farthing: Augustine doth plainly understand the same, touching hell fire; and he will have the particle [until] to be understood in the same signification, wherein it is said; And he knew not her, until she had brought forth her first begotten son. And Jerome interpreted this place to concern the keeping of concord among the faithful, while they shall live here; which he proveth both by that which went before, and which followeth. It was said before; If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest, that thy brother hath anything against thee, leave there thy gift, &c. Further, after these things it is written; Love your enemies. He also maketh mention of an allegorical interpretation, wherein by an [Adversary] some have understood the spirit itself: which exposition notwithstanding seemeth absurd unto him, that the spirit should deliver us unto the judge. Neither did he let to speak, that there are some, which by an [Adversary] understood the devil; and this do we read in Ambrose. And Tertullian in his book *De anima*, declareth the same: albeit he affirmeth,

that the same place is more sincerely to be understood of concord. Wherefore, seeing by these allegories nothing certainly can be gathered, the argument is very weak.

26. But touching the sentence, which they cite out of the third chapter of the first to the Corinthians, understand it on this sort: They that build precious things, should be circumspect, and provide well for themselves. These be the authors of sound doctrine, the which is compared to most noble and excellent things: yea, and if we give credit unto David, it far excelleth them; seeing it is said in the psalm; that The commandments of God are to be desired above gold and precious stones. Howbeit, at this day they have transferred this ornament of silver, gold, and precious stones, unto crosses, chalices, and candlesticks: which gold, silver, and precious things, they carefully look unto; when as in the meantime, they suffer leaden, and more than iron doctrine to be carried about. Wherefore that saying of bishop Boniface, in the Triburian council, appeareth most true, who (as it is read in the 18th canon) when he was demanded whether wooden vessels should be used in the holy mysteries, answered; When we had golden priests, they used vessels of wood; but now our wooden priests have brought in golden vessels. By this diversity of stuff are showed the degrees, whereby Christ is more or less described, expressed, and set forth in doctrine; even as on the other part, wood, hay, and straw declare that Christ, who is the foundation, is more or less disfigured and dishonored by strange doctrines. Chrysostom thinketh, that this saying is not meant of teachers: For (saith he) if they teach ill, and others perish because of them; wherefore doth Paul say, that the builders shall at the least wise be saved, seeing destruction is rather due to them, than to their hearers, because they gave them an occasion to err? But if they have taught well, and others

through their own fault have taken no profit, the teachers are without blame. Neither is it meet, that they should suffer any harm; they shall be saved nevertheless, but yet so, as it were by fire. But that deceived Chrysostom, in that he compared the hearers and teachers together.

But we for our part think certainly, that these things must be referred unto doctrines. Wherefore it may be, that the opinions of them, which have not wisely built, being rejected and condemned, they themselves, so they have kept well the foundation, may be saved: but yet so saved, as they shall not escape without fire. And certain it is, that here only is entreated of those builders, which have not forsaken the foundation. Wood, hay, and stubble, thou mayest understand to be the commandments and inventions of men, of the which it is said; In vain do they worship me, with commandments and doctrines of men. Hereunto belong vain and curious questions, which seeing they further not to edification, Paul unto Timothy commanded them to be avoided. Let us use examples. Some man teacheth; She that is unmarried, thinketh of those things which be the Lord's. This is a good foundation, but if thou add; Let it be a decree, that priests shall be constrained to live a sole life, now doest thou build with straw. Fasting furthereth prayers, it maketh the mind perfecter, the foundation is not evil: but they add; Let days be prescribed, let a choice of meats be had under pain (as they call it) of deadly sin, let these things be commanded; now do they build hay. Further yet, because The death of the saints is precious in the sight of the Lord, it is meet that the memorials of martyrs should be had in honor; this doctrine doth not vary from the foundation: but when they infer, that their bones must be worshipped, their names called upon, and their images adored; all this shall be accounted stubble and sticks. The metaphor is most plainly drawn from these things, for they deface the

foundation; and seeing of nature they be withered, they cannot long endure; and they be the fire, food, and nourishment, whereby the flame is kindled.

27. Wherefore the day shall declare them: for those things which are corruptly taught, cannot always lie hidden; For there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed. But if that naughty opinions be not presently made manifest, yet as time cometh on, they are declared. We see at this day by experience, that many things are discovered, the which have been hid many years. In the removing of which things we must deal warily, least perhaps we root up good things together with evil; the which (having afterward found the error) we be not able to restore again. Wherefore by [the day] is understood manifest revelation, when as darkness shall be driven away; so that we may give judgment of the thing according as it is indeed. And for the bringing of this to pass, God useth sundry means, and manifold ways; whereby he lighteneth their minds that be astray. Sometime he useth the preaching of the Gospel: for the word of God is a sharp and two-edged sword, and entereth even into the inward parts of the heart. And sometimes he sendeth the calamities and troubles of this world, whereby he may instruct men. Which thing nevertheless agreeth not with adversities, according as they be of their own nature; seeing they compel men to cast out blasphemies against God, and drive some to desperation: but then they bring light unto our minds, when the mercy of God useth them unto our salvation. It is written in Isaiah; It shall come to pass in exceeding great tribulation, that a man shall cast away his idols either of gold or silver, his moles I say, and his bats. And Manasseh the king of Judah, then confessed idolatry to be unprofitable, when he was led away captive, and cast in prison.

And it happeneth not seldom, that unto them to whom it hath not been given to think well of religion, all their life long, this is oftentimes granted them at the last hour: and when they are in the pangs of death, they understand, that those superstitions and abuses (wherewith they had been wrapped themselves) were both vain and full of harm. Which I doubt not but happened unto Barnard, Francis, Dominicus, and to diverse of the ancient Fathers: because, seeing they lived in the foundation that is in Christ, albeit they erected many abuses, and sundry superstitions, yet might they be saved; nevertheless by fire, when as at the last hour they strove against death, and against the terror of sins; and in that conflict acknowledged the vanity of their own studies. Whatsoever therefore of these three things lightened the minds of them that strayed from the right building, that do I call the day and the fire. To this end Paul provoketh us to the examination and judgment of God: for ill learnings may oftentimes lie hidden, which shall then be made manifest: and now they lie hidden; partly, because they that teach be ambitious, and being led with a greediness of honor, they do not rightly weigh those things which they teach. And the hearers, seeing they are very oftentimes infected with vanity, they fancy the new doctrine of their teachers more than is meet; and they esteem the doctrine according to the godly show or eloquence of the teacher.

The last cause is the slothfulness as well of the teachers, as also of the hearers: for they bend not their endeavor to the examination of doctrine, as meet it were. And to conclude, it happeneth that the abuses and naughty customs are colored by hypocrisy, and they be so painted out, and they make a show of holiness: even as Paul writeth to the Colossians; According to the commandment and doctrines of men, having in outward words a show of wisdom. What thing is there at this day more adorned and set forth

with colors, than is the Mass? Therein is wonderful decking with garments, alluring songs, instruments of music, war lights, sweet perfumes, bells, curious gestures of the body; heaving up, laying down, whisperings, fractions, small pieces of cakes, and innumerable false devises of the devil. When they be reproved, they go about to excuse, that these signs are used; because we may be taught the worthiness of the Eucharist. But where is there one among the miserable people, that understandeth the causes of these signs? Neither can the Mass priests show the causes of those things, when they be demanded. And the thing is so deformed, and so greatly degenerated, as it may be counted or perceived to be anything, sooner than the supper of the Lord.

28. But seeing the foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, and straw, are spoken by allegory; there is no doubt, but that fire also must be understood allegorically. It is not sufficient, that doctrines should be tried by the judgment of men; it behooveth that those things abide firmly by the fire of divine examination. Wherefore fire and day light is a clear beholding, a certain trial, a manifest revelation, whereby we know at the length the truth of doctrines, and also the guilefulness of them. The property of fire is to give light, and to make trial: and from this fire no man is exempted, whether he have built well or ill, all men must be proved by the same. And herein will the trial consist, that the doctrine, which is built shall be tried, whether it agree with the foundation or no. Otherwise God is said to be like a purging fire, and like the fullers soap: for he will purge the children of Levi, and he will purify them like the silver and gold: the third of Malachi. The doctrines, which be sound, shall abide; neither shall the trial of fire more hurt them, than the furnace doth the gold or silver; or no more than the three children that were tried in the fire at Babylon.

Augustine, in sundry places maketh mention of this sentence: in his book *De fide & operibus*, the 15th and 16th chapters: in his *Enchiridion* unto Laurence, the 69th chapter: *De civitate Dei*, the 21st book: in his treatise of eighth questions unto Dulcitus, question the first: upon the 29th Psalm, and agreeth with himself almost in every place, and bringeth all one exposition of these words.

He affirmeth this to be a hard saying, and he accounteth it among the number of those, of which Peter said; In the epistles of Paul are many hard things, which the wicked pervert to their own destruction. He admonisheth moreover, that we should interpret this, to be such a kind of fire, as may be common both to them which build well and ill. At length he saith; We must beware, that we account not in this number, such as be baptized, which have lived very ill; and so to feign their grievous crimes, that is to say, murder, and adultery (for which things men are excluded from the kingdom of heaven) to be wood, hay, and straw. For unto these kind of men, being wrapped in so horrible crimes, hell itself is due; whose fire cannot be common unto them that build well, unless thou wilt also thrust them forth into hell. Mention is only made of those, which have built, holding themselves to the foundation: in which number they are not to be reckoned, who have been laden with damnable vices. He goeth forward, and saith; that The foundation is Christ: which interpretation, the apostle himself maketh. And he addeth, faith: because Christ himself dwelleth in our hearts by faith, and maketh them to be good builders, which obey the law of God. He writeth, that they build hay and straw, who have retained those pleasures and delights of the world, which nevertheless were not forbidden; and so retained them, as they gave themselves thereunto more than was requisite. They that build aright (saith he) do possess the goods of this world, riches,

honors, wife, and other things, though they possessed them not; and use them, as though they would not use them.

But they that build amiss, are more affected unto those things, than they should: and yet do they not so slack the reins unto lusts, as they prefer such kind of goods before Christ, unto whom they cleave, as unto the foundation; but rather on the contrary part, they altogether esteem Christ above those things. For when they come, either to the confessing of their faith, or else unto martyrdom; they will rather lose those things, than depart from Christ. Yet, because they have embraced such things with an over-vehement affection, they feel fire in forgoing of them. They sorrow undoubtedly, and it grieveth them, that these things are taken from them: yet are they saved nevertheless, because they held fast the foundation of the true faith inviolate. This (saith he) is it, that hay, wood, and straw is set on fire, and perisheth: for even those lusts of theirs, as flames do torment them, and they vanish away. And he added, that this happeneth unto many, while they live here: for it happeneth not seldom unto the most part of martyrs and saints, that they be spoiled of the goods of this world for the name of Christ. But he saith, that finally we are all tried with this examination, at the end of our life. And that fire signifieth tribulations, he proveth it out of the 65th Psalm, where it is written; We have passed through fire and water, and thou hast brought us into a wealthy place: where, by fire is declared adversity; and by water, prosperity. And for the same cause, in the exorcism of baptism, he would have as well fire as water to be used; that we may understand we be tried by these two things. And he bringeth the sentence of Ecclesiasticus; The furnace trieth the potter's vessel, but the temptation of trouble trieth the minds of the just.

29. Unto this interpretation of Augustine, by fire to understand calamities and adversities, Gregory agreeth; albeit that he incline unto purgatory. But (as we have said) it is most evident, that Paul by buildings either good or ill, signified doctrines either sound or corrupt: whose end is described, that if they be good, they have their reward; but if they be evil, they vanish and come to naught. For every plant which my heavenly father hath not planted, shall be plucked up. Neither is it any marvel, if good buildings do stand firm; seeing the word of God abideth forever. He that hath not built well, may indeed be saved; nevertheless by fire: because he shall perceive that his doctrine is both confuted and condemned. He shall acknowledge, that he hath wrought in vain; even as he that escapeth through fires, whose garments are so burned, as yet he leapeth out naked. Some expound; So as it were by fire: because men are hardly brought, that they can be carried away from their opinions: for all men embrace and love their own inventions more than is meet. Howbeit, it is more sincere to say, that in the examination of God, they shall have experience of shame, sadness, trouble, and of an unquiet conscience. And unto this interpretation Ambrose agreed. He must of necessity be always ashamed, that seeth himself to have defended a false matter instead of a truth. In this judgment of God, the fault of doctrine is discovered, and forthwith entereth great sadness and sorrow of repentance.

30. Chrysostom thought, that this fire pertained unto hell: but because he saw that to make against him, which is written; But he himself shall be saved as it were by fire, he interpreteth, that, To be saved, is nothing else, but To endure, not to be extinguished, not to be turned into ashes, or to be brought to naught: that this ill builder shall remain as touching substance, but shall not (as he saith) be reserved, unless it be unto punishment; that he

may be burned with fire and everlasting flames. He was not ignorant, that this interpretation was somewhat forced; and therefore he endeavored to mitigate the same: and he showed, that Paul with goodly words did sometime set forth things, which otherwise are evil, and to be disallowed; and again, to call things excellent and praise-worthy, by dishonorable names. In the latter epistle to the Corinthians he saith, that We make all our cogitations captive: where, by the word [captive] he calleth that persuasion, whereby men willingly and of their own accord, submit themselves unto faith. Also when he preacheth mortification of the flesh, and members that be upon the earth; certainly, by the word [mortification] he commendeth a thing allowed and perfect: whereas by nature we all fly from death. And on the other side, when he saith unto the Romans; Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: by the name of [reign] he adorneth tyranny (a thing undoubtedly to be detested) with the name of a kingdom. So now he calleth the everlasting continuance in fire, and in the pains of hell, by the name of [Saving]

But let Chrysostom defend this interpretation of his, as well as he can; it appeareth plainly, that it cannot stand, for two causes. For seeing all things be here taken allegorically, what need he labor to prove it true fire? Unless perhaps he will have hell fire, to be an allegory: which thing the received opinion in the church will not suffer. Further, where it is said; The fire shall prove every work what it is: we must (as Augustine very well adviseth) determine it to be that fire, the which as well the good as evil builders shall have experience of. But I do not think, that he would have the good and holy men to be tormented in hell fire. And yet nevertheless have the Greek Scholies brought this opinion of Chrysostom. And Erasmus, a notable learned man, in his annotations saith, that It is a vain thing to make mention

in this place of purgatory, seeing it is here meant far otherwise. Surely I doubt not, but that he himself saw the same thing; that if purgatory fire should be gathered of this place, it shall be needful for that fire to be common, both unto the apostles, and unto all the saints; although they have built the church with sincere and approved doctrines. And I cannot sufficiently wonder at them, which affirm, that this sentence is understood of purgatory, when as otherwise they defend the Popes pardons: and do know, that some of them are so granted by the Pope, as a man may be absolved from all punishment when he dieth; so that his soul (as they speak) may forthwith fly into heaven. How shall such a one be tried in the fire of purgatory?

Yea and Scotus said, that There may be found an action or motion of charity so absolute and perfect, or (as he himself speaketh) of such fervency, that it can wash away all punishments. Let the same man show how this fire of purgatory, which they would wrest out of this place, can be common unto all men? Unless perhaps they will place the same in the air, and will devise, that all the saints, when they fly away unto heaven, pass through the fire. As it is spoken of one Alcuinus, that he invented such a tale; namely, that all saints, before they ascend into heaven, pass through the fire of purgatory. It seemeth also, that this should not be unspoken of, that Paul after a sort alludeth the saying unto the words of Isaiah, in the first chapter, where it is said; And their strength shall be as tow, and the maker of your idols as a spark of fire, and they both shall burn together. The strength of these men is evil doctrine, idolatry I mean: the spark shall set the tow on fire, both shall be burned; namely, the author of the doctrine, together with the tow, with his opinions: because, even those things shall not abide, and the author himself shall be much afflicted. Nevertheless, the sentence of

Paul is not all one with that of Isaiah, but (as I have said) he only alluded unto it.

31. Lastly, they brought an argument out of Luke; concerning the rich man, which was tormented in the flames. But the same is said of many to be a parabolical narration: of which mind Chrysostom is. But admit it be an history indeed, how will it prove that rich man to be in purgatory? Seeing between the bosom of Abraham, and that place where he was punished, it is said, that There was an exceeding great Chaos, so as from thence none might pass unto Abraham. And it seemeth a wonder, how that rich man, seeing he was so greatly afflicted, did not desire to have a yearly memorial, nor yet the prayers of them that were alive. And seeing Abraham affirmeth, that he might neither be holpen by him, nor yet by Lazarus; how can the massing priest trust, that he by his masses and prayers can release the souls of them that be departed, from the pains of purgatory? Undoubtedly, the wise virgins imparted not their oil unto the foolish: neither could Lazarus further the rich man. It had been better, that they should have pondered in that place; They have Moses and the Prophets. Wherein it is showed, that the divine scriptures are sufficient unto salvation. Men are not sent either to the Fathers, or unto human traditions.

As touching the holy city, which is the society of the blessed, I confess, that no unclean thing must be let in unto the same: for they which die in the name of Christ, be washed with his blood. Besides this, there happened repentance, and loosing of the flesh at the time of death: wherefore they ought no more to be counted unclean, which are made partakers of eternal life. Neither will we deny, but that In the name of Jesus every knee must bow, both of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and of things under the earth. But these words must not be understood touching the worshipping

of God: for it doth not only consist herein, that knees should bow, but it chiefly requireth spiritual affections and motions of the mind. It is spoken there concerning the sovereign power given unto Christ; by reason whereof, every creature both of heaven and earth, and of things under the earth, are put in subjection under him. Yea and the devil, together with the spirits of damned souls, are put under his feet, whether they will or no. And this do the words that go before, sufficiently declare: for it is said; God gave him a name which is above every name, &c. Which words if thou wilt apply to the worshipping of God, as though they, which worship God, may be in purgatory; thou must of necessity confess, that the devil also and damned spirits do worship Christ. And of the same sense is that thought to be, which is written in the Apocalypse; namely, that All creatures, which be in heaven, in the earth, in the sea, and under the earth, celebrated the praises of God. All things do praise God according to their kind: for they minister matter and occasion of divine praises. Otherwise thou wilt say, that hills, mountains, trees, dragons, and other such things do truly and properly praise God.

32. Touching the Fathers, what they have judged concerning this matter; I have not what else to declare: but that the greater part of them are inclined to this opinion, that there is a purgatory. But I remember not that I have read among any of them, that it is an article of the faith; in such sort, as he that otherwise should think, may not have salvation. Neither must it straightway be accounted as a thing necessarily to be believed, whatsoever the Fathers have said. Otherwise let us subscribe unto the *Millenarij*, among whom were Irenaeus, Victorinus, Papias, Lactantius, Methodius, and many other notable men, and men of worthy memory. Certainly, all men subscribe not unto Ambrose; when as in divorcements he giveth leave only unto the man

to be married again. Neither will all men consent unto Augustine; that infants, which die without baptism, are appointed to the punishment of hell: neither that the Eucharist should be given to those infants. And our adversaries themselves agree not with Augustine, when as he saith; that All works of infidels be sins: although it be a thing most true and most agreeable unto the word of God. Tertullian is withstood; for holding, that the soul cometh by derivation from one to another, albeit that Augustine is not much against the same.

They refuse Cyprian, which held, that heretics returning unto the church, should be baptized again. Neither will they allow of Epiphanius, when he saith against Arius, that It is the tradition of the apostles, that six days before Easter they should eat nothing but bread with salt. And the same father, in his *Anchorato*, interpreteth the saying of Christ; The father is greater than I, to be spoken as touching his divine nature. Neither doth he expound the same, to concern the nature of man, as other men of right belief do: for he will, by that kind of speech, that the son should be under the father. And his opinion is, that Christ, when he prayed in the garden, desired not that thing, as though he would have it so to be; but because he would deceive the devil, and provoke him unto a particular conflict: as though Christ feigned in that prayer. And it is not to be allowed in Jerome, that he so smally favored matrimony; that in his writing against Jovinianus, he counted the marriage of two wives, or the second, or third marriage in the place of fornication. And Dionysius, in his treatise *De coelesti hierarchia*, when he showeth the manner of burying the bodies of the faithful, he saith, that the dead carcasses should be anointed: which at this day none of our adversaries would do. I speak nothing of saint Benedict, that commanded the Eucharist to be given unto the dead woman. And I

should want both speech and time, if I would reckon up all those things that are found among the Fathers, which are neither to be received, nor yet at this day would be admitted by them which speak against us.

But while I repeat these things, I would not be accounted, as Cham the son of Noah, which laughed at the discovery of his father's nakedness, and brought his brothers to laugh at the same. I would gladly have said nothing of these matters, but I am constrained by the importunity of our adversaries, which perpetually cry out; The fathers, The fathers, The fathers: as though they would consent to all things that the fathers have spoken or done. Whie do they not rather understand and consider, that they also were men, and that they erred sometimes as men: for they did not always build upon the foundation (that is Christ) silver, gold, and precious stones. Neither ought any antiquity of opinion, or custom, to prescribe against the truth: for errors began in the church, even in the time of Paul. And there is mention made by Paul of ill builders. And there wanted not some, which at the very same time judged that Baptism should be admitted for the dead. And the supper of the Lord was handled among the Corinthians, with so great an abuse, as the apostle was constrained to say; This is not to eat the supper of the Lord. And Cyprian admonished, that custom without reason is the mother of error.

33. And this also is wont to be objected against us; namely, that the church hath always prayed for the dead, which in very deed I deny not: but I affirm, that for the doing thereof, it hath neither authority out of the word of God, nor yet any example that can be taken out of the holy scriptures. Men are easily persuaded, being moved through a certain natural charity and love that they bear towards the dead, so as they wish well unto them, and break out into some prayers for them. But we must beware, that this vehementer kind of affection, be not against faith and just godliness. And

there may be another cause besides purgatory, why prayers should be made in the church for them that be dead: for they would not have the name and memory of them that were departed, to be soon forgotten; but they endeavored to preserve the same among the faithful; so long as was possible. Further, those prayers tended to this end, that they would give thanks unto God, who had called unto him those that were departed out of this miserable life. Wherefore Ambrose in his funeral prayers made at the death of Theodosius, and at the death of Valentinianus, two emperors, rejoiceth for their sakes, that they had already obtained eternal felicity; because they already reigned with Christ: and yet nevertheless he added prayers, that God would grant them the desired rest. The which sayings seem to disagree in themselves, unless thou understand them as we have now declared.

Further, the church thought good to exercise her office towards the dead, as if so be they had yet lived; notwithstanding indeed it considered, that they had already received that which it prayed for. For Christ also prayed for the resurrection of Lazarus, the which nevertheless he doubted not, but that he had obtained even before he made his prayer: and therefore he said, that he prayed for their sakes that stood by. The prelate, in making prayers for them that were departed, was seen to instruct and teach the people, what good things he which died had received; those things (I mean) which they had heard the church to wish for. These words are taken out of Dionysius, in his treatise of Ecclesiastical government. Also Epiphanius added another reason against Arius; namely, that that thing which is perfect should be distinguished from other things. Undoubtedly, Christ is so perfect and absolute, as it shall not be meet to pray for him. But others, although they be holy, when they be compared with him, be imperfect; and therefore it is

not unfit for their state to have prayers to be poured out for them. Wherefore the ancient fathers prayed both for martyrs and for saints.

This cause have I rehearsed out of Epiphanius; not that I do think the same to be true (for the prayers, which the ancient fathers made for patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, were thanks-giving:) but that it may be understood, that there cannot be one cause only assigned, why the church prayed for the dead. And seeing there may be many and sundry causes appointed, they deal not Logically, who would obtrude only one cause unto us; namely, to the intent that the souls of them that be departed, should be eased in purgatory. But they make much ado, that the church expressly prayed for the dead, that they might be succored, and be in better case. Indeed I know, that many of the fathers do admit this cause also: but it is uncertain, whether the church began first for that cause to pray for the dead. Nay rather, if thou wilt behold the forms of the most ancient prayers in the church, thou shalt perceive, that it prayed; that the souls departed might be delivered from hell-fire, from eternal death, and from hell, where there is no redemption.

34. Lastly, I need not bring many things to defend the justice of God; which our adversaries say that we abolish, by taking away of purgatory: seeing for them which sleep in the Lord, Christ suffered punishments enow: and what good works and righteousness was wanting unto them, is added by the death and merits of Christ. Further, there is repentance, the which hath infinite sorrows joined therewith; especially, when we convert unto Christ from our heart: as we are to believe of them, which wrestle at the last hour, and labor to break forth unto salvation. Then cometh death, whereby when the flesh is dissolved, the infirmities also and corruptions of the same do perish. And briefly, our righteousness must not be measured by our

works; neither must the justice of God be weighed by man's authority: for the Lord saith; Look how much the heaven is distant from the earth, so much are my ways from your ways, &c. Is thine eye evil, because I am good? And for the removing of purgatory these things may suffice.

CHAP. X. Of Tears, Fasting, and Watching's, being the outward exercises of Repentance: and first concerning Tears.

Tears are counted as certain things added and joined with repentance, and also unto prayers: for not only the repentants are wont to weep, when they detest their sins with grievous sorrow; but also, as many as do earnestly and vehemently strive to obtain anything. Howbeit, the tokens of true repentance are not always measured by tears: for we read, as well in the book of Genesis, as in the epistle to the Hebrews, that Esau also wept. Prayers in like manner to be effectual to obtain that which is desired, is not always judged by tears: for David, after his adultery, fasted and wept, whilst he earnestly prayed; that the life of his son, which was born unto him by Bethsabe, might be spared: which nevertheless he could not obtain. But in that tears in those examples had no good success, there were diverse causes: for Esau (as we will straightway declare) mourned not in faith: and David obtained not that which he desired, because God had determined to give him that, which was much better, and more honorable than that which he desired. Indeed the son, which was conceived in adultery remained not alive: but of the same mother he afterward had Solomon, whom God did

substitute unto a most ample and peaceable kingdom after his father's death; yea and whilst he yet lived. But on the other side, let us consider how that tears in Peter were tokens of very true repentance: and also in that woman, which (as the Evangelists declare) with her tears washed the Lord's feet.

And as touching prayers, Hezekiah was heard, when he prayed with weeping; and death being showed unto him, was deferred until another time. Josiah likewise was heard, who prayed unto God with many tears. The 126th Psalm speaketh thus of the fruit of prayer, which hath sorrow and tears joined therewith; They went and wept, casting their seeds, but doubtless they shall come again, and with joy shall bring their sheaves with them. And they which sow in tears, shall reap in joy. It is also written in the sixth psalm; The Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And in the 56th Psalm; The tears of the saints are as it were put in a pot or bottle before God, and faithfully sealed in his book. David also in the 95th Psalm stirreth us up by these words; Let us weep before the Lord that made us, &c. But much more are we stirred up thereunto by the example of Christ; who (as it is written in the epistle to the Hebrews) With a loud cry, and with tears prayed for us. Paul also, in the 20th chapter of the Acts saith, that he had long served the Lord with an humble heart, and with tears.

2. Nevertheless, God alloweth not those tears, which are poured out by a certain natural motion, without any affection of the mind: as it commonly happeneth unto those, whose eyes are stricken with any strike; or to those which run either on foot or on horseback; and which with over-much drink become drunken: for those are natural signs, neither pertain they anything to godliness. But the affections, after which tears do follow, are these: heaviness of mind, (which others do call sorrow) and also gladness; and that

by contrary reasons. For of sorrow springeth cold, whereby as the whole body is wrong, so are also the humors of the head: whereby it cometh to pass; that weeping is wrested out. And on the other side, by gladness, the pipes, pores, and ways about the eyes are loosed: whereby the way is made open unto tears. And certainly, of these two affections we have a testimony in the book of Esdras: for there it is written, that when the temple was built, the people wept; but not all for one cause. Part of them sorrowed, that the new building differed much in dignity and ornaments from the first: but contrariwise, others rejoiced, that the house of God, which had been so long prostrate, was raised up again. And it is manifest in the holy history, that Joseph, when he saw his brother Benjamin, whom he loved, wept, through over-much joy.

Furthermore, there be certain other affections mingled together of sorrow and gladness, the which make us to weep: as is vehement anger, the which by reason of contempt; hath sorrow mingled with it; and also some joy or pleasure, while it considereth of revenge, as if it were present. Mercy also maketh the tears to come forth, when we are disquieted and sorrowful for other men's harms, and are desirous to help them that be afflicted: for a vehement desire also bringeth forth tears. So as the men of God, when they earnestly desire to obtain anything, while they be praying, do easily break forth into tears. But what the matter of such a humor is, we leave it to the consideration of natural philosophers: for therein they agree not among themselves. Some think, that they do come by reason of the gall being troubled; unto which opinion agreeth the first book *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, the tenth chapter; the which book is ascribed unto Augustine. Others suppose them to be a certain kind of sweat, which thing Plutarch affirmeth. But some do think, that even as whey is separated from milk, so

also a waterish humor is separated from blood, whereof the greater part turneth into urine; and that which remaineth, is pressed forth into tears. Lastly, Seneca in his 100th epistle to Lucillus, thinketh, that with the stroke of grief and sorrow, the whole body is almost shaken; and therewithal the eyes, out of which the humor lying near unto them is pressed out. But howsoever this matter be, it little pertaineth unto us: wherefore let us come to the causes, for which it may beseem a godly man to weep.

3. Augustine in his fourth sermon of the first Sunday in Lent, writeth, that the tears of true repentance have two causes. One is, for that we have (through negligence) omitted many things that ought to have been done; and by overmuch boldness we have committed more than we ought to have done. These are commonly called sins of committing and omitting. And in the same place he interpreteth this sentence; Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, after this manner: that we should weep for the sins already committed, and we should take heed we do not the same again. And Chrysostom upon the epistle to the Colossians, the twelfth homily, complaineth; that the Christians abused tears, and that whereas otherwise they be good creatures of God, they defame them, in that they use them in such things as deserve no weeping. Sins only (saith he) must be wept for, not only our own sins, but other men's sins also. Which in very deed Paul performed, who in the second epistle to the Corinthians said, that he was afraid, that he should not come unto them: but so, as he was pensive, and compelled to weep for very many, which being fallen, had not repented. Yea, and he exhorted the same Corinthians to weep for the sins of others, when in his epistle he said; Ye are puffed up, and have not mourned, namely for a grievous crime of an incestuous man. And David in his 119th Psalm writeth; Mine eyes have brought forth rivers of water, because they have not

kept thy law. That most holy prophet wept, because of the public transgressions of the law: and when as he saw those transgressions everywhere committed, he poured forth abundance of tears. And Ezekiel in the ninth chapter commendeth some, which wept for the wicked acts of other men. And hereof it cometh, that when holy men see horrible spectacles of sins to happen often, they do more easily break forth into tears, than into laughter. For so Christ used to do, whom we read to have oftentimes wept; but we never read that he laughed. The very which thing we also must do at this day, seeing so evil a harvest of sins doth everywhere show itself.

4. Finally, we must understand, that all kind of morning is not allowed by God. For there be some (as I have declared before) which are only moved with the feel of punishments, neither do they proceed any further. In deed the sorrow for pain and punishment sake, is a certain degree unto true repentance; and for that cause God both punisheth and threateneth men, while they live here. Howbeit, this sorrow is not sufficient; neither is it by itself allowed of God: for it springeth of self-love, and is in a manner a thing unprofitable, unless it go further. Wherefore the Lord saith in Zechariah, the seventh chapter, that the Hebrews had fasted for themselves, and not for his glory: so these weep and mourn for themselves, and not because they have violated the commandments of God. Moreover, thou mayest see some others somewhat worse than these, which being moved with the sorrow of troubles, do in their weeping, and among their tears, speak evil of God himself, being angry at his justice; as though he were too severe, and a harder Lord than he ought to be: and such morning belongeth not to repentance, but rather to despair. An example thereof we have in the book of Numbers, the 14th chapter, where the people hearing the bitter

relation of the spies, fell to weeping, and spake evil both against Moses, and against God; and determined to turn into Egypt.

The third kind of mourning is acceptable unto God: and that is, when we are grievously sorry; because we have violated his law, and because we see a great number of others resist his most holy will. To this kind of lamentations did Joel, and other holy prophets, stir up the people of the Hebrews. Christ also persuadeth us unto them, when he saith; that They are blessed which mourn, because consolations are laid up for them. The church also useth sometimes to stir up the people to these kind of mourning's, when as sometimes publicly it reneweth repentance: which although it ought continually to cleave in the hearts of Christians; yet, by reason of public calamities, and a certain sluggishness grafted in us, ought sometimes to be renewed by the diligence of pastors. Wherefore in the old law God instituted a fast to be held once a year; namely, in the 7th month: in the which day the people of Israel should afflict themselves before God, for the sins that they had committed. And to the end it might the more solemnly be done, God many times sent his prophets to reprove the people.

Of Fasting.

5. To begin at the etymology of the word. This Hebrew verb *Tsom*, signifieth, To afflict: wherefor Aven-Ezra, saith; that Wheresoever in the holy scripture is found affliction of the soul, there fasting is understood. There is another word; namely, *Tsame*, very nigh unto this word; and it signifieth, To thirst: for they which fast much, are wont to thirst, because the humors of the body are with hunger and fasting dried up. The Grecians do derive this Greek word νηστεῖαν, of this privative νη, and of the Greek verb στένομαι, which is, To be strong and firm: because by fasting the strength of the body is diminished. But because this privative or particle νη,

is rather extensiuue, it seemeth to signify a very firm and strong thing: because a man that is fasting, is very firm and constant, so that he had rather suffer pain, than go from his purpose. Also the Grecians have another word for fasting; namely, ἀστίαν, because they which fast, do withdraw from themselves nourishment and food: for σίτον signifieth both corn and meat. But before I define what fasting is, I think good to distinguish the same: for seeing there be sundry kinds of fasting's, they serve not all to our purpose. For there is a certain fast that is natural, which pertaineth either to the defending or recovering the health of the body: wherefore Hippocrates saith, that they which are of a full and perfect age, or else be old, can very well abide fasting. In which place old men must be understood as concerning the first entrance into old age: for they which are old, can no better abide fasting, than young men or children. This kind of fasting we leave to the physicians, seeing it is none of that which we entreat of.

There is another fast, which is civil; and is then taken in hand, when men are so bent to their business, as by no means they will intermit their affairs, which they have in hand. So Saul, when he pursued the Philistines, and had the victory in his hands, forbad that no man should taste of any meat before evening. So also certain Hebrews vowed, that they would neither eat nor drink anything, before they had killed Paul: as it is written in the Acts of the apostles. This manner of fasting also pertaineth not unto this present matter.

6. There is another kind of fasting, which ought to be familiar to Christian men; namely, to take meat soberly and temperately: which is done, if they neither eat too often in one day, nor when they should eat, do gorge themselves with over-much meat, or seek for delicate meats and dainty dishes. This order of living is very profitable to diminish lusts, and it suffereth not the mind to be troubled with affections. It maketh the mind to

be more cheerful, and ready both unto prayer, and unto all the actions pertaining to the life of man. Wherefore Christ said; Let not your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness. Peter also hath written; Be ye sober, for your enemy the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. Also Paul wrote of himself; I chasten my body, and bring it into bondage, lest I preaching unto other, should be a reprobate myself. There is besides another commodity by this fasting; to wit, that cost is spared: not to be done, that we should lay up covetously, but that we should distribute to the poor of that which is over-plus unto us. Further, there is another fast, which is above man's strength, and other whiles is given by God miraculously unto some of the saints, for the commending of their doctrine.

Moses upon the mountain fasted forty days: for God meant, by a notable example, to show that that law, which he set forth, came from himself, and was not invented by men. Neither went Moses therefore unto the mountain, to fast; but to receive the law of God, and to talk with him. Elias also received bread and water of the angel, and in the strength of that meat walked forty days, even unto the mount Horeb; that he might be declared by this miracle, to be the true revenger of the law. By this kind of fasting, our Savior commended the preaching of the gospel, that it might not seem to be a common thing, but a matter of God's own ordinance and beginning. Howbeit, these [fasting's] were miracles; neither pertain they anything unto us, but only, that we should have them in admiration, and by such examples be stirred up with reverence to receive the word of God. There is also another fast, which lieth not in our power: as when we being destitute of meat, have not whereof to eat. Here have we need of patience, and we must pray unto God, that he will strengthen and encourage us. So the saints,

when they wandered about, and preached the Gospel, were sometimes pressed and straitened with hunger. And the disciples, when they followed the Lord, were driven through hunger, to pluck the ears of corn, and to rub out the seed. Elias also desired meat of the widow, and waited at the brook for such meat as the raven should bring him. This kind of fasting men do not take upon them of their own accord, but it is laid upon them by God.

7. But passing over all these fasts, being such as pertain nothing unto this disputation; let us come to our fast, which we may call a religious fast. And this fast is an unaccustomed abstinence, not only from meat and drink, so much as the strength will permit; but also from all other things, which may delight and nourish the body: and it is done of a repentant mind, and of a true faith, for the attaining of God's mercy by prayers, because of calamities, which either already overcharge us, or else are very nigh at hand. The form of this definition is abstinence; such abstinence (I say) as is above the accustomed manner, and yet goeth not beyond the strength of the body. The matter is not only meat and drink, but all other things that may cheer up the body. The efficient cause is faith, and repentance for sins committed against God. The end is, that by prayers we crave the mercy of God, and either to turn away, or to diminish calamities. Wherefore they which fast, ought to give themselves unto prayers, alms-deeds, visiting of the sick, and to the holy supper. When we fervently pray unto the Lord, and do from the heart truly repent us of the sins which we have committed, and by reason of them are earnestly afflicted; we cannot very soon think upon meat, drink, and also fine delicates. For to them which be urged with so vehement a grief, it is more pleasant to abstain, than any other delectation is. So David, in the 35th Psalm, saith of his enemies; When they were sick I laughed not, but I put on sackcloth, and afflicted my soul with fasting, and

earnestly prayed for them. And they which deject and humble themselves, because they in a manner despair of their business, are wont to contemn and loath meat and drink, and other delights and pleasures. Hereby we may perceive how it cometh to pass, that our fasting's do please God: undoubtedly, not because the emptiness of the belly delighteth God. And so Jerome derideth some, which fasting over-much, became unprofitable all their life long to all purposes. It pleaseth God, when we humble our soul, because we may return unto him with prayers; and casting away other pleasures, repose all our delight in him only.

8. But the fasting's, whereof we now entreat be sometimes public, and sometimes private. We take private fasts in hand, when we are afflicted with our own domestical miseries. For there is no man, that is not sometimes vexed, either in himself, or in his family. Or if peradventure it happen, that he be not privately grieved with any calamity of his own, and of them that pertain unto him; yet must he sometime mourn for others. For if we be all members of one body, we must think, that the discommodities of our brethren do pertain even unto ourselves. So David prayed for them, which afterward became his enemies, and who triumphed at his harms. So Job's friends, when they saw him vexed with most grievous plagues, did sit by him full seven days in dust and ashes, before they spake anything unto him; so greatly were they disquieted with his misery. Wherefore, before they talked with him, their mind was, by fasting and prayer to desire God to assuage that great misery of his. So David, when Abner was slain, did not only mourn at his burial; but also sware that he would that day eat no meat till the sun set. The selfsame did he, when he was reproved by Nathan the prophet: and when he had received tidings of the sickness of the child, undoubtedly he never took meat all the while that the child was in that case.

Nehemiah's, in the 2nd chapter, when he heard of the afflictions of the Hebrews which remained in Jerusalem, afflicted himself with fasting, and prayed unto the Lord. Also Daniel, when he had read those things which Jeremiah wrote of the captivity of 70 years, confessed both his own sins, and the sins of the people: also he wept and fasted. Wherefore private fasting ought to be taken in hand, not only for ourselves, but for others also.

9. But public fasting is two manner of ways commanded; either of God himself by the law; or of the magistrate, or else by the bishop, or by the prophet. And this is to sanctify a fast, whereof we sometime read in the holy scriptures. Of this kind there be many examples; namely, that fast which the children of Israel laid upon themselves. In the first book of Samuel, when the Philistines grievously afflicted the Jews, the whole people at the exhortation of Samuel assembled at Mizpah; they wept, fasted, and threw away their idols. David also, with all his, fasted; when he heard of the overthrow of the people, and of the death of Saul. And the men of Jabes Gilead took the carcasses of Saul and Jonathan, and wept, and also fasted. That likewise was a public fast, which Jehoshaphat commanded in the 2nd book of Chronicles, the 20th chapter. Queen Hester being in extreme danger, commanded by Mardocheus, that a public fast should be proclaimed. The Israelites in their captivity (as it is written in the 7th chapter of Zechariah,) had a fast, both in the 5th month, and in the 7th month, because in the 5th month, the sacking of the city, and desolation of the temple happened; and in the 7th month Godolias was slain, whereby so many miseries ensued afterward. That also was a public fast, which Jezebel proclaimed, being otherwise a wicked woman, and a hypocrite. The act of this woman showed it to be the custom, that when any great crime was committed, the whole church should fast: as it were putting away by prayer,

the public punishment. And this fast the prophets required: as Joel, when he said; Sanctify ye a fast. Esdras also in his 8th chapter proclaimed a fast. Wherefore fasts for certain godly considerations, were publicly proclaimed.

God himself also commanded a public fasting: for he commanded, that in every yere the feast *Chephurim*, that is, the feast of expiations, or cleansing of sins, should be celebrated the tenth day of September, with a public fast. For the people committed many sins throughout the whole year, neither did they diligently observe the ceremonies. So that once in a year the tabernacle was purified, and a public fast was observed. These things, in the Old Testament, signified as it were by a certain shadow, that the sins of men should be abolished by Christ: of whom, when we take hold by a true and lively faith, we are absolved from our sins. And thereof followeth the mortification of sins, and of carnal delights and pleasures. Neither is this to be passed over, that the same one day of fast was a festival day: for it was not lawful in the public fast, either to work, or else for a man to be occupied about his own business. And we were commanded to abstain only from our own works, not that on festival days we ought to be altogether idle; but that we should do good deeds on those days, through which we may rest in God. But to believe, to pray, to acknowledge sins, to bewail them with an earnest repentance, are the works of God; and therefore are not forbidden upon festival days, but rather commanded.

10. These things have not only the Hebrews learned out of the laws of God; but the Ethnics also by the instinct of nature. For when Jonah preached to the Ninevites, that their cities should be destroyed within forty days, they despaired not of the mercy of God; but repented: and every one of them, even from the king to the meanest citizen, with their beasts also and cattle fasted; and when they earnestly, and with a fervent zeal cried unto

the Lord, they were heard. Augustine *De civitate Dei* writeth, that Porphyrius taught; that Abstinence from flesh and gross meats doth purify the minds of men, whereby they are made the more prompt unto divine things, and to familiarity with spirits. Plutarch also, in his little book *De Iside & Osiride* saith; that The priests of Heliopolis utterly abstained from all meats, which might nourish and augment the wantonness of the flesh; and that they never brought wine into the temple of their god: for they accounted it a villainy to drink wine in the day time, in the sight of their god. Other men in very deed (saith he) used wine, but not much: and they had many purifications without wine. The same Plutarch, in his treatise *De cohibenda tracundia*, saith; that Among the Atheniens were certain holy sacrifices, which were only done with water without wine.

And this is notable, which is written in the same book, that Empedocles was wont to say; that A man ought specially to fast from malice. Titus Livius maketh mention, that when as at Rome there had happened many prodigious things, which seemed to fore-show some great evil; the *Decemviri* were sent to look into the books of the Sibyls: and that answer was made, that they should ordain a public fast in the honor of Ceres; which fast should also be renewed every fifth year, and that so the anger of the gods should by that means be pacified. Wherefore the Ethnics, being stricken with the fear of the evils, which hung over their heads, fled unto the oracles, fasted, and prayed the gods to turn away their anger. But Christians, not only seeing so many and so great evils, but also hearing them reported of from all parts of the world; yet do they not pray unto God, neither are they therewith anything touched in mind.

11. But perhaps some man will say; that fasting's, because they be partly Jewish, and partly Heathenish, may seem to be far from our purpose. But

that it is not so, it may easily be proved by the New Testament. In the Acts of the apostles, the 13th chapter, the church being admonished by an oracle, that Paul and Barnabas should be chosen to visit the cities and towns, where the Gospel had been preached, first decreed a fast; then did lay their hands upon them. And in the 14th chapter, when they returned home, after the accomplishment of their business in Iconium, Lystria, and Antiochia, they ordained a fast, and created ministers, and elders in every city. Augustine, in his epistle to Cassulanus saith; that When Peter was to talk with Simon Magus at Rome upon the Saturday, the church of Rome upon the sabbath day proclaimed a fast: which custom was always afterward retained. Jerome, in his prolog upon Matthew, saith; that John, being desired of the churches to write the Gospel against Ebion and Cerinthus, who denied the divine nature of Christ, answered, that he would do it, if the whole church would first proclaim a public fast: which also Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical history doth testify. Paul in like manner, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter, admonisheth those that are joined together in matrimony, not to defraud one another, but with consent to give themselves to fasting and prayer. In which place I think he meaneth public prayers, and also public fast: for fellowship of marriage nothing letteth, but that they may be privately used. But whether he meant public fasts, or private, it forceth not greatly.

Moreover, Christ being asked of his apostles, Why they could not heal the dumb, and cast out the devil? He answered; Because of your unbelief: and he added; This kind of devils is cast out only by fasting and prayer. That place is somewhat dark, and therefore it shall not be unprofitable briefly to expound it. Is it to be thought, that by the merit of fasting and prayers, devils are wont to be cast out (as they use to speak) for the work sake itself

that is wrought? Not so. What then signified those words of Christ? First he said; Because of your unbelief: for if ye had faith as the grain of mustard seed, and should say unto this mountain; Take up thyself, and cast thyself into the sea, it should obey you. And together with faith is necessary a vehement and fervent prayer, and also fasting; because a fixed and earnest prayer, not only draweth the mind from meat and drink, but also from all other human pleasures and cogitations. Wherefore Christ, by the effects describeth the cause; namely, faith, by prayers and fasting. And he speaketh of those devils, to whom God gave a little of their will: as though he should have said; Ye must not live easily or idly, if ye will cast out this kind of devils; ye must have a sure and strong faith: which thing he expressed by the effects; I mean by prayers and fasting's.

12. By these reasons and testimonies, fasting's are also commended in the New Testament. But in them we must beware of faults, which very oftentimes do happen therein both many and grievous. First, because in Popery are observed fasts upon certain appointed days, without consideration of persons or occasions, as a yearly ceremony, which at this day, as though it were Jewish, is of little force. Moreover, every man hath added and heaped up of his own, whatsoever pleased him; and not that which the calamities of times, and the more ferventer prayers would require. For one brought in seventy days fast; another, sixty days fast; another, fifty days fast; another, forty days fast: another brought in rogation days, another, the ember days; another, the eves of the apostles; another brought Fridays fast; another, Saturdays; and another, fasting upon the Wednesday. But of so many fasts, what profit hath there followed at the length? Forsooth a great many of questions and contentions: for a man will

scarcely believe, how many questions of fasting's have been, even among the fathers.

Augustine unto Cassulanus writeth, that We ought therefore to fast upon Wednesday, because Christ was sold upon that day; and on the Friday, because he was that day crucified. But on the Saturday he much doubted. For they of Milane, and of the East part affirmed, that upon that day we should not fast; because Christ that day was at rest in the sepulcher. Contrarywise, the Romans and Africans, and certain other do earnestly affirm; that because Christ was so debased, as to lie in a sepulcher, therefore the Saturday should be fasted.

The mother of Augustine, when she came out of Africa unto Milane, and saw that the men there fasted not upon Saturday, began to marvel at the unaccustomed manner. Wherefore Augustine, which was not yet baptized, came to Ambrose, and asked on his mother's behalf, what was best to be done? Do (saith Ambrose) that which I do. By which words Augustine thought that he should not fast, because Ambrose fasted not. But what he meant, he himself more manifestly expressed; I (saith Ambrose) when I come to Rome, do fast, because the Saturday is there fasted; but when I return unto Milane, because it is not here fasted, I fast not. *De consecratione*, distinction 5th in the chapter *De esu carnum*, It is decreed, that Friday and Wednesday should be fasted: Saturday is left free. And in the same distinction, in the chapter *Sabbato vero*, Innocentius hath added; that the Saturday must also be fasted. But he alledgeth another cause far differing from that which we spake of before: for seeing the apostles (saith he) were in great mourning and sorrow, as well on the Friday, as on the Saturday; therefore we must fast. In the same distinction, in the chapter *Jeunium*, Melchiades decreed, that we must not fast on the Sunday, nor yet

on the Thursday: and he giveth a reason; because the fasts of the Christians ought to be on other days, than are the fasting's of heretics and Ethnics.

13. Epiphanius bringeth a reason why we should fast upon Wednesday; namely, because Christ was that day taken up into heaven: for it is written, that when the bridegroom is taken from them, then they shall fast. And this he affirmeth to be the tradition of the apostles: whereas notwithstanding, at this day we believe, that the ascension happened upon a Thursday. Wherefore, let the Papists take heed, how much credit they would have to be given unto their traditions: for there be many of them, which the Papists themselves cannot deny, but that they be ridiculous and vain. I know indeed, that there be traditions, which are necessarily gathered out of the holy scriptures; and for that cause they ought not to be abrogated. But other traditions which be indifferent, must not be augmented in number; lest the church should be oppressed: neither must they be thought so necessary, as though they may not be abolished. And we must beware, that the service of God be not thought to rest in them. But as for those, which are against the word of God, they must not in any wise be admitted.

In the distinction 76, in the first chapter, are added the ember days; or the four quarterly fasts. The cause why these have been distributed on this sort, can hardly be perceived. They cite Jerome upon Zechariah, who maketh mention of the fourth month, the fifth, the seventh, and the tenth. And they seem to be moved of a naughty zeal to distribute these fasts into four parts of the year. And the fasts, which the Jews received every year, for the calamities which they had suffered; those also have our men made yearly fasts. But others have invented another cause; namely, because in those four times of the year, bishops are wont to promote Clerks unto the ministry and orders: wherefore they say, that the people ought then most of all to fast and

pray, that God would grant them good pastors. Fasting and prayers should be used at the time of ordering of ministers. But I would demand of the bishops, why they ordain ministers only at these four times of the year? Undoubtedly they cannot show any certain and just cause why.

14. Augustine in his book *De haeresibus*, saith; that Arius contemned oblations for the dead, and ordinary times of fast; because Christians were not under the law, but under grace: but he would, that every man should fast at his own pleasure, when he himself would. Certainly I allow not Arius, in that he was an Arian; but as concerning oblations, and sacrifices for the dead, he held that which is good and godly. Also touching ordinary times of fasting, I see not why he should be blamed; unless peradventure he thought, that fasts might not be proclaimed by the magistrate, and by the church, according as the danger of the time required. The reason also which he useth, that Christians are not under the law, but under grace, is weak: for we are not so delivered from the law, that we be freed from all order. Augustine also writeth, that Jovinian contemned abstinences, and fasts, as things vain and unprofitable: wherein, if he spake of bare fasts only, and such as were appointed at certain days, and certain times of the year, he judged not ill. For, unless they be adjoined with faith and repentance, and also with vehement prayers, they nothing at all profit. In the 58th chapter of Isaiah, the people complained; We have fasted, and thou hast not looked upon us. Which words do show, that fasts without those circumstances, which be requisite, are not acceptable unto God: but if they be joined with such things, as are incident to them, they be not unprofitable.

By the decree of Liberius, who lived in the time of Constantius, it may be perceived; that when the air was untemperate, or when there was any famine, or pestilence, or war, then they assembled together to denounce a

fast, thereby to mitigate the wrath of God. Augustine, when he saw his city besieged by the Vandals, gave himself unto fasting, and prayers, and in that siege died, as Possidonius testifieth. And generally, when we attempt any great weighty matter; as when we denounce war, create Magistrates, or ordain Ministers of the church, we have most need of fervent prayers: for the ferventness whereof, fasting very much availeth. Christ, when he was to begin his preaching, went into the wilderness, and fasted. A widow, when her husband is dead, is left in a dangerous state: therefore prayers and fasting's are very meet for her. Anna the daughter of Phanuel lead her life in the temple, where she gave herself to prayer and fasting. Paul to Timothy saith; A widow, which is a true widow, and desolate, putteth her confidence in the Lord, and day and night applieth herself to prayers and fasting's. Cornelius, when as he was not sufficiently instructed of Christ, and was disquieted with a sorrowful and heavy mind, was in fasting and prayers at the ninth hour: to whom (as we read in the Acts of the apostles) the angel of the Lord appeared.

15. But it may be demanded, that when fasts are commanded by princes, and by the church; whether men are bound to obey them or no? Undoubtedly they are bound by the law of faith, and by obedience. For when fasts are set forth, which be agreeable unto the word of God, how can he that believeth in God refuse to do them? Assuredly he cannot. Howbeit, this is to be understood touching them, which be of that state and condition, that they be able to fast: for if a man be hindered, either by age, or disease, or labors, in such a case that ought to be of force, which the scripture saith; I will have mercy and not sacrifice. But they which are not hindered, ought to obey. In the Gangrense council, chapter 30. It is ordained, that if a man obey not the fasts, which are commanded him by the church, having no

bodily necessity, howsoever he boast of perfection, and proudly contemneth the decrees of the church, let him be accursed. In the Canons of the apostles, (although they be Apocryphal, and contain certain strange things; neither is the number of them sufficiently agreed upon,) I say in the 86th Canon, it is commanded; that the clergy, which fast not, having no bodily necessity, should be deposed. Let infants in no wise be urged and compelled to fast; for that would be a hurt to their health. Yet Joel saith; Sanctify a fast, gather together old men and sucking children. And the Ninevites, at the preaching of Jonah, compelled beasts and infants to fast. These were extraordinary things, neither are they set forth to that end, that we should imitate them.

16. As for private fasts, most men will have them to be free. Wherefore saith Augustine to Cassulanus; We know that we must fast, when we are commanded; but what days we should fast, and what days we should not, we know not; because that is nowhere prescribed in the New Testament: therefore fasts must be left free. And in his second book De sermon Domini in monte (expounding these words; Judge not, and ye shall not be judged) he writeth, that Men may two manner of ways judge rashly, either if they wry that to an ill sense, which might be well taken, or when they do suppose that he cannot repent which hath done a plain and manifest evil act. And of the first kind he bringeth an example; As if a man would not fast, because he is sick in the stomach, or is troubled with any other infirmity of the body; and another, which knoweth not this, would suspect him to be a glutton, and to be over delicate: for here, that which is free, and may well be done, is drawn into the worse part. Indeed this is Augustine's opinion, which nevertheless we must prudently and warily understand. For if a private man, when he is in misery and danger, seeth that fasting and prayers

may help him; he undoubtedly doth sin, unless he fast. For since fasting may profit in such manner and sort, as I have declared, undoubtedly we must fast. No doubt but it is free; because by the outward law, he which fasteth not, cannot be condemned. But when our fasting may set forward the glory of God, then is it no longer free: for we be commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength. For there be many things, which of their own nature be free and indifferent: but when the matter is brought to our choice, and we see that they may redound, either to the magnifying, or else to the obscuring of the glory of God; now are they not free, nor indifferent things, because all our strength and ability must be applied unto the glory of God.

17. Furthermore, there is an abuse of fasts, as touching the space of time. For so much as the Papists, if they some little while defer their dinner; afterward, whatsoever they eat, they think they have done sufficient; so they eat no flesh. Howbeit, the forefathers fasted all day long, until the evening; all which time they were occupied in the word of God, in prayers, and godly exercises. In Leviticus, the 23rd chapter, God saith; When ye fast, rest ye from all work, and afflict your souls, for it is a sabbath. And no man doubteth, but that the sabbath endureth from evening unto evening. So Saul when he had put the Philistines to flight, proclaimed a fast until night. And David, at the death of Abner, sware that he would taste of no meat till night. Tertullian *Contra Physicos* saith; that The church lengthened their fasts until the very evening. Augustine *De moribus ecclesiae contra Manichaeos*, saith; Let accustomed fasts of the church be continued, even until night. For all the whole day, the holy assemblies were celebrated, and the public prayers were used; but at the evening they were dismissed, and they did eat their meat. But it is a sport to see, how the Papists mock this ancient

custom: they say their evening songs before noon, and then they go to dinner; at night they ordain a drinking, and so brag that they fast very well. Thomas In *secunda secundae*, saith, that in his time fasts were continued even unto the ninth hour: and he bringeth the counsel of Calcedon, where it is decreed, that he which eateth before the 9th hour, should not be accounted to have fasted.

Hereby the way we must declare, which was the ninth hour. The sixth hour was at noon; in which hour, we read that Christ our savior was crucified: wherefore the ninth hour must needs be the third hour from noon. The forefathers so divided the time, that always, from the sun set, to the sun rising, they accounted 12 hours: and again, as many from the rising of the sun, to the going down thereof. Again, they divided either time into four spaces, and these they called watches: and every one of these spaces contained three hours. Wherefore the third hour, from the rising of the sun, is with us either the 8th or 9th hour, as the time of the year requireth: for these hours are unequal. The sixth hour is noon time of the day, and the 9th is the third at after noon, and the 12th is the hour of the sun set. But Thomas objecteth against himself, that which we say; namely, that the Fathers fasted the whole day. It is ridiculous to hear what he answereth; because we (saith he) are in the state of the day, and the Fathers were in the state of the night, therefore we must finish our fasts in the night time. And he bringeth this saying of Paul; The night is past, and the day draweth nigh: which sentence, how much it serveth to this purpose that we have in hand, all men see and perceive.

18. Another abuse is the choice of meats, wherein now in a manner consisteth the whole religion of fasting's. The Fathers used not this; for when they had fasted until evening, they did eat indifferently at supper,

whatsoever was set before them. But now our men do more severely abstain from flesh, eggs, and milk, than they in the old time abstained from unclean beasts. Paul reproveth this superstition, and calleth it a doctrine of devils. But they say, that Paul reproveth those only, which avoided some meats as evil creatures; and believed, that those evil creatures came from an evil god: but we (say they) do teach no such thing. We only forbid men some kind of meat for one day, or for a few days; which afterward we set at liberty. As though Montanus after this manner, might not have excused himself, against whom these places are cited by the Fathers. Tertullian accuseth Martio, as a heretic, because he appointed some holiness to be in fish. Wherefore no manner of making choice in meats must be suffered; but so much as shall appear to serve unto temperance: which choice, if the Papists would with such care provide for, they should rather have abstained from wine than from flesh. For Solomon saith; that Wine is a thing that moveth to incontinency. And Paul saith; Abstain ye from wine, wherein is excess. They should also have abstained from fish, and especially, the delicates sort of fishes: for there be some of them, which do no less delight the taste, and no less provoke unto lusts, than flesh doth. And undoubtedly, among the Fathers, as well Greeks as Romans, fishes were esteemed among the greatest dainties.

19. Moreover, Socrates in his ecclesiastical story teacheth, that the Fathers fasted far otherwise: for in the Lent, some fasted two days, some four, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty, and other some the whole forty days. And when they fasted, some abstained from all kind of flesh and fish, and did only eat all manner of pulse. Others abstained from all four-footed beasts, and lived only upon fowls and fishes: for all things at that time were left free in the church. For when they had fasted until evening, at supper they

did eat moderately, what so ever came to hand: albeit the thing began afterward by little and little to decline to superstition. Jerome to Nepotianus, saith; that There were in his time, which not only abstained from all kind of meat, but also from bread. They used certain thin broths made well with spices, neither did they drink them out of a cup, but supped them out of a shell. Augustine *De moribus ecclesiae et Manichaeorum*, bringeth in a *Manichei* elect (for so they called their ministers) who indeed did eat no flesh; but in the meantime used most delicate and fine meats, and most sweet sauces. Wine also they might not touch, but drinks, which were made of fruits, the which were like unto wine, and in pleasantness of taste, far passed the same: of these (I say) they drank abundantly. On the other part he appointed him to be a true Christian man, which remained fasting until evening: and then had to supper a mess of oats sodden with a piece of lard, and a small portion of salt flesh, and dried in the smoke, and drank three or four cups of wine. Augustine demandeth, whether of these seemeth to have fasted best and more truly: and he gave judgment on the Catholics side.

20. The Montanists so delighted in this choice of meats, as they invented for themselves ξηροφαγίας, which were meats to dry up nature, and such like: for (as Tertullian affirmeth) they did only eat bread, salt, and all manner of pulse, and their drink was water. This kind of fast they used two weeks before Easter. Jerome also addeth, that they were wont to fast three Lents; and that because they fasted so severely, they were called ἐγκραῖται, that is to say, Continent men. Eusebius, in his fifth book, and 18th chapter writeth, that one Apollonius reproved Montanus; because he was the first that wrote laws of fasting: as though the church before him were free. He by laws and rules prescribed what days men should fast, and what meats they should abstain from: such an author have the Papists of

prescribed fasts, and choice of meats. This superstition agreeth not with the word of God. Christ saith; That which entereth into the mouth, defileth not man. And; Whatsoever is set before you, that eat, making no conscience thereat. And Paul to Titus; To the clean all things are clean, but to the unclean nothing is clean. To the Col. Let no man judge you in meat and drink. To the Romans; The kingdom of God is not meat and drink. To the Corinthians also, there be many things set forth for the confirmation hereof, where he entreateth of meats dedicated unto idols. So the scriptures make no mention of any choice of meats [to be used] for religion sake: yet I deny not, but that a choice of them must be had, either to avoid costliness, or for sickness sake, or else for the avoiding of excess. But that Christians should abstain from flesh, from eggs, and from milk for religion sake, is nowhere prescribed in the scriptures.

21. Another abuse is, that they lay upon us such fasts, as the strength of men is not able to endure: for they will have the people to fast forty days. Which, if it should be required, according to the prescript rule of God, and of the old church; namely, that the fast should be continued until even, no man well-near were able to abide it. And that institution is referred unto Thelesphorus the Pope, by other some to a time a little before him. And undoubtedly, therein is nothing else, but a certain mere wicked zeal, and evil imitating of Christ: for he fasted forty days, therefore superstitious men thought it good, that Christians should fast so many days every year. Whereas notwithstanding, Christ fasted after this manner but only once in all his life time: neither exacted he at any time any such act to be done by his apostles. But these men decree it to be sin, and that a grievous sin, when such a fast is violated. They should have considered, that Christ, all that time did eat nothing; and in that he was able so long to endure, it pertained

to a miracle, and to the divine power. The scriptures in no place command, that we should imitate Christ in that thing. Chrysostom, in his 45th homily upon Matthew; The Lord (saith he) hath not commanded thee to fast forty days, although he might have commanded the same. What then commanded he? He saith; Learn of me, for I am meek and humble in heart. But the manner of these men is perverse: for they will imitate Christ in that which they are not commanded, but in that they are commanded they will not.

Our Savior, when he sent forth his disciples said; Go unto all nations, teaching them to keep (not whatsoever I have done) but whatsoever I have commanded you. And it is a wonder to see, how superstitiously and subtly they have decreed of those things in the Council of Martin *De consecratione*, distinction 3. chapter *Non licet*: and in the canons of the Council of Laodiceum, in the chapter *Non oportet*, it is commanded, that in the Lent, fasting on the Thursday should not be broken. And in the Council of Agathensis, it is commanded, that fasting on the Saturday in the Lent should not be broken; because upon the Thursday and Saturday many fasted not. Yea, and upon the sabbath days also in the Lent, wherein they fasted not, they would that a choice of meats should be retained. And *De consecratione*, distinction 4. chapter *Denique sacerdotes*; they do ordain, that the priests should begin their fasts from Quinquagesima. And in the same place, the fifth distinction, in the chapter, Quadragesima. Gregory hath invented a reason, to prove, that Lent ought to be fasted; We must (saith he) give the tenth part of the whole year unto God; and the tenth part of the year consisteth of forty days; therefore we must fast so many days. A goodly reason forsooth! Why doth this Gregory forget, that the Levitical priesthood, and ceremonies thereof have now ceased? Wherefore it is not lawful to bind Christian men unto tenths and Jewish ceremonies. And if for

that cause the time of Lent must be consecrated to a fast, because it is the tenth part of the whole year; why did not the Jews in the old time fast in that sort? Why did not the prophets reprove them, for deceiving God of such a kind of tenth?

22. But I will show (so far as I can perceive) why Lent was first invented. The fathers, when they perceived men to live very licentiously and negligently, thought to have them compelled after a sort to renew godliness some part of the year; and somewhat to bridle the rage of the flesh. And for this purpose they did think the forty days before Easter to be most meet, that men might so long have their minds occupied in repentance, and in remembering of the benefits of God. This invention, although at the first view it may seem a goodly thing, yet it agreeth not with Christian liberty. For we must think upon the great benefits of God, and upon our great ingratitude, and upon other our most grievous sins, not only forty days, but continually also. Further, by this means, they opened a very wide gap to live most securely and recklessly: for if they have once fully performed those forty days, they think, that all the year after they may wholly give themselves unto all kind of pleasures and lusts; for they referred the time of repentance unto those forty days. And although the forefathers had a Lent; yet (as Eusebius saith in his fifth book, and 24th chapter) it was left free unto all men. For Irenaeus, after this manner entreated with Victor bishop of Rome, when he would have excommunicated the East church, because it agreed not with the church of Rome, about the keeping of Easter; What (said he) may we not live at concord, although they use their own rites as we use ours? For in the Lent, some fast two days, some four days, some ten days, some fifteen, some twenty, and other some forty days; and yet nevertheless concord is retained.

23. There is another abuse, for because some there be, which appoint a holiness to consist in fasting; as though a worshipping of God consisted in it: whereas in very deed, fasting is only an exercise, which of itself hath no holiness. They are fools, which in fasting do think, that for that cause they have God bound unto them. Wherefore we must not rashly give credit unto Jerome, when he saith; that Fasting is not a virtue, but the foundation of all virtues. For only Christ, and faith in him, is the foundation of virtues. If he had said that fasting is a help unto certain virtues, he might have been borne withal. And doubtless herein the fathers erred oftentimes; in that they praised and extolled fasting above all measure. If so much should be attributed unto fasting, we must of necessity confess, that John Baptist lived more holily than Christ: for he fasted more than Christ did. For Christ did eat and drink, as temperate and moderate men use to do. But it is said, that John did neither eat nor drink. Yea and Paul to Timothy writeth; that Bodily exercise hath small profit, but godliness is profitable unto all things.

If thou wilt demand, what godliness or piety is? I will answer, that it is a true worshipping of God, a soundness of doctrine, and a pure life; which things do follow hope and faith. In these things assuredly is very great profit. And the exercise of the body hath indeed some profit, howbeit not very great. But we must consider, that Paul speaketh not of fasting, and exercise of the body, which is hypocritical, and wanteth faith; but of the true and Christian fasting. For those things, which want faith, and proceed of hypocrisy, are sins; neither do they anything profit. Wherefore Isaiah faith; Is this the fast which I have chosen? But these our men go further, and besides that they appoint a holiness in fasting; they make it also to be a part of satisfaction. For the School-men, in the fourth book of sentences, appoint satisfaction to consist of prayers, alms-deeds, and fasting. What is to make

void the death of Christ, if this be not? They babble also, that by fasts, souls are delivered out of purgatory. And least any should think, that I fain these things; let him read Gratianus, in the 13th cause, question second, chapter *Animae*, where he citeth the words of Gregory, who saith; that Souls are delivered from purgatory, either by prayers, or fasting of their kinsfolk.

24. There is also another more grievous abuse; for that some affirm, that by fasting's they can satisfy the church, although they cease not from sin. This kind of fast God himself reproveth by express words in Isaiah; What care I (saith he) for your fasting's? Ye fast unto contentions and strife's. Is this the fast which my soul hath chosen? Pope Liberius decreed, that all the Lent we must abstain from strife and suite in law. This is not very wisely decreed: for the public-wealth cannot stand, if it be so long or ever matters be heard, or judgment given. If fasting should for some weighty cause be denounced for a day or two; there might for that space of time be commanded intermission of judgment: but that laws should be silent, so long as Liberius would have them, that is against the public-wealth. Besides this, the self-same Liberius saith, that the use of matrimony polluteth the fasting in Lent: wherefore they would have men all that time to have no fellowship with their wives. But Paul much more sincerely exhorteth married folks, that they should sever themselves for a time, and that by their own mutual consent; and to return together, lest they should be tempted by Satan.

25. There is also another abuse, in that men in all that time, which is immediately before Shrovetide, give themselves everywhere most intemperately to riot, gluttony, drunkenness, and filthy lusts; and that under pretense, that they may the more easily fast, as though it were lawful to do evil, that good may ensue. Neither is this a new kind of vice: for Basil in his

homily of fasting, and Chrysostom upon Genesis do in many places grievously complain of the same abuse. Some fast unto delicate fare: for when they know that they shall have no suppers, they lode their vile paunch at dinner with over-much abundance of meat; so that they make themselves utterly unprofitable for the whole day. Others, on the contrary part, do utterly consume themselves with fasting, yea, and in a manner kill themselves: as Basilius and Nazianzenus did, who being men excellently well learned, yet by abstinence and fasting were made utterly unprofitable to the church. They were compelled to keep their beds sometime half a year, and sometime a whole year together. Lastly, there are some, which by reason of fasting have a wonderful delight in themselves, are proud, and do despise others: as that Pharisee, which said; I am not as other men be, I fast twice in the week, &c. I might reckon a great many more of these abuses, but these I think to be sufficient for this time. This one thing only I will add, that in fasting we see two extremities. The Papists retain their superstitious fasts by hook or crook; but we wholly neglect the lawful and right fasts: wherefore it seemeth, that as well the one part, as the other, must be reformed. And thus far touching these things.

Of Watches.

26. Augustine, in his sermon *De verbis Domini*, the 14th oration saith, that The forefathers divided the night into four parts, of which everyone contained three hours: which he also confirmeth by testimonies of the holy scriptures. For it is said, that the Lord came unto the apostles in the fourth watch of the night, when they labored very earnestly in the sea, because their ship was well-nigh sunk. The same father writeth the like thing upon the 79th Psalm. Also the Gloss, in the decrees 1st question, the first, *Superveniente pascha*, maketh mention of the names of those parts of the

night, *Conticinium*, *Intempestum*, *Gallicinium*, & *Antelucanum*: that is, the bed time, the dead part of the night, the cock crowing, and the dawning of the day. And Isidorus, in his fifth book of Etymologies, maketh seven parts of the night: for he addeth these three; *Vesperum*, *Crepusculum*, and *Matutinum*; that is, the even-tide, the twilight, and the morning. The second watch may be understood the middle watch; for there are two watches between the first and the last: wherefor howsoever it be, the second must needs occupy the middle place.

But the inventor of these guards or watches in hosts (as Pliny writeth in his seventh book, the 56th chapter) was Palamedes: which yet cannot be he, forsomuch as the acts of the Judges are of far more antiquity than was Palamedes; unless peradventure he spake only of the watches of the Grecians. The use of watches flourished in the old time, not only in hosts; but they were had in use also for the safe custody of many other things. For at Rome there were watchmen, which in the night time went up and down the city, to give warning of fires: and therefore, both in the Digests, and in the Code, there is a title *De officio praefecti vigilum*; that is, Of the office of the overseer of watches. This industry also was translated unto shepherds, which we may see even by the Gospel: for in Luke the second chapter, the angels, when Christ was born, came to the shepherds, which kept watch over their flock. We read also, that both Ethnics and Christians used watches in holy services. At Rome there were holy services unto the goddess Bona, which were done in the night season. And in the Old Testament we read, that godly women abode all night at the tabernacle; for doing injury unto whom, the children of Helie were accused.

27. Philo a Jew (as Eusebius Caesariensis reporteth in his first book) affirmeth, that The Christians, which were in the apostle's time, among

other their commendable institutions, did most chastely watch, in giving thanks unto God, applying themselves unto prayers, doctrines, and praising's of God. Tertullian in his apology writeth, that the Christians supped oftentimes, and moderately together; because they knew they might worship God in the night season. In the Acts, Paul continued his sermon and disputation till after midnight; so that Eutychus, a young man, being oppressed with sleep, fell down from a high loft. Yea, and Christ also abode all night upon the mount, praying: and he blamed the apostles, which could not watch even one hour with him; and exhorteth them to watch and pray, that they might not be oppressed with temptation. Jerome upon the 25th chapter of Matthew writeth, that The Jews had a tradition that the Messias would come at midnight: at which hour indeed the first born of Egypt were slain. Wherefore he writeth, that he supposeth the tradition came from the apostles, that the priests, in the holy night of Easter, should not send away the people; so that, if peradventure the Lord appear, he may find them watching. But this is not at this day observed: for the watches are not kept in the night of Easter, but in the night of the nativity.

28. In the Council of Carthage, the fourth, chapter the 49th, It is ordained, that a priest, who without any necessity of his body ceased from the keeping of any night watches, should both be deprived of his degree, and also put out of his benefice. But in the Council of Eliberinum, chapter 35, watching's in churchyards were forbidden; where they were wont to watch, having wax candles lighted. Which I suppose was invented, not that by that observation they might deliver the souls of the dead from purgatory; but rather in honor of them. For as every man held dear his friends, which were dead, that the memory of them should not be forgotten; they watched at the place, where they were buried, one day in the year. Which we manifestly

perceive in the life of Hilarion written by Jerome; where he telleth, that a certain deacon said, that he should watch at the tomb of blessed Anthony within a day or two, because now a year, or certain years were passed since he died. The elders watched also at the sepulchers of martyrs, thereby to show unto them honor, applying themselves to doctrine, exhortations, giving of thanks, and prayers; especially in those perilous times, when they might not easily in the day time assemble together. Moreover, godliness was by that means the better observed: for in the day time, men were occupied in sundry labors and works. Wherefore, to the intent that the worshipping of God might not be utterly neglected, they appointed certain hours in the night for it.

29. Jerome against Vigilantius, marvelously commendeth the institution of the church for watching; and he thinketh, that we should not cease from this observation, although by the occasion of these watches, some shameful thing were committed. For (saith he) the errors of young men and light women, which can also sin in another place, and play shameful parts at home, ought not to revoke us from so holy a custom. But we see at this day, contrary to the saying of Jerome, watches not only of the martyrs are abolished; but also those which were done in the honor of the Lord: as it manifestly appeareth in the council of *Anticiodorensis*, chapter 5. Although in some places there continue some remnants of watches: as at Mantua, upon the feast of Bartholomew; and at Vercellis, in the night of saint Eusebius. But all men know, how unreasonably and immoderately men behave themselves in those watches. Wherefore they have converted the observation of watching's into fasting's. But what manner of fasting's I pray you? Such as now a days they use to abstain from the eating of flesh. But whatsoever it be, the sentence of the apostle is firm and constant; that The

exercises of the body have no great profit, but godliness is profitable unto all things. We must indeed fast and watch, as much as reason requireth, and the strength of the body will bear. And I do not think, that herein we ought to imitate Basil, Nazianzen, and such other, which with outward observations so kept under their bodies, as at length they became unprofitable both to themselves, and also to others. The golden mediocrity is to be kept, wherein we must observe the laudable measure of frugality and temperance. And these things (by the way) as touching watches.

CHAP. XI. Of Christian life; wherein is treated of diverse Vocations, of Friendship, of the confession of Christ, also of the example of Naaman the Syrian, which is largely expounded, the use of Riches, and of Poverty.

A very excellent sentence is that of Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter; Let no man seek his own, but every man an others wealth. Wherein is briefly comprehended, that we should perpetually in all our actions, have before our eyes the edifying of our neighbor: which the apostle did excellently well perform, when as he would be made all things to all men. As touching the words, they have like signification in name. For we are not to seek our own, as touching the flesh, and pleasures; but in the meantime there is no let, but that we ought to seek the kingdom of heaven, salvation, and eternal life, which things be ours. Otherwise the apostle should be against himself, who saith in the epistle to the Philippians; With fear and trembling work ye your salvation. And also unto Timothy; Attend unto thine own self, and to doctrine. Afterward, when it is said; that We should care for those things which be other men's: that also must not be understood, as touching the flesh and pleasures. For as we are not to seek

these things in our own selves, so must we not provide, that they may be in our neighbors. But those things, which Paul speaketh; namely, of [other men's] we ought to prosecute as touching salvation, eternal life, and obtaining of the kingdom of heaven unto them. Of the loving of our own selves, there is no manifest precept extant in any place of the holy scriptures: yet is there a commandment given us, that We should love our neighbor, as our own selves. Wherein the holy scripture seemeth to determine, that the same love is grafted in us by nature: for what things soever God hath made, they be of such a nature, as they desire most of all to preserve themselves.

Which natural love of a man's own self, when the first man had defiled through sin, he transferred the same being corrupted, into his posterity. Wherefore we are instructed by the law, to correct the same: which shall be done, if in like sort as we have loved ourselves, we have such regard of our neighbor in love, as we have of ourselves. Therefore it is said; Love thy neighbor, as thyself. Let it not trouble us, because else-where in the scripture we hear it spoken, that we should hate our self: as when it is said in the gospel; He that hateth not his own soul, cannot be my disciple: and unto Timothy; Men loving themselves are reprov'd. And this doubt is easily resolved: for we may do both, that is to wit, hate ourselves, and love ourselves. For we ourselves bear hatred against ourselves, seeing (as the apostle saith) We know right well, that in our flesh dwelleth no good thing. And by the flesh, we understand a man that is severed from the grace and spirit of Christ; in whom seeing there is much evil, and nothing that is good, he deserveth hatred, and not love. But again we love ourselves in the Lord, in whom we be now a new creature: for we earnestly wish, that the good

things which be begun in us, may every day be made perfect more and more.

Of Friendship.

2. There is no man but understandeth, that friendship is a necessary thing, which neither great princes themselves, nor emperors can want: for if they be destitute of friends, by whom shall they govern their dominions and kingdoms? And how meet and profitable a thing concord is in adversities, we need not in many words declare; because it is most manifest to all men. It is also a thing most to be desired, and most pleasant, being grafted in us by nature, or rather by God. And Aristotle in his Ethics saith of it, that It is more convenient than justice. For if we were all truly friends between ourselves, there should be no need of justice, for no man would hurt one another: but if we were all just, we should yet still need friendship; for that it is a thing of his own nature, and of itself good. Among the Greeks there were reckoned two pairs of friends; Orestes and Pilades, Damon and Pithias. Also the Romans had their Scipio and Laelius: unto whom some join Cicero and Atticus. But among all friends David and Jonathan were famous: for in both of them was a perfect likeness of age, of religion, of godliness, and of care towards the common-wealth; both of them also put their life in danger, to deliver the common-wealth from the Philistines. This likeness procured between them a most near friendship. But more and more nearly did the secret spirit of God join them: for when God saw the hatred of Saul against David, he would procure unto him some aid with Jonathan. This friendship was steadfast and firm: for it was founded upon love towards their country, and piety towards God.

Friendship (as saith Augustine against the epistle of Parmenianus, the first book, and first chapter) is so called, of love. The same they say can be

faithful, but only in Christ, and in him only be steadfast and continual. The knot of friendship ought to be constant and durable. But it behooveth that a reconciler of friends, should lead them to felicity, and that eternal and true felicity: for other felicities are transitory and uncertain. But this can no man perform, but Christ. Now are we to see what is properly To love. Aristotle saith; that To love, is to will well; and also (if thou canst) to do well unto any man for his own sake, not for thine. This definition, although it may seem probable, yet must it be amended: for we must not will well to any man for his own sake, but for God's sake. But the philosophers rested in the second causes: as if so be they saw any man godly and good, they said that he was to be beloved for his own sake. But we must ascend higher, and place the causes of things in God.

3. Cicero defineth friendship to be a consent of divine and human things, with good will and charity. But Aristotle in his Ethics speaketh somewhat more distinctly: for he saith, that friendship is a good will. But it happeneth oftentimes, that a man loveth him that is ungrateful, and is not loved again; therefore he addeth Mutual. But some men love one another mutually, who nevertheless are ignorant that they are loved one of another: wherefore it behooveth that both of them open their good will one to another. Moreover, it is requisite, that this friendship should be stirred up for some certain good thing: for we love not, without it be for a certain cause. And good things are referred either unto utility, or unto pleasure, or unto honesty. But they which are brought in to love, either for pleasure, or for profit; do love rashly, and accidentally: for if the cause either of gain or pleasure should cease, the friendship would straightway be dissolved. But the friendship which virtue hath joined together, is steadfast, and never dissolved: for virtue is a habit

gotten by a long use, which cannot be removed. Between David therefore and Jonathan, there was a steadfast friendship.

Seneca in the 9th epistle unto Lucilius reproveth Epicurus, because he had said, that A friend must be sought, that if need be thou mayest have one to help thee; and if thou be sick, to sit by thee. For it is a far sweeter friendship (saith Seneca) which profiteth another, than which is holpen by another. So then (saith he) a friend must be sought, that thou mayest have whom thou mayest profit, that thou mayest have whom to sit by if he be sick. For he saith, that Apelles and Praxiteles took more pleasure of their works, when they devised them, and had them in their hands, than afterward when they had them in their chamber ready made and polished: so a true friend is more delighted, if he himself do any good thing to another, than if he receive a good turn of another. Wherefore those notable men were greatly to be praised, which helped David in the time of his great adversity: for they showed a notable token of most steadfast friendship, when they delayed not to be present with him in adversity. Assuredly it is not a thing of small importance, to help a condemned man; as David was at that time: for he incurreth great danger, that giveth any succor to such men.

4. Howbeit, we must not determine with ourselves, that only those precepts should be kept which be common unto all men; but those also, which particularly belong to every man's own vocation. As he that shall be a minister of the church, let him faithfully endeavor to teach; if he be a magistrate, let him painfully execute justice, according to the prescript rule of the laws; if he be a father, let him bring up his children with severe and grave discipline. Neither must any man flatter himself, that he any ways performeth the common precepts, if he leave the particular parts of his own vocation. In Ezekiel the Lord saith; When I shall send a prophet to teach the

people, and he will not teach them, they indeed shall die in their own sin; but their blood will I require at the hands of that prophet. The father towards his children hath the place of a prophet; wherefore, if he shall neglect to instruct and bring them up, the fall and destruction of them shall be required at his hands. Eli was not only a father, but also a bishop, and a judge: wherefore in all these respects, it was his part to punish his children severely.

Paul the third of that name; bishop of Rome, when he was now at the point of death, confessed; that in this he sinned grievously, in that he was over favorable to his own: as though he only among all the rout of Popes, had committed that fault. They sore vex in a manner all other men, when as yet they let their own have their will to the uttermost. Eli is blamed, because he made more account of his children, than of God. But at this day, they that hold the chief rooms in the church, do openly prefer their dignities, their courtly train, and their vain pomp before God himself. And for these causes it happeneth, that they cast away the word of God, and defend the most shameful violation of all holy things, and with prisonments and fires pursue and destroy all those, which endeavor to reform anything in religion.

5. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 7th chapter, saith; As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called everyone, so let every man walk. In which place we have mention made of distribution, and vocation; that we may be taught, that there is nothing rashly done, neither that there is any man in the world, which at his own will or endeavor, taketh upon him his own proper state or condition. Who at his own pleasure is born a prince, or a servant, a rich man, or a poor man? And so in like manner of other states. These things are divided unto every man by God, according to his will and providence. Vocation is said to be the declaration

of the will of God, by the which he leadeth us unto faith and salvation, and placeth us in some certain state and kind of life. Every one of us ought so to be towards God, as a soldier is unto his captain: for the soldier in the camp taketh not upon him an office or place, according as he himself will; but he dealeth and bideth in place according as his captain shall command. Wherefore in the Christian state of life and vocation, there must no alteration be rashly made by a Christian man.

But let us consider, that these things may not be understood of the states and kinds of life, which be most plainly repugnant to the word of God; for those that be of that sort, must forthwith be rejected. For no harlot, usurer, or impure vower of chastity, ought to pretend, that he will not change his state and vocation to be turned to a better: seeing these detestable states must be imputed to our own fault, and not to the will of God. Finally, Paul persuadeth no other thing, but that every man should live content with that state, which is allotted unto him, so it be honest: which thing is so meet and agreeable to the uprightness of nature, as the Poets and Ethnic writers, as well Greeks as Latins, have allowed the same. Howbeit, between them and our apostle, this difference there is; that they refer the distribution of sundry states unto fortune, and chance; but our apostle doth ascribe it unto the divine providence. Wherein he judgeth, and speaketh godly, seeing all things, which happen unto us, are referred to the most high cause of the will of God.

6. But this sentence of Paul seemeth to bring the Christians into most strait bondage; if it be not lawful for them by any means to change their vocations. If a man be called from the plough (as Cincinnatus and other ancient Romans were) unto the state of consulship, and government of the common-wealth, shall it not be lawful for him to receive the same? Again, a

man being poor, if a convenient occasion of a more commodious estate be offered: why may he not change his poor estate into a better kind of life? But hereunto we answer, that Paul's speaking is of those changes, which cannot be done without the offending of our neighbor, and without the note of inconstancy (which things must wholly be avoided by Christian men) as it appeareth of unfit matches in matrimony, of circumcision, gentility, servitude, and freedom: the which things be not changed, without offense, and without note of new-fangleness. But it is not forbidden by these words, but that thou mayest sometime change a dangerous state, into that state which shall be of more safety; when as thou dost the same prudently, without offense unto any man; and (which is most of all to be required) that thou dost it not against the word of God. Moreover, if thou be called by just means unto an office; or unto the rule of the church, now is it not thine own self, that translateth thee from one vocation unto another; but thou are promoted by God. The very same must be determined, when thou shalt be compelled by any great necessity, to enter into any new state and condition: this also is to be ascribed unto God, being the author of that necessity. In like manner if there be an occasion offered of doing well the business of Christ, if thou be otherwise affected, Paul must be followed, who was made all things to all men. Only beware, that thou seek not thine own, nor yet deal rashly. And seeing thou oughtest to be as the laboring beast towards God, suffer him to go before thee, and to lead thee by his will and conduction, unto that state which thou must take in hand.

The devil is wont, by deceitful temptations, to bring grievous evils upon the simple sort. Sometimes by fair means he persuadeth them that do serve, and deceiveth them by this means; Seeing Christ hath already delivered you, seeing all things be yours, it is an unseemly thing that you should serve

in this sort. Why do ye not shake off the yoke? Why do ye not take upon you to use that gift, which is granted you by Christ? By these or such like reasons it is to be thought, that he moved the Jews, who asked Christ, Whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Caesar. In like manner, when we be oppressed by any wicked prince, Satan thus reasoneth; God in Deuteronomy ordained, that a king should not be chosen, but among the brethren: but he is not of the number of the brethren which professeth not the same religion and godliness; why therefore do you not mind to revolt from this tyrant? Why do ye not depose him, which is so great an enemy to religion? Howbeit we must hearken unto the word of God, whereby it is commanded, that we should not only obey princes that be good, but them also that be shrewd. And let this place also come to remembrance, that vocations are distributed by God; and that we must not rashly seek to overthrow them.

7. But this must we chiefly hold for a Maxim, that It is sin, whatsoever is done without faith. But thou wilt say; The Jews, if they were to take any great thing in hand, might require an answer of God; we at this day cannot do so: are we therefore less beloved of God than were they? I know, that many are wont to complain of this matter; as though our state were worse than was the state of the Jews. But here we must use a distinction: for he that taketh counsel of the Lord, doth it to be certified, either of the uprightness of the thing, or else of the success. As touching the uprightness of the thing, whether the same be honest or dishonest whether it please or displease God; we are sufficiently taught out of the prophets, out of the law, and out of the gospel, so as we cannot now be ignorant thereof. But as concerning the event, it is no marvel if now we be without such oracles: for far other promises were given unto us, than unto the Jews. For unto them

God promised a politic government, certain, and that in a certain place appointed, to endure until the coming of Christ: but now God by his gospel, hath neither appointed a city nor a kingdom certain.

Wherefore God oftentimes gave oracles unto the Jews, whereby they might understand, both what they should take in hand, and what success they should have. And though they had infinite enemies on every side, yet did he keep unto them their common-wealth, even until the coming of Christ. Further, the Jews were as yet ignorant and unskillful of civil things, as being servile men, brought forth of Egypt: wherefore such help of God was needful for them. Finally, their religion was as yet lately and newly come up, and not yet sufficiently confirmed; so that it was needful to confirm the same by signs and miracles. But now the kingdom of Christ is spread far and wide, it cannot be contained in one or two common-wealth's. Again, the Christian princes are now expert enough in civil affairs. Lastly, our religion hath now of long time been sufficiently confirmed unto us. Indeed God promised, that he would never forsake his church utterly, until the coming again of Christ: but he promised unto it no certain place, but that if perhaps it be exiled from one place, it shall find harbor in another. Wherefore, although we have no oracles; yet is that no argument, that God at this day maketh less account of us, than he did in old time of the Jews. It is sufficient for us, that if we put our trust in the promises of God, and behave ourselves well, he will not forsake us.

8. But now whereas Paul writeth unto the Romans, that he is not ashamed of the Gospel: albeit he spake that under his own person, yet he meaneth thereby to admonish the Romans (unto whom he writeth) that they also, though they were highly exalted, ought not to be ashamed of the Gospel. And he useth the figure Litote: for he speaketh less than he meaneth. Not to

be ashamed, is in this place, as much as if he had said; I very much glory. And this spake he plainly, and without any figure to the Galatians, saying; God forbid that I should glory in anything, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. But there are many at this day, which do boast, that they are Christians, and have received the Gospel: which I would to God they did truly and from the heart. For there be too many of them, which if they were well examined as touching manners, are most far from Christ: and as concerning rules of religion, if a man begin to try those men; but even in the Catechism; thou shalt perceive that they never understood anything of Christ. That commonly is counted a thing to be ashamed of, which is had in contempt of the world; and that is counted honorable, which the world hath in estimation. But in judging of the Gospel, our flesh is exceedingly deceived: for it thinketh it a thing to be ashamed of, as touching understanding, as touching good things of the mind, as touching good things of fortune, and also as touching good things of the body.

For as touching the mind and understanding, the flesh counteth it a foolish thing, to persuade itself of those things, whereof it cannot yield a reason. And as touching the good things of the mind, because we cannot be justified by our own virtues and notable actions. And it thinketh it but a folly, to cast away the goods of the body, in such sort as we should crucify the flesh, with all the lusts thereof: and to be willing, concerning the goods of fortune, to take up our cross, and by contumelies and reproaches to follow Christ. All these seem unto the flesh to be things for a man to be ashamed of. Against which we must continually set this sentence, which Paul useth; We are not ashamed of the Gospel. Undoubtedly this doctrine hath many enemies. And first are the Epicures, or rather the Atheists, that is, men without God; who think that this Gospel is altogether a trifle, and a

feigned thing: and they do much marvel at us, and deride us, for that we are so careful and diligent about the same.

There be other civil men, which govern the public-wealth; and these men think this doctrine utterly seditious: and they count it a thing unmeet, that preachers (under the pretense of publishing of repentance and preaching) should be permitted to reprove the vices of magistrates and princes; and after a sort to defame them unto the people. And this (say they) is nothing else, but to rent in sunder public-wealth's. After these come in place, hypocrites, Monks, and other religious persons, which cry out, that by our Gospel the laws of God are overthrown, holy ceremonies contemned, good works despised, holy images taken away, and (as they say) all devotions utterly abolished. With these very adversaries was Paul troubled: for the Scribes, Pharisees, and high priests cried out, that by this Gospel, which the apostles preached, the law of God was abrogated; ceremonies, which the patriarchs and prophets had kept, were set at naught; the tribe of Levi spoiled of his honor, the dignity of the priesthood made equal with the profane estate; and the public-wealth of the Jews utterly extinguished. Against which sharp sayings it was necessary to encounter with these words; I am not ashamed of the Gospel, whatsoever ye say and imagine against it.

9. It happened also in the time of Augustine and Chrysostom (when that whole cities had not as yet received Christ, but that there were together in one city both Christians and also idolaters) that if at any time a noble and wealthy man had taken upon him the name of a Christian, his affinity, kinsfolk, and friends would come unto him, and say; Doest thou believe in one that was crucified? Art thou not ashamed to commit thy salvation to him that was afflicted with extreme punishment, and was not able to save

himself? What madness is this of thee? Doest thou believe in one that was nailed to a cross? Unto whom he should have answered; I believe (as ye say) in him that was crucified, and not in a whore-monger, in an adulterer, an unchaste person, a murderer of his father or mother, or a slayer of his own children; such as are your Jupiter, Saturn, and other gods, whom ye worship: wherefore I am not ashamed neither of Christ, nor yet of the Gospel. In this sort also must we encounter with the heretics, when they say; that It is a thing foolish, and to be ashamed of, to believe that the son of God suffered in very deed, or that he took upon him very human flesh of the virgin's womb. But seeing these things be found in the Gospel, we do wholly believe them: neither are we ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.

At this day also, the elder men do sometimes upbraid godly young men, which are studious of the Gospel: or at least wise their senses and human reason repugneth them, saying; Are ye not ashamed of this new doctrine? Are ye so blind, that ye see not, that by this means good works are condemned, the worshipping of God goeth to wrack, the ministry of the church is trodden under foot, the dignity of priesthood disdained, ecclesiastical wealth come utterly to naught? What patrons or supporters of learned men shall ye have hereafter? Did your ancients, which went before you, both in this university, and also in others, being both doctors, and also notable men, follow these steps? These men also we ought to answer; We are not ashamed of the Gospel, howsoever ye speak ill of it.

If so be they will say; We have the Gospel, yours is a new doctrine: let us answer them again; So much is that the Gospel which ye have, as is to set forth feigned worshipping of God, (casting away and contemning the sincere worshipping described unto us by God) as is to worship stocks and images, as is to obtrude vows, whereby such men are drawn away from

matrimony, as have most need thereof; as is to erect pilgrimages unto images, to worship the bones of saints, to invoke the dead, and an infinite number of such other like. Wherefore ye ought to be ashamed of your doctrine, and not we of the Gospel of Christ. Let it be diligently examined, what we by the same Gospel do judge of the honor of God. We attribute all things unto him only; we will in all things depend upon him only. Further, see what our judgment is concerning the worshipping of him: we desire to retain the same pure and holy, as it is delivered us in the holy scriptures.

What do we think of good works? We urge them continually, and require to have them so perfectly done by us, as we always think, that there remaineth something not perfectly done of us, unto which we ought to level, and whereunto we should direct all our endeavors. What determine we as concerning the holy ministry? We labor to have it in great estimation, as that whereby God worketh our salvation. What of sacraments? That they should be kept pure and uncorrupt, and be reduced unto that use, whereunto Christ did institute them. What judge we of magistrates? That they should be obeyed, and that we should be subject to them in all things; so they command nothing against the word of God. What esteem we of poor and miserable men? Even that they should be holpen and relieved. What of public peace and tranquility? That it be kept, even with the loss of our goods. What of sciences and good learning? That they should be maintained and advanced. Why do ye object antiquity unto us? There is nothing that we more desire, than to have things brought to their old state. Ye have brought in new things. We require again the state of the primitive church, and desire to have again the ordinances of the apostles: wherefor there is no cause why we should be ashamed of the Gospel. Of the which, they that complain, do rather lament the loss of their gains, than that they can accuse our doctrine.

And if any troubles or discommodities happen, they must not be ascribed to the doctrine; but unto those, which under the pretense of Christ, and of the Gospel, do seek those things, that are their own, and not those things which are Jesus Christ's.

10. And Paul doth join confession to faith; because thou shouldst not imagine, that he speaketh of a vain and dead faith, but of such a faith, as bringeth forth confession. And although there be a great many of good works, which follow faith; yet Paul nameth that which is principal, and may most easily be gathered by the words of Moses: for in Deuteronomy, he with the heart joined the mouth. And Christ saith; Of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh. How be it, this must be well considered, that Paul attributeth justification unto faith, but some salvation he assigneth unto confession. And by salvation he meaneth not there the chiefest salvation, that is, our reconciliation with God, or absolution from sins, as he before did, when he said; If thou shalt believe that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: again; Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: but by salvation he understandeth a further perfection, wherewith they be endued that be already justified. For the powers of their mind, and the members or instruments of their body, are daily made perfect by doing of good works.

And without doubt, when we confess the Lord, we by this laudable and holy work do much profit. So meant Paul unto the Philippians, when he said; Work your salvation with fear and with trembling. But and if thou affirm, that in this place, by salvation is understood justification: that will we grant only to be understood as touching the effect, and as they use to say, *Aposteriori*, that is, By that which followeth; namely, that a man may hereby judge that such a one is justified. This place also maketh much

against certain Libertines, which renew again the error of the Carpocratians, and say, that We must not confess the verity of faith, before the judgment seat of persecutors. From which error the Nicodemites of our time are not very far off, who say; that It is enough to think well in the heart, although outwardly, true godliness be dissembled: and although men do go to the rites and ceremonies of the Papists. Indeed we must take heed, that we do not rashly cast ourselves into dangers. But when as God bringeth us unto them, and that we are examined touching the truth; we must remember, that They which be ashamed of Christ before men, he at length will be ashamed of them before the Father.

The example of Naaman is expounded.

11. But the example of Naaman, which they object unto us, must be examined. Naaman would have been borne withal, and pardoned at God's hand; if when the king of Syria worshipped in the temple of Rimmon, he also should kneel and fall prostrate before the idol. Indeed he desireth not by express words, that the prophet, by his prayers would obtain this thing for him; but yet nevertheless, after another manner, or closely he did signify it. Neither is it against godliness, that they which do feel themselves weak and feeble in faith, should crave to be holpen and confirmed by divine power: even as in the ninth chapter of Mark, the father of the child that had a dumb spirit, who said, that he did believe; and yet nevertheless prayed, that his unbelief might be strengthened. Doubtless Naaman saw, that there was sin in that action of the which he spake; and therefore desired pardon for the same. For there is no man that desireth pardon for just and honest things. He therefore knowing his own infirmity, and understanding that this should happen unto him, desireth pardon for his offense to come. Whereby it is perceived, that sin of this kind pertaineth not at all unto ignorance.

Sometimes idolatry is committed, being not known to be such as it is: as was the same, of the which Sozomenus wrote in the third book of his history; where he reporteth, that Julian the Apostate (a horrible enemy of Christian godliness) sitting in his tribunal seat, after the manner of other emperors, had before him fire and frankincense, to the intent that before him might be continual incense to the idols of the Ethnics. And when he minded at a certain day to bestow a benefit of money upon those soldiers that were about him, and accepted none, but such as had thrown into the fire certain grains of frankincense, in very deed the simpler sort of soldiers, which professed Christ, nothing imagining with themselves of idolatry, as they who thought that the same ceremony rather pertained unto the imperial dignity, than unto the worshipping of idols, threw grains of frankincense into the fire prepared, and among others received the money distributed unto them by the emperor. But afterward, when as they were in banquet one with another, they talked very godlily and honorably of Christ: whereat one of them that stood by, greatly marveled, and said; How can ye either speak rightly, or think well of Christ, seeing ye have this day forsworn him? And he let them understand, that the incense, which was made before Julian, was done unto the idols: which they hearing, forthwith departed out of their lodging, crying out, that they were wholly Christians; and that they would persevere in the right and perfect faith: that indeed their hand erred, but that their mind remained all one. And while they thus cried out, they came unto the emperor, restoring unto him their money, and praying him (if so it were his pleasure) to kill them; for that they would still continue Christians. Here we see, that the act of idolatry through error was committed.

But it happened not on this wise unto Naaman, who had some guess, that the thing which he feared to do, tended to ungodly worshipping [of idols.]

He seemeth to demand that of the prophet, which was not in his power; namely, that he would dispense with the law or commandment, which concerneth the flying from idolatry. Undoubtedly, all mortal men are bound, without any exception, unto that precept. But they do most grievously offend against the same, which being endued by God with some great benefit, have transferred themselves unto the worshipping of God: among the number of whom (no doubt) but Naaman was at this time. Howbeit it seemeth, that he meant not of idolatry indeed; but only as touching the outward gesture of the body, whereof he rendereth a reason unto the prophet; namely, that the king might not bow his knee, unless he also did bend down to the ground, because the king leaned upon his hand. And it is not without a fit signification, that one and the same thing is twice repeated by Naaman; namely, The Lord forgive me, or, The Lord be merciful unto me. For that repetition showeth, that the thing which was required, was done with a very humble heart; and that it was desired of the prophet with a most vehement affection of mind. Howbeit, it seemeth, that it should be imputed unto this man's fault, that he was too desirous to keep still his honor and authority: for if he would have given over his state and office, he might have avoided all danger of the sin that was imminent.

12. But they which endeavor after a sort to defend him, do curiously and subtly distinguish the action of bowing down before an idol. If so be (say they) that Naaman had bowed his knees, with intent to follow the doing of his king, then had the work of them both been of one sort, reason, and nature; and therefore should have been condemned of idolatry. For in imitating of the king, he would have done the very same thing that the king did, whose purpose was to worship the god Rimmon: wherefore, neither could he that did imitate idolatry, be absolved. But this is not agreeable with

Naaman, who had already called Elisha to witness; that he would not from thence forward offer any oblations or sacrifices unto strange gods: wherefore it resteth, that the same action was only a certain kind of duty towards the king. Which action undoubtedly of his own nature and simply was indifferent: for to sit with the king, when he sitteth; to stand with him, when he standeth; to kneel with him, when he kneeleth; do not (in respect of themselves) belong either unto virtue, or unto vice; but may be done either well or ill: whereupon it is said to have his form and kind of the things added, which they call circumstances. Those undoubtedly, if we have respect unto in this place, the act of Naaman will be found faulty. For first, there is a respect to be had unto the place wherein it is done; as being in the temple, and before an idol, together with the king worshipping prostrate: also Naaman maketh himself one of the idolaters. Furthermore, the quality of the time itself is to be considered; namely, that even then, when the king should worship, he should bow himself before the idol Rimmon. For men are not wont to adore all the while they be in the temple, but then only, when they implore the help of God, when they give thanks unto him, when they praise and celebrate his goodness or power. These qualities and circumstances do show, that the act of Naaman was faulty. But hereby they yet still endeavor not a little, to excuse the same; because in such kind of doings, the respect itself, whereunto it is done, is of no small importance: because To kneel (as they say) if a man have no regard unto the idol, hath nothing therein, that can savor of sin; whereas on the other part, whosoever boweth himself unto an image, having regard unto it, may not be counted free from idolatry. Whereupon they think, that that respect being removed from Naaman, and the same being in the king; the sin of idolatry did stick only in the king, and not in Naaman. And these witty heads bring a

similitude of a prince, whom many noble personages do accompany, while he goeth unto a harlot. For they be not guilty of the whoredom, in following their Lord according to their duty, because they are bound by just and honest laws so to do: neither do they accompany that man as a hunter after harlots, but as their prince. But this similitude that is brought, differeth much from the matter, which we have in hand: for they that so follow a prince, do not by that following enter into suspicion of whoredom; for all men know, that the harlot belongeth to their prince, and not to them: but in the prostrating of Naaman before the idol, there appeareth no difference; seeing that the worshipping of the image might equally be ascribed as well to Naaman as to the king.

13. And this by the way is to be noted, in this disputation, that consideration must be had of the person, which so kneeleth; who is sometimes unknown: and therefore while he is seen in the temple prostrating himself together with other, before the image; it is thought, that he doth the very same thing that others do. But if so be it be known, that he abhorreth the worshipping of idols; he might be thought to be present and prostrate with the king for some other cause: especially, if there had in the meantime happened a protestation, which the holy history sheweth not to be done by Naaman in the temple of the Assyrians. Also they ascribe it to be a virtue in him, and not a vice; that he would retain still his place and principality. Because (say they) it behooved to take heed, least an ungodly and wicked idolater should be placed in the stead of him: but the familiarity, which he had with the king, helped very much to the furtherance of godliness. These things indeed are after a sort spoken plausibly, I will not say, subtly and cunningly. And it cannot be easily told, how prone men are by all means, either to excuse sins, or to make light of them.

Wherefore passing over these things, let us follow that which we find in the holy scriptures; to wit, that we must not only avoid sins, but we must also abstain from all appearance of evil: and that it is not lawful for any man, by his example to induce another man to sin. Wherefore, seeing Naaman's doing would have a manifest form and token of idolatry, and by an argument of example, would confirm others in the wickedness of idolatry; therefore it was evil, and must needs by a right and sound judgment be condemned. And as concerning that which is alleged of a dangerous success unto Naaman, and of his profitable familiarity with the king; we must not give such heed thereunto, as in respect thereof, unjust and unlawful things should be committed: seeing the apostle in express words hath said in the epistle to the Romans; We must not do evil, that good may come thereof. Wherefore above all things let us beware of ill examples and idolatry; and let the events and successes of things be committed to God.

Further, why should we excuse Naaman from fault, seeing he himself in his own work acknowledgeth the same? For he desired not, that God would forgive or be merciful unto him, in an honest and just act. Besides this, howsoever we excuse his idolatry, we cannot defend his shameful dissimulation. Undoubtedly Christ said; Let your light so shine before men, that they seeing your good works, may glorify your father. And so we must take heed, least that men, beholding our wicked works, should blaspheme the true God, whom we worship; and we by that means be confirmed in their ungodliness. If we ought in everything to deal sincerely, that doth godliness and religion require to be most devoutly fulfilled in them. It is not lawful for godly men to halt on both sides; neither is it lawful on this behalf to serve two masters: and as the law commandeth, we must not plough with

the ox and the asse together. The field also is forbidden to be sown with seed of sundry kinds. Neither was it granted, that we should wear a garment woven together with woollen and linen; because the rite of a thing forbidden, and of a thing commanded by God, ought not to be confounded together. Wherefore Naaman, which had already professed the worshipping of the true God, is not allowed by the judgment of godly men, to bow himself down together with the king before the idol Rimmon. Much more valiantly than he, did the princes of the religion behave themselves at Augusta, with Charles the fifth of that name: for they indeed went with the emperor, as he was going to his Mass; but they brought him no further than the church doors, and from thence they departed. What they believed, or what they judged of the Mass, they openly testified by their going away.

14. It is demanded by some, what was to be done of the captive maid, which was compelled to serve her idolatrous mistress, and to hold up her garments when she went to the temple of her God. She should have been advised to go, seeing she might not otherwise do: but she ought to have taken heed that she kneeled not down, or made any show of adoration and reverence unto the idol; that all the standers by might perceive how free she was from idolatry. For it is not absolutely, and in all respects forbidden to godly men, that they should not be present in churches, while profane and execrable rites be exercised. For Elias was present, when the false prophets did sacrifice unto their Baal; but yet, as one that mocked them, and that boldly. And he triumphed against them saying; Cry out allowed, because perhaps that God of yours is either in his journey, or in his lodging, or sleeping, or occupied about some great business, he heareth you not, It is greatly to be weighed, with what mind, with what countenance, with what gesture, and with what words a man is present where horrible idolatry is

committed. Were not the fellows of Daniel present in the field, having now obtained high offices and dignities; when the golden image of the king was with great pomp erected? Present no doubt they were, but they worshipped not the same: and they were bold constantly to say unto the king, that they would never worship it. Also there was present a man of God at the service of Jeroboam, when the king himself offered incense to the golden calves: but he being sent from God, came thither, and reprov'd, and detested that which was done; adding those threatening's which the Lord commanded him to speak. Paul also entered into the temple of the gods at Athens; certainly, not to the intent he would allow of the idolatrous rites; but because he might thereby pick out an argument and occasion of confuting idolatry. Valentinianus also led Julian even unto the temple: but there he gave a blow unto the prelate of the temple, which sprinkled his gown with impure water, for the purifying of him after the Ethnics manner. Further, all the arguments which Paul prescribed unto the Corinthians, touching the sitting down at the feasts of idols, and of eating of meat dedicated unto idols, do reprove this boldness of making semblance, and of giving offense to them that stand by. And so do those reasons, which be declared unto the Romans, for repressing of them, which were over strong and bold: who for meat and drink sake offended the weaker sort, through a hurtful liberty. Unto Eleazar one of the principal Scribes, a man of very great honor and estimation among the Hebrews, license was given, that he eating some other kind of flesh, should make show as though he did eat swine's flesh: which thing he utterly refused to do; saying, that To feign as though he did eat things forbidden, was all one, as if he should eat them indeed.

15. Besides this, I admonish the readers, that they weigh well the holy history, that it sheweth not whether Naaman either did or did not that which

he feared he should do: and therefore no argument can be taken of his fact. Further, if he had done it, it followeth not thereupon, that he did it orderly, rightly, justly, wisely, and godly. Let us rather account, (as we said before) that he in that fact acknowledged his fault; the which should have need of pardon and forgiveness. There is nothing therefore, that by this example men can excuse their coming unto impure Masses: seeing Naaman himself desireth of the prophet, that this sin may be forgiven him. It might be also, that Naaman being holpen by the godly and holy intercession of the prophet, turned home so well confirmed, as he did no more bow his knees before the idol Rimmon. Moreover, I think that this ought to be most diligently marked, that the prophet did not answer him; Go thy ways, so do thou: the Lord will be merciful unto thee: but he only said; Go thy ways in peace: which is all one, as if he had promised, that he would aid him with his prayers, according as he had desired. But they say; If that were sin, into the which he feared he should fall; why did not Elisha reprove him? Why did he not warn him, that he should diligently beware of such an offense?

Some answer, that this man was not yet to have been justly blamed; and that (according to the word of the Lord) The smoking flax should not have been extinguished, and the shaken reed broken. And that many things also ought for a time to be licensed to the weaker sort, which should not be granted unto the stronger. They feign in like manner, that Naaman went to retain the worshipping of idols with the true and sound religion: and that the prophet commended his godliness towards Jehovah, and tolerated his outward bowing before the god Rimmon; but yet would not allow of the same. Howbeit I judge neither of these sayings to be true: for the weak sort must not be borne with, unless it be as touching *Adiaphora*, that is, things indifferent: but in those things which be utterly against the law of God, and

be very sins indeed, nothing can be dispensed unto them by men. Further, the mind of Naaman was not to retain still the worshipping of idols; seeing he testified unto Elisha, that he would thence forward sacrifice unto Jehovah only, and not to any strange gods. And thus I had rather say, that the prophet would not reprove Naaman; because he perceived him not ignorant that the same was sin, for the which he made request. Wherefore, seeing he knew it, he was not to be taught; but rather to be comforted, and to be strengthened, as concerning the help of God. And where as he said; Go in peace: it seemeth that he promised him not to be without the help of God, the which should preserve him from so grievous a fall. So then, in speaking after that sort, he both promised to make prayers for him; and also foreshowed, that he himself should be heard, least that Naaman might fall.

16. Moreover, seeing the Nicodemites have nothing out of this place; they show themselves greatly to be laughed at, who being in their own judgment strong and wise, would be compared to Naaman the Syrian, but newly converted unto God: whereas they rather declare themselves, by this reason, to be young soldiers. If they are to be accounted young soldiers, let them remember, that soldiers of this order will not always abide in that state; but do aspire to higher and better degrees. But when (I beseech you) will these men lay away their apprenticeship? Verily never, if they continue always in dissimulation; and together with the knowledge of the truth, be present at Masses, and corrupt worshipping of God. Neither are we to pass over, that in armies they use to spare raw soldiers; for they are not placed where the greatest dangers be: but these men will be in the midst of the flames, seeing they join themselves with idolaters, and are not afraid to be present at their corrupt worshipping's. Even as in buildings, the weak stuff, that is, certain brickle stones, and weak timber, is not placed there where much weight

must be borne: so weak men, and they that fall on every side, ought diligently to avoid a dangerous station. Let them say which of these they will, it is in their choice; whether they will be old soldiers of experience, or else young soldiers not yet trained. If they be old soldiers and strong; let them take valiant things in hand, let them renounce and confute idolatry in free and open speech, let them not dissemble at all, and let them speak the truth with great boldness of speech: but if they will be weak and unexpert soldiers, let them not enter into perils, which they are not able to bear. God must not be tempted, neither must we presume above the strength that is given us. And thus far touching this argument of the Nicodemites.

17. But now perhaps some man will demand, whether the words of Naaman do belong unto repentance, or perhaps have respect to any other matter? Some say, that these sayings cannot be drawn unto repentance, because none doth repent of sins that are to come. Further, because that true and sound repentance hath always joined therewith a strong and constant mind, or a purpose of not committing such things again, whereof we do earnestly repent: which was not in Naaman; seeing he testifieth, that he would bow himself before the idol Rimmon. Howbeit, such words do not disagree all manner of ways from repentance: because they do not only respect the sin that should come; but also the present infirmity, whereby he perceived himself prone to fall into sin. Therefore it grieved him, that his faith was not so firm, as he might altogether strive against the sinful act. Even as it doth not a little repent all godly men, of their vicious and corrupt nature, that is, of their original sin; whereby it cometh to pass, that we be ready bent to commit sin; and to be bitter enemies of virtues. But I would more absolutely answer; namely, that it was a humble speech of Naaman, whereby he earnestly implored the help of God, and the prayers of Elisha.

Last of all this remaineth to be inquired, why the prophet warneth not Naaman, that he should convey himself to Jerusalem, where not only he might avoid that fault which he feared; but also, that he might worship the true God in the temple of Solomon? Of this question there may be three reasons assigned. One, because the prophet would teach, that God may be worshipped in all parts of the world, neither that he had tied salvation unto certain places and lands. Secondly, that it furthered very much the glory of God; that his name should be celebrated, not only in Jury, but in Syria also: for bringing of which thing to pass, the return of Naaman into his country did greatly help. Moreover, it was profitable for Naaman to be absent from Jerusalem; for because that sound religion, and perfect godliness was now fallen there in decay, whereby he being newly converted unto God, might have been infected: so far is it off that he should there have been reformed. Neither was he to fear so great a danger in Syria, where their idolatry was so gross, as every godly man might easily beware of the same: but at Jerusalem, a novice in religion could not easily have avoided the superstitions, which were joined together with lawful ceremonies.

Of the fall in time of persecution, look epistle second, whose beginning is; Since we together.

That the possession of riches is lawful for godly men, how they must be used; also of the enduring of poverty.

18. Seeing we read that Abraham, a man of God, was very rich, and plentifully endued with all kind of wealth; as also very many other godly men have been: it is good to speak somewhat of the lawful use of riches in godly men. Wherefore let this be the proposition; The possession of riches is not forbidden by God unto godly men. It is proved; Because that riches be the gifts of God; Therefore they be convenient for godly men: whom we

must not think that God would drive from his gifts. These I prove to be the gifts of God, because they are called his blessing: neither doth blessing there betoken any other thing, but a gift. Further, a promise of them is made to the people of God, therefore they are not evil, because God doth not promise evil and unlawful things. They be instruments of virtues; namely, of liberality and alms-deeds. Further, God is said to make his sun to rise upon the good and evil, and upon the just and unjust. But by rising of the sun, and by rain, even all those fruits be understood, which be derived from those beginnings: wherefore substance and the abundance of things are given by God, as well to the just as unjust, to the good as well as to the evil. Wherefore it cometh to pass hereby, that it is lawful for the good and godly sort to have riches, seeing unto them God is the author of those things. But if it be objected, that a Christian man must leave all that he hath, (as it is said that the apostles did) in the 19th of Matthew, and tenth of Mark: it must be so understood, that a godly man must attend to his vocation, with a mind that is free and alienated from carefulness; in such sort, as with the love of those things he be not drawn from the same.

But it must not be inferred hereby, that a man is constrained to cast away his goods: neither do we read, that the apostles did so. Levi, who is said in the fifth chapter of Luke, to have left all that he had; yet did he afterward make a great and fine banquet unto the Lord, and that doubtless of his own proper goods. Peter in like manner, having now followed Christ, had a house at Capernaum, into the which he brought Christ: and in like manner, after the resurrection of Christ, he had a ship, and nets, and did fish together with the other apostles. So that the substance and riches, which is possessed by godly men, is not condemned; but the affection, whereby they cleave thereunto, more than is convenient. Wherefore the disciples of Christ, when

they follow him, are meant to forsake that which they have; because they ought so to be affected, that they will forthwith cast away the same, if at any time the profession of the Gospel shall so require. As if a tyrant would say; Either renounce thou Christ, or else thou shalt forgo all thy goods: thou must straightway forsake all those things. In like manner, if God call thee unto any function; or unto any place, whereby it shall be necessary for thee to forsake thy goods, thou must straightway leave them: otherwise it is lawful for thee to retain them.

Neither object thou unto me, that saying of Christ to the young man; If thou wilt be perfect, go thy ways, sell that thou possessest, and follow me: for this was a special calling of him; neither did Christ rashly command him to do it. The man thought that he had fulfilled the law, in such sort, as if there had wanted nothing unto perfect instruction: but how far he was from the same, the Lord would have it declared unto him, when he commanded him to do this; for it taught him forthwith that he did not as yet love God above all his riches, for he went away sorrowful. And it is to be thought, that he took profit by this admonition: so that he now knowing his own infirmity, returned at the length unto the right way. And whereas the Lord saith in the same chapter, that it should be Easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a fine needle, &c: he doth not infer, that it is impossible for all kind of rich men to be saved; but for those only, which Mark (entreating in the tenth chapter of the same argument) expresseth, saying, that It is impossible for them to be saved, which put their trust in riches. And so far is it off, that godly men are forbidden to have riches, as they that live well, are constrained to get themselves wealth by their just labors: whereby they may maintain both themselves, and theirs. Hereunto the apostle exhorteth the Thessalonians, that they should have wherewith to

sustain, not only themselves and their family: but also, that they should have over and besides, whereby they may be able to distribute unto the poor. Wherefore the same apostle, in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians saith; He that hath stolen, shall not now steal, but shall rather labor with his hands, that he may have wherewith to give them that suffer necessity.

But that riches may be lawfully retained by them that be just, certain conditions are needful. First, that they be gotten of them by just means; that is, not by arts, which in their own kind are evil, or of themselves good, yet forbidden, and not agreeing with that person. For, none ought to withdraw himself from teaching of the word of God, to practice shoemakers craft, and thereby to enrich himself. Let him not abuse them, so as he would have them to maintain riot and voluptuousness. Let not the mind of him that procureth them, be drawn away from the confidence in God, from his vocation, or from the worshipping of God. Let him not hoard them up, but let him distribute them to the poor, when and according as need shall require. Let him put no trust in them, as Paul in the first to Timothy the last chapter hath admonished; Command thou the rich men of this world, that they put not their trust in the uncertainty of riches. Let not rich men take stomach unto them, so as they become proud, advancing themselves, and contemning the poor. Let them weigh that riches are unstable, and may easily be taken from them. Wherefore, let them not set their heart upon them: and when the Lord shall take them away from them, let them say; The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, even as it pleaseth the Lord, so let it be. Let them acknowledge, that they have gotten them of the Lord, and not by their own power. And let them every day more and more mortify the desire of having; least the desire of having should as much increase in them, as they be grown in wealth and riches.

18. Here there is a thing that we may very profitable learn; namely, that external goods must not with so great affection be desired and sought after, as they be sought for and wished by unskillful men: for such is the infirmity of man, and weakness of mortal men's wits, as they will not easily appoint any measure unto riches. Yea and moreover, the knowledge of human and natural things, ought not to be immoderately desired of us. For otherwhile, we putting our trust therein, and being puffed up more than is meet, do the less depend upon God, and upon his word. But some man will say; Seeing God loved Solomon, and that he knew, that these goods would turn to his destruction; why did he bestow them upon him in such plenty and abundance? First, I answer; They that ask these things, may by the same reason demand; why God raineth as well upon the just, as upon the unjust; why he maketh his sun to rise both upon the good and evil: seeing it is not unknown unto him, that the unjust and evil men do abuse both the sun and the rain. It may be asked also; Wherefore God (seeing he knew that Pharaoh would not obey his word, but rather become the worse by occasion thereof) sent notwithstanding Moses and Aaron with his commandments to him. Neither yet was God ignorant, that the Jews would scorn the propheties and oracles of the prophets; and yet nevertheless, the captivity of Babylon being at hand, he sent such a number of prophets unto them, as he seemed good at that time to set open the school of the prophets. Now then this kind of questions is superfluous: for an order cannot be prescribed unto God, neither ought his government to be limited by our reasons.

Howbeit, touching Solomon, I say; that either he pertained unto the predestinate, or unto the reprobate; certainly one of the two we must admit: for between these can be granted no mean. If he were of the elect and predestinate, he belonged unto everlasting life. And in very deed the

Hebrews affirm for a certainty, that he repented after his fall: yea, and they say, that the book *Coheteth* was written by him in the very time of his repentance. Wherefore we are warned and taught by his falls, to put no trust in our own selves; and that we esteem not of the pleasures and delights of this world otherwise than they are: seeing we hear that king Solomon, when he enjoyed all those things in most abundance, did pronounce generally of them; Vanity of vanities, and all things are vanity. Which sentence verily, if a common person, a poor man, or an husband-man had pronounced, all men in a manner would have said; How doth this fellow know hereof, who neither hath had experience, nor yet could procure unto himself pleasures and delights? Therefore God would, that he should affirm this saying, who being furnished with kingly power, and infinite wealth, might attain unto all kind of pleasures and delights. And seeing he prevailed greatly in wit, and excelled others in singular knowledge; undoubtedly he saw all the ways and means, by the which pleasures and delights might be obtained. For (as he himself confesseth) he spared no cost; he appointed for himself singers, both men and women; he prepared for himself rich buildings, and also notable houses of pleasure, and fishponds in the country: and finally, he had experience of all things, whereby men are wont to attain unto bodily pleasures. But yet at the last he repenting, with vehement affirmation cried out; Vanity of vanities, and all is but vanity. Wherefore, if we embrace this sentence, we will say that he did repent, and that the predestination of God was not made frustrate in him; and that his falls were specified in the holy history for all our instruction; and they were laid before our eyes by the providence of God.

But if he be reckoned among the reprobate, yet can it not in like manner be denied, but that by his falls we have notable warnings: but he himself,

which transgressed, hath undoubtedly suffered just punishment of his ingratitude. Yet nevertheless, there is no cause why we should by any means accuse God, who endued him abundantly with all good things. In men certainly is always the cause of sin, the which in no wise can be in God: yet is it not therefore brought to pass, but that God may use the transgressions of men, for the instruction of his own chosen people. Let his own secrets be sound and entire unto himself: let us follow his will, according as it is revealed in his law and divine scripture. And in the meantime let us consider, that it is no safe way, to live in continual prosperity. Wherefore it is not by the fault of the gift of God, that we fall headlong into damnation; but it cometh by reason we are so very corrupt, that we never (in a manner) keep our selves within just limits. It is an incredible thing to be spoken, what great liberty the most mighty Monarchs, the rich men, and notable learned men, give unto themselves. And if there be any other example extant of this thing worthy to be given; I suppose this of Solomon doth chiefly serve to the purpose.

Of Liberality and Magnificence.

19. In the bestowing of money, the mean is accounted liberality: and he which exceedeth, is counted riotous, unthrifty and prodigal; he saveth not his things, nay but he destroyeth them; he giveth over much, but receiveth little. But the covetous man, he standeth in the other extremity, and receiveth more than is meet, but bestoweth less. Wherefore excess and covetousness are on this wise opposed one against another.

Magnificence is by Aristotle called ἀπειροκαλία, because expenses are poured out beyond the bounds of measure and honesty. This excess is also called βαναυσία, that is, A certain affectation of gorgeousness and greatness, while in the bestowing of cost, we endeavor to have an honor and

comeliness, where need requireth not. For base artificers, since they be unskillful in things, while they would seem to be magnificent, do greatly offend in this kind of expenses. Once a shoemaker that became rich, made a feast to the people of Rome. And Aesop the player in tragedies, minding to make a magnificent feast, bought tongues of most precious birds. And oftentimes in cities, where the people's favor is sought, such kind of expenses are used, because the people delight in them. And those base artificers, which know not wherein a mediocrity standeth, although for their small ability they are not able to make such expenses; yet are they delighted in them. Wherefore Cicero said; that Private riotousness did not please the people of Rome, but public magnificence.

20. But here peradventure some man will ask; For what cause God so often suffereth his people, that is to say, those which do truly and sincerely worship him, to suffer poverty? For the holy histories do show, that Job, Tobias, and Jacob, when he went to Laban as a stranger from his father's house, and many other of the saints, were brought into poverty. Of these events there may be many causes showed. One is, that God, by this kind of exercise would declare the faith and patience of his people: for by such means he bringeth forth into light those virtues, which he hath bestowed upon them, least they should be hidden. Furthermore, he will sometime have his protection and care towards them to be made manifest, when their state being changed, he maketh them rich again, and restoreth them to their former state: according as we know it happened unto Job, Tobias, and Jacob; and unto many others. Further, he will teach us hereby, that we must not make so much account of worldly riches, as we should thereby measure the grace and favor of God. For even as, respecting the kingdom of heaven, there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free: even so there is

neither rich nor poor. Which thing cannot generally be affirmed by the Papists, which sell their pardons for money, and for rich oblations do pull souls out of purgatory: which oblations, seeing the poor cannot make, they want those benefits of theirs. Besides this, through want of the goods of this world, God brideleth the wantonness of the flesh: for there be very many, which if they should abound in wealth, they would abuse the same to the fulfilling of the lusts of their flesh. Wherefore by this wholesome remedy the heavenly father doth keep them under, least they should shamefully run at large. And lest that poverty should be reputed for an infamous and vile state, the only begotten son Jesus Christ our Savior would suffer the same, while he lived among us.

21. Yet perhaps some man will here doubt, that seeing Christ hath said; that The workman is worthy of his reward. And again; Your heavenly father knoweth, that you have need of all these things. And again; Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and all things shall be given unto you: and David saith; I never saw the just man forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. How can hunger, thirst, and nakedness, (which the apostle in the first to the Corinthians, the fourth chapter, declareth that he suffered) agree with these things? We answer, that the promises of God are most true; but yet that they are not separated from the cross. God hath promised the foresaid things; but yet not so, as we should possess them without penury and affliction. Christ did hunger and thirst. David also did hunger, and so hunger, as he was driven to eat the show-bread, and to send to Nabal the Carmelite to request meat at his hands. The apostles themselves so hungered, as thorough hunger they were constrained to rub the ears of corn, and eat the grain, which they had rubbed out with their hands; and that on the sabbath day, to the great offense of the Scribes and Pharisees. Wherefore God giveth unto his, those

things, which be necessary unto life; but yet at such time, and in such sort, as shall seem good unto him. Sometimes he expecteth, that we being hungry and thirsty, should want meat and drink; to the intent that (according to his promises) we should require these things of him by prayer; and be the more confirmed in him, that we may understand them to be his gifts. Besides this, he would that his should sometimes be pressed with hunger, thirst, and nakedness; that they may yield a testimony unto the truth, for the verity whereof, they had rather suffer those things, than deny the Gospel of Christ, for the abundance of living, and of things necessary [unto life.] At which times, although God doth not furnish them with meat, drink, and apparel; yet doth he give them such things, as be far better than these: that is to wit, faith, hope, and charity, and such a spirit of fortitude; as the saint's judge, that to suffer these things, is most profitable and glorious.

CHAP. XII. Of Fortitude, of Mortification, of enduring the Cross and Afflictions; wherein is also treated of Flying Away, and of Banishment.

Seeing that in the holy scriptures there is oftentimes mention made of fortitude, it shall not be amiss to speak somewhat of the nature thereof. Fortitude therefore is a habit of our mind, whereby (according to right reason for justice and honesty sake) we hold a mean between fear and boldness. They which exceed in not fearing, are showed to be they, which have utterly put off all fear, and are so stout, as they are not moved, no not with those things, which do altogether exceed nature: as thunders from heaven, lightnings, earthquakes, and such like. Yet for all that do not these exceed in hardiness: for they therefore will not put forth themselves of their own accord to perils, or attempt any difficult thing for an honest cause. And they which be of this sort, are thought to be in a certain madness and fury: they are without name, because there be few such found. Thus the matter appeareth with some: whosoever is bold, feareth nothing; but not so on the contrary part: for many may be without fear, which are not bold, nor will move or attempt anything. Howbeit, the case doth not so stand: for he that is bold, is not altogether unfearful, in such wise as he hath put away all fear.

No doubt he is somewhat moved therewith, but he easily and many times hath the over hand; yea, and he is bold more often than he should. Wherefore, he rather departeth from right, and from the nature of man, which exceedeth in unfearfulness, than he which overcometh with boldness. Now then we must thus order the matter, that a valiant man is bold, but yet with reason; namely, when it behooveth him, and when reason beareth rule over the fear that is in him. But he is a rash fellow, which is bold to do anything rashly: for he putteth forward himself to perils, but without reason: indeed he hath not set aside all fear, but the greatest part he hath.

But even as in excess are placed diverse affects of unfearfulness (as I may say) and of boldness; why likewise in the defect are there not assigned two, but one; whereby we are said to be cowardly or fearful? We answer, that even there also are appointed two manner of defects; seeing some are said to faint either by too much fearing, or by not daring. But the fearful and cowardly seem to be joined together both in one name, since they be not separated one from another: for he that is too fearful, dare do nothing: and again, he that dare do nothing is over fearful. But the matter goeth not thus: for it may be, that some man feareth nothing, and therewithal dare do nothing. Rather are those two sorts joined together by Aristotle, because the cowards or the fearful, are comprehended both under one name. But he which so exceedeth in not fearing, why is he not called unfearful? And why is not this affect called unfearfulness? Because these names are also agreeable to him that is valiant, and in like manner to him that is bold; and therefore they cannot be proper to him, whom we have called unfearful.

But albeit (as I have said) that fortitude holdeth a mean between fear and boldness, yet it is most of all considered in the overcoming of fear. For seeing that virtue is placed in hard and difficult things, it is a great deal

more difficult in great terrors to repress fear, than to restrain boldness. For boldness is oftentimes repressed, even by the object itself: but fear is rather increased and kindled by dangers. The end is honesty and goodness: for otherwise, if a man for his own commodity sake should be led to do valiantly; that is not fortitude, but rather cruelty and fierceness. But honesty and goodness is, to take in hand labors and perils, either for religion, or for righteousness, or for our country, or else for our parents. But above all other things must fear be subdued and overcome: for it hath always respect to some great evil. For they define fear to be the eschewing of an evil, likely in short space to happen. Howbeit, we do not respect fortitude in every fear: for there be certain evils, which of their own nature, and of the duty of a good man ought to be feared; of which sort be all kind of sins. Against these we are armed, not with fortitude, but with duty: for in the repressing of those evils, which are purchased by our own fault; we are not called valiant men, unless a man will speak improperly. For so saith Paul; Do we provoke God? Are we stronger than he? Wherefore fortitude is considered in those things which are not received through our own fault, but are brought unto us outwardly. Albeit that neither those in very deed do belong all unto fortitude: for the same we defined to be a taking in hand of dangers for honesty and goodness sake. For sickness and shipwreck, and such other kind of misfortunes, we suffer patiently, if we be of a good courage; and yet for all that, fortitude is not considered properly in them: for these things are not taken upon us by choice.

And therefore Cicero rightly defined fortitude, to be an enduring of labors, and a taking in hand of dangers with advisements. And fortitude is chiefly perceived in dangerous and difficult things; but most of all in things happening upon the sudden: for virtue is conversant in difficult things, and

difficult things be unlooked for. For dangers premeditated, seem after some sort to be mollified. Wherefore the virtue and fortitude of Joab was herein chiefly renowned; because in a sudden and unexpected evil he could take counsel out of hand. Seeing fortitude is set as a mean between fear and boldness, it is after a sort partaker of both; for a valiant man dare commit himself into danger for honesty and goodness sake; but yet in the mean time because he must strive with terrors, he is not a little moved in mind. The holy Martyrs both in our time, and in all ages, do valiantly endure for Christ and the Gospel sake, all torments, which can be devised either by tyrants, or by the devil: yet otherwhile, because they be not [made] of marble, stone, or brass, they become somewhat faint, through the very feel and greatness of the dangers. Two things are set forth for a godly man to abide, and take in hand. But fortitude is rather considered in suffering: for that is the harder thing. Plutarch out of the old Poet Menander; It is not (saith he) the part of a valiant man, to say, This I will not suffer; but, This I will not do. For the other thing is not put in our power. Wherefore the subject of fortitude, is that part of the mind, wherein is conversant, fear and boldness. The object which it hath respect unto, is peril. And these two belong unto the matter. The form is mediocrity. The end is honesty and goodness, and the will of God.

2. Now must we see what is the efficient cause thereof. Aristotle in his 3rd book of Ethics, saith; that There is a certain civil fortitude, whose efficient cause is the law or ordinance of the common-wealth. As if there were a law, that he which shall fly in war, is either infamous, or condemned to die: but he which shall behave himself valiantly, obtaineth either praise or reward. This is not true fortitude, which we now seek for: for that hath not respect either to reward or punishment, but to the will of God. There is another

fortitude, which may be called warlike, which proceedeth of that, that men be skillful in arms, and are acquainted with the policy of war. But neither in very deed is that true fortitude: for if the enemies be either better provided, or more in number, that fortitude faileth. There is another fortitude, which is stirred up, and kindled by anger: as if so be a man having received an injury, will be revenged: but this also may be among wild beasts. And another there is, which is engendered of some greedy desire and mind to obtain: but so an asse also may have fortitude; for often times he suffereth not himself to be driven from his meat, no not with stripes. Also adulterers and fornicators, for the fulfilling of lust, do endure very grievous and troublesome things. Howbeit, we must grant that anger doth service unto fortitude: for good men are angry, and take it grievously, if they see anything done dishonestly, or contrary to that which should be done; yet is not that the cause why a thing is done valiantly. Some men are valiant, through a confidence of their own natural strength; others, for that they are unskillful of the dangers: but those men straightway discourage themselves with the least change of things.

But the true cause of fortitude, the philosophers appoint to be in the love of justice, equity, and honesty; because for these things sake we will endure all things. And the root of that love, they put in the knowledge of justice and honesty. Howbeit, because natural reason is easily obscured and deceived, we must have access to the word and will of God, into which no error can fall: and for the defense of his will, there is no danger so grievous, that a godly man ought to eschew. Cicero in his Tusculane questions saith; that Fortitude is an affection of the mind, whereby (through suffering of grievous things) we obey the laws. Which thing, if by the law, he meant the word of God, it were true: but seeing he understood nothing else than a

certain natural and civil prudence, the which, by reason of original sin, and other sins, is very often times deceived, cannot consist. But since true fortitude is derived of faith and charity; and that we have not those things of our own strength, but of God; Isaiah did very well and rightly revoke the same to the spirit of God, when he said; The spirit of fortitude.

But thou wilt say, that it is a habit, and consisteth of accustomed actions. I grant: but those actions themselves be not of our strength, but of the holy Ghost. Rightly did Augustine say upon the 13th Psalm, Con. 2. He is truly valiant, who is not strong in himself, but in the Lord. Also Paul; I can do all things (saith he) in him which strengtheneth me. And in the second to the Corinthians, the twelfth chapter; When I am weak, then am I strong. For the saints, when they acknowledge their own weakness, they call upon the Lord, and are made strong. And by these means is God wont to inspire fortitude into men. First, he lighteneth their mind, that they may understand and see his will; and he so inflameth them, as they think that they shall be even then most happy, if they may for his sake suffer all most grievous things. Secondly, he is present by his strength and power, and fighteth for them that be his; as in old time he did for Abraham, and always for all godly men that be his, which be true Israelites according to the spirit. Lastly, because those things, which must be abidden and suffered, be most grievous, and in a manner swallow up reason; the spirit of God is present, and helpeth our strength and minds to endure all manner of things.

For the actions of other virtues (as saith Aristotle) are pleasant: but fortitude striveth with grievous and difficult things, and bringeth no pleasure, but in respect of the end. Wherefore the spirit bringeth to pass, that although the body be vexed with grievous torments; yet we endure all things with a glad and joyful mind. So Eleazar, in the history of the

Machabeis; In body (saith he) O Lord, I am most miserably tormented, yet for thy sake do I gladly suffer all these things. Let the Romans boast of their *Mutij, Cocles, Curtij*, and *Decij*: the Grecians of their people of Marathonias, Salamina, Plataea, and Thermopilae. But we are they that may truly praise our martyrs, who a thousand times more constantly and valiantly have suffered much more grievous things than they. When princes at this day boast of their valiant courage; let them take heed unto what end they employ the same. And we ourselves that profess the Gospel, if we suffer anything of our adversaries; let us take heed, that we suffer it not otherwise than for the glory of Christ: for so will God himself be present with us, and in most exquisite torments, will give unto us an incredible courage and cheerfulness of mind.

3. But mortification, which the scripture so oftentimes urgeth, is divided into two principal points. The first belongeth unto patience in troubles and adversities sent unto us by God: the other consisteth in moderation of expense, and in temperance, the which we of our own accord take in hand, for repressing the wantonness of the flesh. But we must beware that we do not there fasten our foot, as though we did these things of a superstition; but to the intent that invocation, confession, the praise of God, holy reading, and the works of charity towards our neighbor, may be the more easily done. And in any wise these things must be used, that they may prepare the mind unto better things. But we must note, that these exercises cannot be comprehended in rules, which may serve for all men generally, as they have attempted to do in monasteries. Furthermore, we must take heed, that there be an honor had unto the body, as Paul commandeth unto the Colossians: least that come to pass, which happened unto Basil and Nazianzen, otherwise worthy bishops, who by reason of these immoderate exercises, so

wasted themselves, and consumed the powers of the body, as they were made unprofitable for the ministry of the church. For they were constrained to keep their cabinets sometimes half a year together, sometimes a whole year. But those words, which be spoken of Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the ninth chapter, the 29th verse, are against the liberty of the flesh; because unto the Corinthians he setteth forth temperance, whereby they should bridle their desires, and remove offense from their brethren. By which reason they also are admonished, who after the example of the Corinthians, when they have given their name unto Christ, and have begun to profess the Gospel, do slack the reins and bridle unto all kind of lusts: which sort Paul diligently instructeth well near in the whole sixth and seventh chapters unto the Romans.

4. But of the first principal point, the apostle wrote in the epistle to the Corinthians; We carry about in our body the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, that therein the life of Jesus Christ may be made manifest. As if he should say; Therefore are we drawn to the tribunal seat, are racked, and suffer many things, that the death of Christ may be expressed in our bodies: and again, that by the labor and travel of those our bodies, the life of Jesus Christ may be declared and set forth. And to speak in few words, the cross is no other thing but adversities, heavy haps, temptations, and sorrows, as well of the mind, as of the body; the which are laid upon us by God, for the glory of his own name, and for our salvation. But why God will have his people so to be afflicted, there be many causes showed. First, that his wrath might be declared against sin: with which kind of judgment, God doth very oftentimes begin at his own house; to the intent it may be the more evident, and that others may understand thereby, what remaineth for them. Further, he will by this means stir up his own unto repentance. And he useth these

adversities instead of sermons, the which be of more vehemency and effect than words be. Moreover, by this means, every one of us doth prove, and thoroughly know himself: for herein we see how much, faith, charity, and other virtues are wanting; or else how much of them we have already obtained of God. And whereas by reason of sin, we be all subject unto these evils, which be the ministers of death; yet is God so good towards us, as he will alter the use of these things, that by them his Gospel and Christian verity may be confirmed: in so much that it shall not only have a testimony of words, but also of most extreme calamities, and shall remain confirmed by witness of spending both blood and life. For this cause Christ suffered, and so did John Baptist, the apostles, and infinite martyrs.

Further, from hence we have a strong argument of the resurrection to come, and of the judgment. For seeing the just men are so evil entertained in this life; it is necessary, that there should be there some alteration and change of things: as Abraham showed the rich man, which was tormented in the flames. Besides this, seeing we be adopted to be the children of God; it is convenient, that in the cross and afflictions, we should be like unto Christ, which is the first begotten. Moreover, by this means, our love towards God is most of all declared. For to honor and embrace him, when all things go well with us, and according to our desire, is not the property of a valiant mind; because therein we may appear not to worship God, in respect of himself: but rather, that we follow him, for his benefits. But if so be we fly not from him in time of adversity, it is a token that we seek him, and not his benefits. We must also add, that the power of God is more declared in afflictions and adversities, than in prosperity. For when all our doings have prosperous success, we seem not to have need of the help of God: but when God delivereth out of adversity, then is he most praised. And

especially his power is showed, when he comforteth us, and maketh us cheerful in the midst of our tribulations. Wherefore, as Augustine (writing upon the Psalms) said; The cross is no small cause of invoking and glorifying of God. Further, it giveth a token of a godly life; for All they, which will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. I pass over that, which even the Ethnics have seen; namely, that adversity doth make men more industrious, and more wise; and those that are in misery, more courteous and dutiful.

But from this cross of Christ, two things must be removed. First thereunto belong not those punishments, which come upon wicked men for their naughty acts committed. Albeit that Cyprian and Jerome say; that The thief, which came unto Christ, turned his punishment into martyrdom. Howbeit, Peter doth otherwise admonish us, that we should suffer persecutions, not as deserts for our own ill doings. Moreover, those crosses, which we procure unto ourselves, and be not laid on us by God, must be set aside. For some rash persons there be, which do lay persecutions upon themselves, whose end oftentimes is most shameful. But not to omit the principal, I say, The true suffering of the cross is a most acceptable sacrifice unto God, whereof Paul unto the Romans writeth; I beseech you for the mercy of God, &c. And unto Timothy, he said; that he should be offered up. And David said; A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart. If perhaps thou shalt demand, whether it be lawful for us voluntarily, and of our own accord to take sorrows and labors upon us, without expecting a time when God should bring them? I answer, that it is lawful; but yet in such sort, as it is commanded and prescribed unto us: as when of our own accord we admit bitter sorrows, while we repent of our former life and sins. And seeing God requireth this thing of us, it is not properly and truly said of us, that we do

call the same unto us. The which also may be affirmed, when we refuse not labors for the safety of our neighbors, and for avoiding of offenses. For these causes God himself commanded that we should labor so much as lieth in us.

5. But even as Paul unto the Romans taught, that the faith of our adoption cometh by invocation or prayer, in which the holy Ghost beareth witness with our spirit, that we be the children of God: so he sheweth a testimony, by which we may be the more certain of entering into this inheritance, which he spake of; Ye shall without all doubt (saith he) obtain it: for ye shall reign with Christ, for so much as ye have already attained to suffer with him. Wherefore crosses and troubles are tokens and arguments, whereby we may gather that we shall be the heirs of God. Paul saith unto the Philippians; That Unto them it is given for Christ his sake, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. This former gift, which we now see that we have obtained, maketh us certain of the latter, that we shall at the length not be destitute of it. For, no small or slender power of God is declared to be in them, which valiantly and patiently for godliness sake suffer persecutions, and adversities. I know there be others, which interpret these words otherwise; that Paul should seem to ascribe a certain condition, whereby we shall pass unto everlasting inheritance; namely, if we have first suffered many things. And doubtless, the Greek particle ὑπέρ, which is turned [If so be,] may be drawn to each opinion.

This is certain, that Paul here maketh a kind of transition, or passing over to another matter; although it be pleasant and closely handled, to comfort these men for the afflictions which they suffered. Albeit he departeth not from that purpose which he had in hand, but with the self-same labor both prosecuteth that which he began, and also comforteth them. And it is all

one, as if he should have said; Ye shall indeed be heirs, but yet with this condition, that ye must first suffer many things. Christ requireth nothing at your hands, which he himself hath not first performed. He leadeth you no other way, than the same which he himself hath gone. He will not offer you to drink of any other cup, of the which he himself hath not drunk. Howbeit, this will be the greatest comfort unto us; forsomuch as those things, which we shall suffer, will not be comparable with that glory, which shall be revealed in us. Ambrose followeth this interpretation. Howbeit, I think that this place is so to be understood, as though it were a proof of that which followeth, by those things which went before, after this manner; Ye shall have the eternal inheritance, because ye suffer together with Christ. The very which sentence he useth in the latter epistle to Timothy; If we die together with him, we shall reign together with him.

Chrysostom upon this place writeth; that This is an argument taken from the Major; God (saith he) hath freely given unto us many things. For when we had done nothing, he adopted us unto children: he granted us, that we should call him Father, whereof followed an assured and constant faith, that we are the sons of God: and how shall he not now give us the inheritance that is behind; especially seeing in the mean time we have suffered most grievous calamities? Undoubtedly, he will not deny it after such and so many travels, seeing he hath freely and without any travel of us endued them, that believe in him, with most excellent gifts. And by this means hath he declared, that God hath singularly well provided for men: who, to the intent they should not boast of their travel or endeavor, hath freely given many things unto them. And again, least they should be ashamed of obtaining so great gifts without travel, he would not have them to come

unto this singular inheritance, without most valiant courage, sufferance, striving, disquietness, and affliction.

6. These things avoucheth he, neither amiss, nor yet unprofitably; so they be rightly understood by us, in such sort, that we confound not the promises of the law with the promises of the Gospel. Least that should happen, it shall be necessary to make plain, what difference there is between each promises. They do not herein differ, as some think; because the promises of the Gospel have no conditions joined unto them, but the promises of the law are never offered without conditions. For even as it is said; Honor thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth. Again; If ye will and shall hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good things of the earth. And even so we read in the Gospel; Forgive, and it shall be forgiven; Give, and it shall be given unto you. And again; He that forsaketh father or mother, or wife, or house, or lands, for my sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and possess eternal life. And; If so be we suffer together with him, we shall be glorified together with him. And unto Timothy; If we die together with him, we shall rise again together with him. Wherefore, seeing this is no difference, we must seek for another.

The conditions which are annexed to the promises of the law, are commandments which the law commandeth to be fulfilled, even to the uttermost; neither will it otherwise perform the things promised, unless the conditions be absolutely fulfilled. And thus it is manifest unto him which diligently considereth the matter, that the conditions of the law might have been causes of the obtainment of the rewards which were promised. For if they had been so fully accomplished, as they were commanded in the law, they might have been compared even with the very rewards, and have been accounted for merit. But seeing they could not be performed by men, God

of his mercy in their place appointed the promises of the Gospel; which promises, notwithstanding that they have conditions adjoined unto them, yet are they freely offered. For the things that are by them commanded unto us, are indeed necessary, if we have power, time, place, and occasion given us to do them.

This I speak, because of infants, and of those, which in the last time of their life, being at the point of death, come unto Christ. For eternal life dependeth not of those conditions, as of causes. For as we have already said, it may, without those conditions, be obtained both by infants, and by those which in the last hour of their life be converted unto Christ. And because the promise, if it should depend of those conditions, as of lawful causes could not be firm; seeing there is no man, which can fulfill those conditions, as they are commanded: even for the very same cause also, the promises of the Gospel may consist without these conditions. Hereunto serveth that, which Paul saith; that those conditions cannot be compared with that thing, which is promised: which cannot be true in just and lawful causes, if they be compared with their effects. Wherefore, if thou join these three things together; namely, that the rewards of the Gospel are freely promised, that the conditions cannot be made equal unto them, and that the promises ought to be most firm; thou shalt both take away the consideration of merit, and shalt easily perceive, wherein they differ from the law.

If thou wilt demand, whether the promises of the law were given in vain; seeing there was never any man found that could perform those conditions? I will answer, that herein was nothing done in vain or rashly. For therefore were such impossible conditions annexed unto it, that men might be put in mind of their infirmity; and that they thoroughly understanding it, should fly unto Christ, of whom being received into favor, and having now

obtained justification, they might obtain the self-same promises. For as touching those men, the promises are now, of promises of the law, made promises of the Gospel: because they which believed in Christ to come, were exercised in the obedience of the law. Which obedience of the law, although it were but only begun, and not thoroughly finished; yet was it allowed of God: therefore might they have the fruition of the promises offered.

7. And what it is to suffer with Christ, may on this wise be easily declared; if we show what causes moved Christ to suffer so bitter a death upon the cross. And there were two causes; the first was, to be obedient (as he himself said) unto his good Father; the second was to subdue and condemn our sin. They which in suffering adversities, embrace these two causes in their mind, do suffer with Christ. Whatsoever sorrows or adversities happen unto them, let them reckon with themselves, that they happen unto them by the providence of God; and let them bear patiently what burden so ever is laid upon them; so as they may willingly obey God the author of that affliction. Let them consider moreover, that by these calamities, the old man is tamed, sin is broken, and that corruption, which by nature was thoroughly grafted and bred in us, is dissolved. But what the cause is, that the world, wicked men, and the devil, after a man is converted unto God, do straightway begin to rage against him, by all manner of most bitter means; I think it is not hard to be perceived. For so soon as men come unto Christ, they straightway do begin, unfeignedly and from their heart, to make war with ungodliness. Heerevpon are hatreds kindled against the godly, and persecutions wax grievous against them.

As touching the suffering of adversities, the apostle comforteth us by two reasons. The one of which is taken of the end, after this manner; These

evils, which godly men endure, do obtain a blessed end, and happy conclusion; Wherefore they must be sustained with a cheerful and valiant mind. The other is, for that those things, which we suffer, although they seem troublesome and grievous; yet can they not in any wise be compared with the rewards which shall be given us in the life to come. By this unequal proportion it is evident, (if we will speak properly) that this word merit, is not to be attributed unto our good works. Chrysostom hath well noted, that Paul, before he came to the exhortation of patience in adversities, wonderfully amplified the honor and dignity of the children of God; which he did not with so great a diligence before, when he entreated of restraining the desires of the flesh. For as we have said before, there are two kinds of mortification; the one of which herein consisteth, that we should repress the deeds of the flesh; the other is, to suffer valiantly for Christ his sake, dangers, crosses, and all manner of torments when need shall require. Which too things, if they be compared together, we shall perceive, that the suffering of adversities is of more difficulty, than is the battle with the wicked lusts of the mind.

Aristotle in his Ethics (as he prudently saw many other things) saith, that Fortitude is to be preferred before the virtue of temperance, which otherwise is most worthy of praise. Of this thing doubtless even the devil was not ignorant: for when he reasoned with God, as concerning blessed Job; Skin for skin (said he;) yea, a man will give all that he hath for his life. Wherefore, stretch forth thy hand (saith he) a little upon him, and then thou shalt see whether he will curse thee to thy face or no. For by the natural sharpness of wit, wherein he much excelleth, he easily saw, that this of all temptations is the greatest; when the life itself (than which nothing is more sweet) is put in danger. The fruit, which they that have valiantly labored

shall receive, must always (as Paul warneth us) be set before our eyes. For so shall we see, that when we suffer for Christ his sake, we shall bring singular commodity, not unto him, but unto ourselves. That which the Latin interpreter turned [*Existimo*,] that is, [I think, or count] is in Greek written [λογίζομαι:] which word cannot be referred unto an opinion that is doubtful and uncertain. For that word is chiefly used of such as make reckonings, which bring their accounts into a sum, and hold it definite and certain.

Wherefore the meaning is, as if he should have said; This I hold for certain, that those evils, which we suffer, are not to be compared with that glory, which we wait for. Indeed the afflictions of the godly are not of their own nature so light; but Paul extenuateth them only by way of comparison. Wherefore this place containeth an amplification of that felicity, which God promiseth unto us; which hereby is made the more notable, in that it far excelleth all the travels of this life. Of which thing godly men are so thoroughly persuaded, as they rejoyce even in the midst of their tribulations. The very same comparison Paul useth in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the fourth chapter: for he saith; that Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, bringeth unto us a marvelous exceeding weight of eternal glory. By these words is showed, wherefore eternal life surmounteth all the travels of this life; namely, because of the weight, continuance, and greatness thereof. For whatsoever things we suffer here, are called of Paul *παραντικά*, that is, Momentary. He addeth also *έλαφρόν*, by which words the lightness of them is showed. But contrariwise, unto the glory is attributed both eternity, and also a wonderful great weight, which exceedeth all measure.

8. The apostle addeth; Which shall be revealed unto us. He saith, that this glory shall be revealed, least we should think ourselves now to be utterly destitute of the same. For we already possess a great part thereof, although

as yet it be not perfect, nor manifest to the world. So Paul speaketh unto the Colossians; Ye are dead with Christ, and your life is hidden with Christ in God: but when Christ your life shall appear, then also shall ye appear together with him in glory. But it is to be noted, that Paul in this one word [*glory*] comprehendeth the whole felicity, which we wait for. And therein he followeth the judgment of men, which are wont to esteem glory as the chiefest goodness. Whereof also the philosophers thus affirm; that As the shadow followeth the body, so doth glory follow true and perfect virtue. Wherefore glory comprehendeth two things, which must be earnestly desired; first, that a man be endued with virtues; secondly, that he get a good name among the people.

But why the blessedness, which we wait for, is not revealed in this life, Chrysostom thinketh this to be the cause; namely, that it far passeth the state of this life. And Paul tarrieth the longer in the amplification thereof, that he may the more stir up the Romans to the suffering of afflictions. For a soldier is exceedingly confirmed to suffer perils, if he hope that the victory will be gainful unto him. And a merchant is not discomfited with any labors of sailing and traveling, if he hope thereby to win great gain. Further, we ought to consider, that the lot of the citizens of this world, differeth far from the lot of holy men, which serve Christ. For they, with the greatness of their labors go beyond those good things, which they labor to attain: but we, though we behave ourselves stoutly and valiantly (as Paul saith) yet are not our works to be compared with that end, which we set before us.

9. That we may easily understand this difference, the examples of the Romans will soon teach us. Brutus, for preservation of the liberty of his country, did not stick to slay his own children. In the doing whereof, he also

had respect to attain the praise of a good citizen: for thus the Poet Virgil writeth of him,

His countries love drives him, and greedy lust of endless fame.

These were the ends that moved the Ethnics, which undoubtedly were very small and slender causes. For the liberty, which they had respect unto, was no such as is ours, whereby we are delivered from sin, from Satan, from death, and from the wrath of God. They sought human praise, a thing doubtless inconstant and of small force: but our end is to approve ourselves unto God, whose judgment cannot be deceived. Torquatus also slue his own son, because in fighting against the enemy, he had violated the law of war. Then we also, to keep the law of God, ought not to doubt (when need shall require) to suffer all manner of most grievous torments. For the laws of God must not be compared with the laws of war.

Camillus being banished out of his country, afterward finding it to be oppressed by the Galles, valiantly restored the same; because he thought he could not live with more glory in any other place. But it shall not be so great a marvel in a Christian man, who being hurt by any in the church, leaving aside the desire of revenge, will help his brother by whom he is hurt, and by his travel will adorn the church: for out of it no man can live a holy life, nor yet attain unto eternal felicity. Quintus Mutius Scaevola, of his own accord, thrust into the fire his right hand, which had missed the striking of Porsenna. What marvel is it then, if a man, to obtain the kingdom of heaven, will offer unto the fire, not only one of his hands, but also his whole body to be burnt? Curtius being armed at all points, and mounted upon a horse, threw himself willingly into the gulf of the earth, because the city of Rome might be delivered from the pestilence. For so had the Oracle given answer, that the wrath of the gods would cease, if that, which the Romans

esteemed best, were thrown into that gulf. We for our part have an Oracle far more certain; namely, that They are not to be feared, which kill the body, but cannot kill the soul.

The *Decij* vowed themselves to the death, that their legions of soldiers might be preserved, and get the victory. Our martyrs also, when they shed their blood, rather than they will be plucked away from the religion of Christ, cannot boast that they take an enterprise in hand, which hath not been heard of. M. Pulvillus, when he should consecrate a temple unto Jupiter, and in the meantime word was brought him by envious persons of the death of his son, was not one whit abashed in mind, neither left he off that which he had begun; but commanded, that his son being dead should be carried out and buried. With what mind then ought a Christian man to suffer, seeing he heareth the Lord say; Suffer the dead to bury their dead. Regulus, when he had sworn, that he would return unto Carthage, although he knew that most grievous torments were provided for him; yet would he not commit the crime of violating his faith. Wherefore we also, seeing in baptism we have publicly given our faith unto Christ, although for the keeping thereof we should suffer all things, yet ought we not to violate the same.

Some will boast of the contempt they have of riches, and of voluntary poverty taken upon them for Christ: but let these boasters call to remembrance Cincinnatus, who after he had behaved himself honorable, and done notable acts in his Dictatorship, of his own accord returned again to till and husband his four acres of ground. Let them remember that Valerius Publicola, after he had passingly well governed his Consulship, died so poor, as he left not wherewith to bury himself; but was buried at the common charge of the city. And Fabritius so little repented him of his

poverty, as he despised the gold of king Pyrrhus. These so great and notable acts did these men, only (as I have said) to get the praises of men; and to preserve that earthly public-wealth. But we, if we enter into any dangers, have God himself to be our inheritance, and our reward, and shall be heirs together with Christ. Before us, as a prize is set the kingdom of heaven, and eternal fellowship with the angels. Wherefore it is manifest, that the notable facts of those heathen far passed the ends and rewards set before them: but our works are infinitely excelled of the rewards that are before us. I grant indeed, that their works are not to be reckoned among the true virtues: for they were rather shadows and images of virtues. And their works, although they were excellent (if we consider them after a civil manner;) yet before God they were nothing else but glorious and glistening sins: for they were not moved to work, either by faith, or by the love of God; neither yet did they direct their works to a just end.

Wherefore Augustine, in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, and 18th chapter, when he had made mention of these and such like things, prudently added; Either we perceive these things to be in us, or else we feel ourselves to be void of them. If at any time we do the self-same things, there is no cause why we should be puffed up, seeing they for lesser rewards have done the like: but if we know ourselves to be so weak and feeble, that we dare not enterprise any such things, our minds ought exceedingly to be pressed and touched; especially, seeing we be found weaker than the very Ethnics were. Moreover, these comparisons declare, that God hath not respect to the quantity and heap of works: for else he would give unto them the rewards, which he promiseth unto us. But God chiefly respecteth this, whether by faith we are joined together unto Christ, and whether we direct all that we do to the praise and glory of his name. But to have the power and ability to

do excellent acts, he of his mercy ministereth abundantly unto us, when he judgeth the time meet. In the meantime, let us give thanks unto him, for that he hath made our lot better than theirs.

10. Further, of so great force is the rejoicing of godly men, that those things which men, especially ungodly men, reckon to be a rebuke, and which they seek to avoid, and through which they judge themselves unhappy; the Christians do turn the same unto praise, do willingly embrace, and do most of all rejoice in them. For even as the planets direct their course far otherwise than doth the eighth sphere (for that is moved from the east unto the west, but the planets from the west unto the east:) even so godly men do willingly embrace those things, and in them do rejoice, which the wicked do shun, and judge reproachful. A rare thing truly, and worthy of admiration. For it is no wonder, if a man glory as concerning the promises, and obtainment of the glory of God: but in afflictions to rejoice, passeth all human reason. Further, because there is no rejoicing, but of principal and singular good things, which now we so assuredly possess; as they cannot be taken from us (for otherwise it should be no true rejoicing, but rather a boasting) least our rejoicing for the hope of the glory of God should seem to be vain, seeing in very deed we have not yet the fruition of it: Paul teacheth in the fifth to the Romans, with what good things God doth in the meantime indue us, while we do live here; namely, Tribulations, patience, experience, and hope, which confoundeth not. Undoubtedly, an excellent and most profitable proceeding by degrees, and worthy to be observed of us all, against doubtful and fearful times.

But godly men sometimes sigh, are sad, and are heavy, and complain when they fall into afflictions: how then do they rejoice? Here is no contradiction at all. For our outward man sigheth, is heavy, is sad; and the

flesh complaineth: but the spirit and our inward man rejoiceth, and is glad. When David went forth of the city, from the face of Absalom, bare footed, his head uncovered, and with many tears; outwardly there appeared in him no signification but of misery and sorrows: for Semie, who upbraided unto him this misery, saw nothing in him but that which was lamentable and miserable. Yet who doubteth, but that he, as touching faith, and the inward man, rejoiced exceedingly for the fatherly correction of God? For thereunto was his mind bent, and therefore he spared Semie, when as Abisai would have killed him; for How knowest thou (saith he) whether the Lord hath commanded him to curse me? That one and the self-same man may have contrary affections, David declareth, when he saith; Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. But thou wilt say, that afflictions are evil; how then can we rejoice in them? That they be evil, no man will deny: for they be punishments of sin, ministers of death, the last enemy that shall be driven out of the world, and at length from godly men be utterly removed. For God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of the saints.

We grant that afflictions of their own nature are evil: howbeit we say, that unto the godly, and to the elect of God, of whom we here speak, they are by the clemency of God made good and profitable; for Unto them all things work together for the best. For neither do they suffer these things to their hurt, but to their triumph. And these things are like unto the red sea, wherein Pharaoh is drowned, but Israel is saved: for in the wicked they stir up desperation, but in the godly a most assured hope. They are instruments, whereby (as we have said) is showed forth the goodness and might of God, both in comforting us, and also in erecting us. They are occasions even of most excellent good things. The power of God is made perfect in our infirmity. By these things, as by a fatherly chastisement, our daily falls are

repaired, haughtiness and pride kept under, the flesh and wantonness restrained, our old man corrupted, but our inward man renewed, sluggishness and slothfulness is shaken off, the confession of faith is expressed, the weakness of our strength is discovered, and we are provoked more earnestly to pray and call for the favor of God, and daily do better understand the perverseness of our own nature.

Besides, through afflictions we are made like unto Christ; for It behooved Christ to suffer, and so to obtain his kingdom: and we also ought to follow the very same steps. For the kingdom of God suffereth violence, and strait is the way that leadeth unto life. But, even as he, after the obedience of the cross was exalted, and had given him a name above all names; so we also, if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him. And it is a sweet thing for a lover, even to suffer for the thing that he loveth. By this means also, we accustom ourselves unto patience, that being become as it were the Diamond stone, we shall rather weary them that strike us, than we ourselves be broken. For these things be as exercises in a human body, whereby rather the health is confirmed, and the strength recovered, than taken away, or weakened through them.

11. Wherefore the godly, upon good cause rejoice in afflictions; knowing that Affliction worketh patience. And here is to be noted a phrase of speech much used in the holy scripture, whereby that which belongeth unto the thing, is attributed unto the instrument or sign. And that this is oftentimes used in the sacraments, we have proved by the saying of Augustine; albeit that our adversaries are earnestly against it. Here Paul attributeth unto afflictions, that which is the work of God, and of the holy Ghost; namely, to work patience; by which afflictions, forsomuch as they are of their own nature evil and odious, patience is not gotten, but rather shaken off. And this

do we perceive to be manifest in the wicked, who at such time as they be somewhat grievously afflicted, do burst forth into blasphemies, and also fall oftentimes into desperation. But as the physician, of things venomous and hurtful, maketh most healthful medicines: even so almighty God, by his wisdom, out of afflictions, although they be evil things, bringeth forth most excellent virtues, among which patience is one.

This virtue belongeth to fortitude, whereunto are referred all those things, which the saints do suffer, whether it be in courageous abiding of afflictions of the body, or else in subduing of reason, and mortifying of the wisdom of the flesh. Many Ethnics also suffered, many things with a valiant mind; but yet endured them not with a me sound consolation. Only they said, that by sorrow they could neither change them, nor let them: for they ascribed those things unto the necessity of the matter. Wherefore they said, that this is our lot, that even as it were in a banquet, we must either drink or depart. And if we chance to die, either we shall have no feeling after death; or if any feeling be, we shall be in a better state. In this manner did they frame themselves after a sort to bear all adversities. But in godly men the consideration of fortitude and patience is far otherwise: they have other causes, and other means, whereby they confirm themselves. For they bear not those things with a good courage, as though they should happen at all adventures; but because they know, that by singular providence they come from the most loving and almighty God; from God (I say) their father, who with a loving mind, and by his right hand, sendeth upon them those afflictions; to wit, unto the salvation of the elect. And for the same cause, they also with their right hand, that is to say, patiently do receive them, and take them in good part, crying with David; It is good for me that thou hast humbled me: and with James; They reckon, that all joy consisteth in those

adversities, which the most good, and the most wise God their father sendeth.

They always lift up the eyes of their mind to those promises of Christ; Blessed are they which mourn, for they shall receive comfort. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men revile you, and persecute you, and say manner of evil against you for my sake, falsely: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. They do bear all things with a good courage; not because in sorrowing they cannot be changed; but because they know, that in valiant suffering they offer themselves an acceptable sacrifice unto God; and persuade themselves, that they shall one day be delivered from those evils; in the stead whereof are laid up for them most ample joys and quietness, wherewith no fortune (be it never so adverse) may be compared. For The sufferings of this life, are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed in us. The Ethnics oftentimes gave over in the midst of their miseries, because they wanted strength to persevere; neither understand they from whence they should require strength, because they neither knew the true God, nor yet their own weakness. But the godly men do continue, endure, abide, and persevere: because they, knowing the weakness of their own strength, do fly unto Christ. Who strengthening, them, they are able to endure all things; who comforting them, they do not only persevere, but also even in the very ferventness of the pain they rejoice and be glad. The apostles went from the sight of the council rejoicing, because they were counted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Christ.

12. Add that Patience worketh experience. And this experience is a certain trial, both of ourselves, and our own strength; and especially of the might

and goodness of God. For in this suffering of adversities we learn, how great the corruption of our nature is, which, (unless the holy Ghost help,) it straightway, being touched with any adversity, breaketh forth into blasphemies, and complaints against the providence of God. Hereby we learn how greatly our strength is broken, and made feeble by reason of sin: for we should sink under afflictions, if we were not stayed up by the might of God's help. Hereof we have an excellent example set forth in Job; for he, being by God delivered unto the devil to be tried; how great blasphemies poured he out in his afflictions? How much complaineth he of the providence and justice of God? The light of the holy Ghost had no sooner illuminated him, but how did he pluck up his spirits again? How godly and sincerely doth he judge of God? The perverseness of our nature is hidden unto us: for the heart of man is unsearchable. But look how soon the fire is stricken out of the flint stone, so soon breaketh out our crooked nature, when affliction oppresseth us. This trial (as Peter saith) is even as a furnace unto gold. And therefore God answered unto Abraham, when he was now ready to sacrifice his son, and had his sword ready drawn, and stretched out to strike him; Now I know that thou fearest God. Indeed God knew that well enough before; but by that fact he brought to pass, that this obedience was the better known unto others. For we are like unto certain spices, whose sweet savor is not felt, unless a man bruise them well. We are also like unto stones called *Pyritides*, which show not forth that force which they have to burn, except when they be pressed hard with the fingers.

Besides this, Trial bringeth hope: and thus hath God disposed these instruments of his, as that they should one help another, and one bringeth another in. By reason of the hope of the glory of God, afflictions are not troublesome unto us: but God giving us strength, we bear them with a

valiant mind. In the very suffering of them we have a greater trial and proof of the strength and goodness of God towards us: hereupon we conceive the greater hope. So hope breedeth and bringeth in patience; and patience, hope: for when we consider that God was present with us in suffering our afflictions patiently, we hope also that he will hereafter be present with us, and at the length make us blessed. The sick man, because he hath confidence in the physician, suffereth his impostume to be cut. Afterward, as he feeleth himself relieved, he putteth confidence more and more in the physician; so as, if need were that his foot should be cut also, he would nothing doubt to commit himself to his faithfulness. The devil, as much as in him lieth, driveth us to desperation: and by afflictions goeth about to persuade us, that God is our enemy. But contrariwise, the holy Ghost saith; Because thou hast quietly and patiently borne affliction, it ought to be a sure token unto thee, that God therein declareth his favor towards thee. Wherefore have thou a good trust, for he undoubtedly will deliver thee. And although James putteth experience before patience, whereas Paul sets it after; yet is there no disagreement between them. For Paul meaneth that experience, which is given at the length after the battle, that we may have a full trial of ourselves: and James meaneth the self-same experience; but yet as it is gotten and engendered by the exercise of tribulations. But that which James addeth; namely, that Patience hath a perfect work, may be expounded two manner of ways. Either that he exhorteth us unto perseverance in suffering, to the intent that our patience may be absolute and perfect, as that which falleth not away. Or else, that we should be of a perfect mind towards those which afflict us; of so perfect a mind (I say) that we desire not to have them recompensed with the injuries, which they do unto us. As touching the nature and effects of hope, we have disputed in another place.

13. But in the eighth chapter to the Romans, after that Paul had by infinite reasons confirmed the exceeding love of God towards us; now by the way of interrogation he crieth out, that there is nothing which can interrupt that love, wherewith God loveth us. Accuse us whosoever will, let adversities come whatsoever they be; yet all things shall work together for our good. For this is the property of one that loveth; continually to do good unto him that he loveth. Wherefore, seeing God so loveth us, whatsoever he doth, or whatsoever he sendeth upon us, we must believe that it will be for our benefit: neither ought any adversities to persuade us, but that we are continually beloved of God. And that which the apostle saith, that he is most fully persuaded of; I would to God that we also were persuaded of the same. He reckoneth up those things, which seem commonly to be most hard; and whereby men are wont oftentimes to be dismayed: and he affirmeth, that even these things hinder not the love of God towards us; so far is it off, that any other things can pluck the same away from us. The apostle stayeth the longer upon his place, because our flesh and human reason can hardly be persuaded of this thing. For oftentimes, when we are afflicted, we cry; My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And that with a far other manner of affect, than Christ pronounced those words. We cry; How long wilt thou be angry, O Lord? With many such other like.

For whatsoever adversity happeneth, we think the same to be a token of God's wrath towards us: when as he nevertheless of a singular love suffereth us to be afflicted. Chrysostom noted, that Paul rehearsed not things light, and of small force. For he left untouched, covetousness of money, ambition of honors, desire of revenge, and pleasures forbidden; which things are wont to draw backward, even those men that be constant: but he reckoneth up things horrible, and most grievous, and which are wont

easily to overcome nature. For in these words he comprehendeth those things, which commonly happen in a life most hard, and most bitter; as prisonments, burnings, bonds, tearing's in sunder, and such like things. And he useth an interrogation, thereby to signify a steadfast assurance. And the words, which he useth, are not placed by chance, or at all adventures; but with singular working of the holy Ghost.

The first word is θλίψις, that is, [Affliction] derived of θλίβειν, which signifieth, To break, or to press vehemently: for things that be well made, are wont to be first broken or bruised. And afterward the evil is increased, and then cometh στενοχωρία; that is, [Anguish] where things are brought to so narrow a strait, that a man cannot tell what counsel to take, or which way to turn himself. Then outwardly cometh [Persecution,] which doth spoil a man of his friends. Afterward follow [Hunger and nakedness:] for men, when they be compelled to fly away, have then great want of things necessary. And then is added [Peril] so that men come also into danger of their life. And because nothing should want, at the last is added the [Sword.] All these things (saith the apostle) have no such strength, as they can persuade the elect, that they are not beloved of God. These discommodities of the godly, Paul setteth forth in the latter epistle unto the Corinthians, the fourth chapter: for thus he writeth; I think that God hath declared us the last apostles, as men appointed unto death. For we are made a gazing stock unto the world, and to the angels, and unto men. We are fools for Christ his sake, but ye are wise through Christ. We are weak, and ye are strong. We are despised, and ye are honored. Unto this hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling places, and labor, working with our hands. We are reviled, and yet we bless; we are persecuted, and suffer; we are ill spoken of, and we pray. And in the

latter epistle to the Corinthians; In prisons, above measure; in labors, more abundantly, &c. And unto Timothy; They which will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And many such other like sentences, are everywhere to be found in the holy scriptures.

Augustine *De doctrina christiana*, and Erasmus in his annotations declare, that that place excelleth in weight of matter, and ornaments of Rhetoric; namely, in Gradation, in Antithesis, in Contraries, and Repetitions. The apostle also doth urge it with interrogations, and speaketh nothing in this place that is base and mean: for all things are magnifical and excellent; whether a man consider the things themselves, or the persons. He speaketh of life, death, height, depth, God, Christ, the right hand of the father, angels, principalities, powers: and last of all, he addeth; In all these things we be more than conquerors. This oration of Paul they think to be so notable and excellent, as they suppose that neither Cicero, nor Demosthenes could ever have spoken more eloquently: not indeed that the holy Ghost hath need of these ornaments; but because he sometimes vouchsafeth to abase himself unto these things, when they may serve for our commodity. Which I therefore thought good to give warning of, because young men might understand, that this force of eloquence pertaineth unto the gifts of God; and that they must endeavor to get the same in time, that the holy Ghost may use it, when it shall serve for the commodity of the church.

14. Paul in the same place addeth; As it is written: For thy sake are we delivered to the death all the day long, we are accounted as sheep to the slaughter. Because that reason and our flesh are hardly persuaded, that we are beloved of God, when we be exercised with afflictions; therefore Paul brought a proof out of the scriptures, to confirm this paradox: for here have we need of faith, which cleaveth unto the word of God. This testimony is

taken out of the 44th Psalm, wherein are set forth such men complaining of their tribulations, as of them we cannot doubt, but they were most dear unto God; We are (say they) counted as sheep for the slaughter; that is, unto whom nothing is more certain than to be slain. For there be certain sheep, which be kept and fed for their wool sake, or to maintain brood: and those have life spared them for a time. Some are appointed for the kitchen, and they are every day (as occasion serveth) drawn unto death. And therefore the saints in the same psalm complain, that they are like unto the sheep appointed to be eaten. They complain, that they are otherwise dealt with, then the fathers in the old time were dealt with; unto whom God seemed to bear great favor, when as he enriched them, fought for them, gave them the victory, and with excellent names and titles made them famous and honorable. We (say they) are now otherwise dealt with; for we are delivered unto the enemies, as sheep to be slain; as unto whom they may do what pleaseth them.

It is true indeed, that God would sometimes declare his love towards the saints, and confirm the truth of his doctrine, when he adorned them with such goods and riches. That even the idolaters also might understand, that the same God, whom the patriarchs worshipped, was both the creator of the world, and also the distributer of all good things: and that all things which men commonly desire, are in his pleasure. Which thing when he had sufficiently declared, he also made them so strong by reason of adversities, as they with a noble courage and invincible steadfastness testified the doctrine of God to be true. Wherein God likewise declared himself to be the distributer of all good things of the mind, and of heroical virtues: and that his power is so great, as even of things contrary, he can work all one effect. And that which the Latin interpreter translateth, [We are mortified] should

have been translated [We are slain.] For the Hebrew word is *Horagnu*, although the Greek word θανάτω sometimes signifieth, To mortify: for that word Paul used in the same chapter, when he said; And if ye by the spirit mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live. But here (as we said) θανάτω signifieth, To be slain, and to be delivered unto the death.

15. But that which followeth; All the day long, signifieth that death doth continually hang over them, and that they are never secure; but that they think they shall be forthwith drawn unto death. Albeit Chrysostom amplifieth this another way; It is of necessity (saith he) that men die once at the least. But seeing they are so prepared, that they are willing every day to die, if need require, they have every day the fruit of martyrdom, as if they should every day die. And the cause much relieveth and comforteth them: for they are not slain as wicked men, or malefactors, but only for religion and godliness sake. And therefore they say; For thy sake. And for that cause some think, that that psalm ought not to be understood of the first captivity: for then the Jews were not punished for God's cause, or for religion sake; but because they were idolaters, and so wicked, as God would no longer suffer them: for they had now altogether fallen away from God. The book of the law was almost clean blotted out, the temple was shut up, the city of Jerusalem overflowen with the blood of the prophets. Wherefore this is a prophesy of the latter calamity, which happened in the time of the *Machabeis*, under Antiochus and the Macedonians. For then the Jews suffered most grievous torments, because they would defend the laws of God. Therefore they say; For thy sake are we slain. And in another verse it is added; And yet for these things have we not forgotten thee, or done unfaithfully against thy covenant. These things are not so spoken, as though men do at any time suffer more grievous things than they have deserved.

For none of all the martyrs lived so purely, and innocently, but that they were subject to some sins: but those sins deserved not only the death of the body, but also, without the help of Christ his death, everlasting punishment. But these pains and vexations, God sendeth not upon them, as being angry; but for the setting forth of his truth and glory. Howbeit, in the meantime, according as he promised, he repaieth unto them not only life eternal: but also in this life he rendereth unto them a hundredth fold. For oftentimes he most abundantly restoreth those things, which were lost for his sake. Sometimes also, in the midst of tribulations, and even in the very cross and death, he giveth unto them so much strength and consolation, that in very deed it is more than a hundredth fold, if it be compared with those things, which they have lost. And because the mysteries of our faith are secret and hidden, God will have them to be testified, not only by oracles of the scriptures, but also by the torments and slaughters of the elect. And therefore Christ unto the apostles, when he sent them into the whole world to preach; Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jewry, and in Samaria, and unto the ends of the world. But it is no hard matter by words to testify the truth: but those testimonies are most weighty, which are sealed with blood, and with death. Howbeit this must be known (as Augustine hath admonished) that pains, punishments, and death, maketh not martyrs, but the cause. For otherwise many suffer many grievous things, and yet are not martyrs. For the same Augustine to Boniface, *De correctione Donatistarum*, and in many other places, testifieth; that in his time there were Circumcellion's, a furious kind of men, which if they could find none that would kill them, would often times break their own necks headlong, and would slay themselves. These men (saith he) must not be counted martyrs.

Three things therefore seem fit to the state of martyrdom. First, that the doctrine which is defended be true, and agreeable unto the holy scriptures. The second is, that there be adjoined integrity, and innocence of life; that men do not only edify the church by death, but also by life and conversation. The third is, that they seek not to die for glory sake, or for desire of name and fame. Paul saith to the Corinthians; If I shall deliver my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it nothing profiteth me. Therefore no man ought to account the Anabaptists, Libertines, and other such pestiferous sects, for martyrs. For seeing these men do obstinately defend their errors unto the death, they are not moved with charity, neither towards God, nor yet towards men. And forso much as they hate all good men, they be rather the martyrs of Satan, and of their own errors, than of Christ. Two kinds of testimonies we have, which help very much to the knowledge of the truth: yet are not those altogether so firm, that we ought straightway to assent unto them; namely, miracles, and torments, which are suffered for the defense of any opinion. In either of them must be had great wariness, that the doctrine, which is set forth, be examined by the holy scriptures. Paul out of David compareth the godly with sheep appointed unto the slaughter. In this similitude are two things to be considered. First, that they are called sheep, because they be simple, as becometh the flock of Christ to be. Secondly, because in their punishments, they make no resistance, following the example of Christ, of whom it is written, that When he was led like a sheep unto death, yet did he not open his mouth.

16. Paul addeth; But in all these things we be conquerors. The Greek word is ὑπερνικῶμεν, that is, We do notably overcome. This particle ὑπέρ in this place pertaineth nothing unto the works of supererogation: for Paul meant nothing else, but that so much strength is given us by God, as in this

conflict we go far beyond our enemies. This the devil doth, that by these adversities he may wrest from us our confidence, and love towards God. But that, by this means is rather increased; For tribulation worketh patience; patience worketh experience; experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed. But by what strength this victory happeneth unto us, Paul straightway declareth, saying; Through him, which loved us, before we could love him. And he hath given us his spirit, through whom we obtain an excellent victory: otherwise of ourselves we are far unequal for such a battle. It is God (as Chrysostom hath wisely noted) whom in this fight we have our fellow soldier, and by that means we obtain so notable a victory. Neither do we only overcome troubles, whatsoever they be; but even those enemies also, which persecute us, seem they never so great and mighty. Which how it happened in the apostles, Luke plainly describeth in the Acts. When a miracle was wrought by Peter and John, in such manifest sort, as it could not be denied; the high priests and Scribes, being overcome with the greatness of the thing, knew not what counsel to take; What (say they) shall we do with these men? As if they should have said; Here are our practices overthrown, here our power is able to do nothing; here the more we strive, the more and more manifestly we be overcome.

The same happened unto Julian the apostate, as it is in the Ecclesiastical history. He had begun by all manner of means to vex and torment the Christians, but his cruelty and outrageousness was overcome with their patience. Which one of his rulers perceiving, privately admonished him to cease, least he should not profit anything at all; and yet notwithstanding make himself a laughing stock to all men. This power of God bringeth to pass, that even by the self-same things, which be against the victory, we obtain a more notable victory, to the great admiration of all men. For who

can believe, that he which is vanquished, can get the victory; that one slain, burnt, and torn in pieces, is able to overcome in battle? These things, nature, reason, and the world understand not. Wherefore these things must be ascribed to God only, in whose hands seeing the events of things are set, they depend not of certain and appointed instruments; but of the purpose and counsel of God, unto whom those things, which seem to resist, do most service.

17. For which cause I think, that God provided, that the mind of Jacob might be confirmed by wrestling; and that he might learn, that so much divine strength should be given to him, as he should never either by celestial or human power be hindered from obtaining the promises offered to him by God. But the shrinking of the sinew was therefore added, because he might understand, that he should not have these things without great trouble and sorrow: for he was constrained, in his life time, to have trial of many both bitter and lamentable things. From him was his only daughter Dinah taken away, and ravished; Reuben dishonored his father's bed; Joseph his most dear son, was miserably sold; Judah enjoyed the most shameful company of his sons wife, and fell into great danger of the Shechemites. Upon good cause therefore was his sinew hurt, and he compelled to go halting. Thou mayest perceive, that the very same thing happeneth to us, which truly pertain unto Israel. While that we wrestle valiantly against adversities, abiding (for Christ his sake) persecutions, banishments, the spoil of our goods, and other infinite miseries; we are said (after a sort) to wrestle against God, seeing those things happen not without his appointment. For he sendeth temptations, whereby he will have us to be exercised. And after what sort the faithful here do attain to have the upper hand, Paul hath expressed unto the Romans, when he saith; that No

creature, neither power, nor principality, nor any other thing, shall have so great strength, that it can draw us away from the love of God. And as touching that stripe of the sinew, it is said to the Galatians; that They which be of Christ, have crucified the flesh, with all the affections thereof.

Doubtless the Fathers (as Augustine also in the 18th book *De civitate Dei*) do expound, that the angel in this wrestling, did shadow Christ; who for the disposing and ordering of our redemption, seemed good to be overcome of Israel, which crucified him: who nevertheless being ready to die, blessed his enemies, praying most effectually for them. From thenceforth notwithstanding, they became lame; for part of them followed Christ, and others would not believe: or else in respect that their temporal kingdom began even then to be in hard case. Jerome maketh this to be a spiritual wrestling: and thereof he writeth upon the epistle to the Ephesians in these words; Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, &c. And it seemeth, that the same Father took his opinion from the prophet Osee, who saith in the 12th chapter, that Jacob so overcame in wrestling with the angel, as he wept and prayed him. Wherefore, besides that bodily striving, it was also a contending of most vehement prayers. Here the scripture speaketh not that he prayed for blessing. But Osee, being an excellent interpreter thereof, writeth, that he not only prayed, but also added tears withal. Do not thou for this cause infer, that we ought to offer prayers unto angels: for this name all only doth not betoken an angel, but it is also attributed unto God.

And least we should fall into this error, the scripture hath provided to instruct us by the angels themselves, who would not abide to be worshipped; as we may see in the Apocalypse. Neither will I forget, that there be certain interpreters of the Jews, which (by the saying of Osee) will that the angel did weep in that wrestling. And that tears are not

unbecoming for angels, they endeavor to prove by the saying of Isaiah; Angels of peace will bitterly weep. But this place serveth nothing to the purpose. And if the words of Osee be ambiguous, the sense which I now expressed of them, is more likely to be true, than that sense which the Jews do gather thereof. Neither must the angel in this fact be accused of lying; who would not deceive Jacob in feigning to be a wrestler, but meant to instruct him. For which cause he used such an action, as might easily show to him the strength that was given unto him by the Lord; to the intent that in present peril he should not be faint hearted. After the very same manner Christ, when he went forward unto Emmaus with his two disciples, pretended as though he would go further. But whereas it is said, that the angel in wrestling, was not able to cast him: perhaps it must so be understood, as it is spoken by our savior in the 6th of Mark; that he could not do any great work in that place, that is to wit, as touching the power that is not prescribed and limited by the laws of nature; but by his own judgment and appointed order: otherwise all things were in the power of Christ, seeing he was God. Even so the angel, as an angel had been able to overthrow Jacob; but not with those forces, which he was to use for the instruction of him in that wrestling. Or else thou mayest absolutely understand it, that he was not able to overcome him, by reason of the force and strength wherewith God had endued Jacob.

18. But how ready the help of God is unto the godly, in the greatest dangers; the conflict between David and Goliath, is an example worthy to be remembered. And in that conflict of David with Goliath, there are three things to be observed; first, after what manner he fought with him; secondly, how to the killing of him, he used his own weapons; thirdly, that so notable goodness of God ought not to be put in oblivion. As touching the

first, Goliath had thus provoked David; Come unto me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air: yet nevertheless afterward, being inflamed with anger by David's talk, he changed his purpose, and ran willingly upon him. This when David perceived, he thought it not best to expect till they came to hand strokes; for then should his sling have served him to no use. Therefore he prepared a stone, and with one blow he overthrew him. That work may seem for three causes to be wonderful. For first, they that use a sling, may seem to be very cunning, if they can hit even a mark that is fixed and set. But David did not only hit, but also overthrew a mark that wandered, and was moveable. Again, it was a wonder, that he could at one cast hit the forehead: but and if he brake the helmet, it was also the more marvel. Howbeit, if he were bare headed, yet was it a great matter, that he could so hit it straightway at the first throw. Finally, it was also a marvel, that he could with one little stone, overthrow so huge a body. But God pieced the stroke; for he is not idle in the camp. Nay rather, the darts which are thrown, are able to do nothing, unless God appoint them.

In the book of Judges, a silly woman with a stone out of a tower hit and killed Abimelech. This was the counsel of God, that a wicked and bloody tyrant should be dispatched after that manner. Ahab changed his habit, lest he should be known: yet God directed against him the dart, which was shot at all adventures, that the prophesy of Elias might be verified. But thou wilt say; It is a wonder, that so great a man could be slain with so little a blow. I grant indeed, that it was a marvelous thing. Howbeit we must consider, that with an ox goad, being an instrument not very convenient to kill, Samgar slew six hundred; and that Samson with the jawbone of an asse killed a thousand Philistines. For anything will serve for a dart, if God be willing. Indeed the stone was of no such weight, as was that stone of Turnus, which

Virgil describeth could scarce have been lifted of eight strong men. Howbeit, this was a fable, that is a thing done: certainly the stone itself was light, but the weight was added by God. So the Gospel seemeth to be a light matter, and of small importance; but Paul calleth it The power of God. Contrarywise, the things which seem to be most mighty, if God once withdraw from them his strength, are not able to do anything. What is more fierce than a lion? Yet nothing more gentle when Daniel sat by them. What is of more force than fire? Yet could it do nothing against the three young men. The word of God seemeth to be a vile and contemptible thing; yet it is cast with the sling of the holy Ghost, it hath so great power and strength, as it is able to subdue the whole world.

19. Indeed Goliath was dressed with very good armor, but he could not use the same: for he was overthrown before he began to fight. Therefore Augustine in his fourth sermon *De verbis apostoli*; He that presumeth (saith he) of himself, is overthrown before he fight. Trulie a golden sentence is that, and always true, not only in spiritual war, but also in civil conflict. For he that contemneth an enemy, is oftentimes overcome before the fight. God can prohibit unto us, not only the things themselves; but also the use of them. Many do (by all manner of endeavor) hunt after riches; but all in vain: for oftentimes God will not give them. And oftentimes, although he do give them; yet be giveth not the use of them: for many do die before they can enjoy the riches, which they have gathered. So, many, when with all endeavor and practice they seek after honors; yet can they not obtain them: and many obtaining them, cannot enjoy them. Julianus the apostate, when he bare an incredible hatred against the Christians, threatened, that he having gotten victory of the Parthians, would utterly have extinguished that whole sect of the Galileans: but he was slain in battle, and these

threatening's came to nothing. Ahab threatened he would have cut off the head of the prophet Micah, if he had returned in peace: but he was slain in the battle, and was not able to do anything. Wherefore, if we see ourselves to be in danger, we must not be faint hearted, but rather think thus; Mightie indeed be our enemies, but God is much more mighty; Great is our distress, but the help of God is more amply extended. And let us remember, that God casteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and meek.

And why God so doth, there be many causes, one taken from household government. For if great things should perpetually go forward in increasing, they would in the end possess all things, and nothing should be able to stay them. Again, if that small and simple things should continually be wasted, in the end they would come to nothing. But God would have a certain mean to be had in all things. Another cause is this; That is holpen of anything, unto the which it cometh nearest: as that thing chiefly is of the fire made hot, which cometh nearest to the fire. And we are joined with God, not by place, or natural touching; but by faith and godliness. But rich men do oftentimes put their trust in their riches, and they have many things, whereby they may be pulled from God. And trust, the more that it is placed in riches, the less it is reposed in God. The third cause is, that God doth by this means chiefly show his wisdom and power. For every man can extol him that is mighty; but to overthrow him, is only in God. To oppress a man of low estate, it is no difficult thing; but to extol him, and place him in authority, it is a certain point of divine power. Wherefore, we ought not to be terrified with the greatness and power of enemies. Let us be assured, that our works be joined with the will of God; then let us commit the event unto him. Whatsoever shall happen, it will fall out well and happily; for God will

help us, and will so help us, as he will make the armor of our enemies to become ours.

This wisdom of God will be the more evident, if we consider of the same by particularities. Against the church of Christ did tyrants, in the first times, arm themselves: such were the Nero's, the Domitians, the Maxentij, and the Dioclesians. Howbeit, these weapons were afterward derived unto the church; when God had given. Constantine, Valentinian, Theodosius, Charles the great, and other godly and just princes. The philosophers armed themselves against the church, with all kind of doctrine and eloquence. But the very self-same weapons did the church afterward use against the philosophers. For here might I reckon up many fathers, both most eloquent, and most thoroughly furnished with all kind of knowledge. At this day also, the Papists do arm themselves with the Fathers, Councils, Canons, Decrees, and finally, with the Decretals. Howbeit, even with this self-same armor they are become doubtful and uncertain: for in every one of these there be in a manner things innumerable; the which do utterly confute them. And in very deed, it is scarcely the hundred part that they will observe; yea rather, they will cry out, that those things are now abrogated, that they are abolished, that they be not now in use, that they belong not unto these times. The wicked use against us the holy scriptures, but yet so, as did the devil against Christ; They shall bare thee in their hands (saith he) least thou shouldest hit thy foot against a stone. But Christ wrested that armor out of the devil's hands, as none of his; It is written (saith he) Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God; Man shall not live by bread only; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. These darts do utterly cut off their heads. These weapons are made by God; wherefore they ought to serve the glory of God: and albeit

that they are sometimes stolen by the enemies, yet in very deed they are always ours.

20. This perhaps will seem a marvel unto some, that God hath been accustomed to punish his people by other nations far worse than they. Sometime the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites were idolaters, and nations which were overwhelmed with exceeding great sins. Unto this would I say, that such is the providence of God; the which so punisheth sins with sins, as by ungodly men he punisheth others that deal ungodly. Further, by this means he showeth, that these things, although they be evil, cannot escape; but that they shall do some manner of service unto his will. But why he deferreth to punish those nations, which otherwise be wicked, but straightway punisheth his own people: the cause is, insomuch as these pertaining to God do sin against a known law. So that there is no cause why the Turks and Papists, if they sometime prevail against us for the revengement of our sins, should please themselves therewith; as though they were far better than we, or as though their superstitions should excel our religion. For if it be not granted to the Moabites, Canaanites, and Assyrians, that they should be better than the Jews, whom they overcame: no more shall it be granted unto the Turks and Papists, if at any time they afflict the professors of the Gospel, when God will have it so.

Therefore God quickly punisheth his own; for his word sake; because it is spread among them: he doth not easily suffer, that when it is received and known, they should escape unpunished, which condemn the same. Undoubtedly there were very many liars and unfaithful men in Jerusalem; yet did God forbear them: when as he forthwith destroyed Ananias and Sapphira; for he minded to adorn the Gospel, and the holy Ministry. And while that the Ethnics perceive how severely we are handled by our God,

they may easily conjecture what punishment remaineth for them: according to the saying of Christ; If this be done in a green flourishing land, what shall be done in a withered? This if they understand not, by reason of their blindness; yet we must not forget it for our own comfort. In Jeremiah the 49th chapter, we read, that the people of God (which seemed least to deserve it) drank of the cup of the Lord; wherefor the Edomites ought much rather to have looked, that the punishments provided for them, should at the length be paid. Also in the ninth chapter of Ezekiel, God exhorteth the nations, which were enemies unto the Hebrews, that they should slay and spare none; but should begin at his sanctuary.

And Peter, in the first epistle, the fourth chapter; It is time (saith he) that judgment should begin at the house of God. And why he saith, that now is the time, this I think to be the cause; namely, that all those things, which the prophets foreshowed of chastising the Israelites, rather than others, he perceived to take place most of all among Christians. For those things, which happened to the Jews, through a shadow and figure, pertained specially unto us. Wherefore Christ being revealed, and his faith spread abroad, Peter thought it would very soon after be fulfilled, that judgment should begin with the Christians, which are the house of the Lord. Furthermore, in the congregation of God's people, there are yet some saints always, which are tried, while torment is most sharp, and become more excellent; even as gold doth in the fire. Which thing the heavenly father will have to be done with all speed possible. Besides this, the chosen, which have fallen, being warned by chastisements and adversities, have been accustomed to return again into the right way. And this doth God (who is most loving unto them) favorably provide, that this may come to pass. But those, which shall be incurable, he will have them to be quickly broken;

because they should do no longer hurt, than needs must, nor destroy others by their infection. Certainly, these be causes why God correcteth his own people, sooner than strangers. Doubtless he doth it not of hatred, but the same must rather be attributed unto a most fervent charity. Moreover, the divine Oracles, spoken in the person of God, do declare this; namely, Whom I love, them I correct and chastise. Also a good father of a household, omitting others, beginneth first to use severe discipline with his own.

Of Flight.

21. Now it shall not be amiss, to speak somewhat of Flight. The opinion which we defend, is, that it is lawful for a godly man, as the time and place require to shun persecutions. Which thing is chiefly proved by this reason. For the Lord commanded his apostles, in the tenth of Matthew; If they shall persecute you in one city, fly ye into another. Tertullian thought, that this precept was momentary, and for a time; until the Gospel should be preached over all the cities of Jewry. For first the bread was to be given unto the Hebrews, before that the Gentiles should be called. Wherefore, to the intent they might perform their message, it was permitted unto them, that they should fly from city unto city: that, as who saith, they should preach unto all cities the coming of Christ. Which circuit being finished, that commandment of flying away was revoked, even as those other two, which are mentioned in the same chapter; namely, Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not, neither enter ye into the cities of the Samaritans. These two precepts (saith Tertullian) we perceive to be abrogated. Wherefore we may presume, that the same is also done concerning flight. But what kind of argument (I beseech you) is this? Two precepts are there abrogated, as the Lord hath plainly specified in the last chapters of Matthew and Mark; when he sent his

apostles unto all nations through the world, and to all creatures; Therefore all other things, which he there commanded, are abrogated. That good master knew very well, how to revoke those things, which were to be revoked: but other things which he did not revoke, he would that they should remain in strength and efficacy. Note there a number of excellent precepts, the which he commanded unto his apostles, when he sent them on message; and darest thou be bold to say, that all those same were abrogated, because the access to the Gentiles and Samaritans was then forbidden, and afterward (as we have said) was set at liberty?

We read there, that They should not study what to speak, when they stood before kings and rulers; that They should be wise like serpents, and simple as doves; and that they should not fear them which slay the body; that they should consider the faithfulness and protection of God, seeing unto him the very hairs of the head be numbered. And; He that contemneth you (saith he) contemneth me: and, He that hath received a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward: also; He that receiveth a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophets reward: so as, if it be but a cup of cold water that is given in the name of Christ, it shall not be done in vain, or loose the reward. If all these things be still of force, and we continually put in mind of keeping them; why would we have that abrogated, which is there put concerning flight? But how much is to be attributed unto flight, after the ascension of Christ, the examples of the fathers do manifestly declare. First of all, Paul (to begin with that apostle, unto whom the province of Jewry was not committed) was by the brethren let down by a wall in a basket, and so he departed out of Damascus. What shall I speak of Chrysostom, Athanasius, and other of the fathers? They, by their acts, are no ill authors of interpreting this same precept. And so out of the words of the Lord, and

by the examples of the holy fathers, we have now two arguments. The third is, that it is by nature engrafted in all living things, to defend themselves: which must not be understood so to be the works of nature, as though it sprung not from God; for he is the author and governor of nature. When this therefore is done in time and place, who is so hardie as to account it a fault? Further, when as there is a means of escaping offered, and that the way is open, he that should not take the occasion offered, might seem to prevent the providence of God; and besides the order given him, should throw himself into mischief. Besides this, charity persuadeth, that we should have consideration of our adversaries; and should not minister occasion for them to pollute themselves with wicked slaughter and innocent blood.

22. Wherefore it is granted, that there may be a flying away, but yet upon this condition, that by the same we transgress not the commandments of God: the sum of which dependeth upon two points; to wit, that we behave ourselves towards God and our neighbor with due godliness and charity. But he should depart from the worshipping of God, which through fear or infirmity would shun persecution, and in flying away, would not seek the glory of God. Flight must wholly be directed unto this end, that we may the more commodiously do honor unto God, and preserve ourselves, until our appointed time. Thou must beware then, lest thou seek here those things which be thine own, and not those things which be the Lord's; and that thou be so confirmed in mind, as thou mayest be ready to take present death upon thee, when thou shalt know that the Lord calleth thee thereunto, that thine hour is come, or that by thy blood the glory of God may be advanced: even as the Lord, who having oftentimes escaped the hands of the murderers, did in due time meet with them of his own accord. And Paul, when he had been let down through the wall in a basket, and fled; he

afterward going unto Jerusalem, albeit that dangers and very great adversities were there remaining for him (as Agabus did foreshow) yet did he not turn from his purpose of going. Hereof it cometh, that when we shall determine thereof, we must not use an external judge, but a domestical; I mean the conscience: by the diligent examination whereof, we may discern what it is that forceth us to fly: neither may our conscience give sentence without the spirit and word of God.

Yet further we must beware, that by flying, there be no injury done to thy neighbor. Augustine taught in his 180th epistle unto Honoratus; that They ought not to fly, which are so preferred to the ministry of the church, as the spiritual life of Christ his flock cannot be commodiously retained, and continued in their absence. Wherefore let not pastors fly away, unless they have such as can supply for them the work which ought to be done. If the people which be under them do depart, they may depart with them. But this oftentimes cannot well be, that the whole people do go away: unless therefore that other fellow ministers can be substituted in their place, they must not depart. And Augustine thinketh, that Paul going from Damascus, had in any wise those, whom in his absence he might leave in his stead with the brethren. And this he holdeth to be true, in case, if there be made any invasion of the barbarous, because they seek not an overthrow of the faith and religion of God, but only a possession of that province and country. And if thou object against the decree; It is lawful to fly, where the fruit of martyrdom may be hoped for; how much rather shall this be permitted in such a barren persecution? We answer, that it is not lawful to fly in that persecution, wherein the triumph of martyrdom is set before us; unless thou live unbound and free, so as thy presence be not bound unto thy brethren (for the flying should be even together with the people,) or if all fall now

into an universal slaughter; or else, when thou hast vicars that supply thine absence, which are able to do that which thou shouldest do: otherwise thou must have a respect, that through thy flight or fearfulness, thy brother perish not, for whom Christ died. Neither must this be overpassed, that then especially, when the people is pressed with these calamities, there are meetings of men in great abundance at the temples; who then desire the sacraments, the penitents desire absolution: wherefor they must be strengthened by the consolation of the scriptures; and a general invocation of God, and solemn prayers do then chiefly take place. But if that the minister do seek to save himself, by flying away; what discommodities shall the church run into? How greatly shall the Gospel be blasphemed for having of such feeble ministers? Wherefore this kind of men must deal most constantly at this time.

But when it cometh to pass, that only the pastors of the church are sought for by the persecutors; least they should thus miserably perish, it is the part of devout people to keep them secret, whereby they may escape that rage and fury. But admit that in some church there be not only one, but many ministers: if grievous persecution and calamity be at hand, at which time either one or two of those ministers may commodiously serve for the necessities of the people, whether ought they all be charged to tarry? For if they die altogether at one time, the church by that means shall not easily have others, by whom it may be taught and instructed; and so it seemeth meet, that some should depart, and some other should be retained. But if their gifts be alike, how can it be determined, which shall fly, and which shall tarry still? If (saith Augustine) it cannot otherwise be agreed upon, let them be sent away, or retained by lots. But if that charity abound among them, we shall not perceive them to strive, which of them may have leave to

depart; but they will rather everyone procure and endeavor, that he may have license to tarry, and to give his life for the flock of the Lord. And there may be a danger, least the people should be deceived by the presence of their ministers, by contemning the danger too much: for when they see that their pastors be not fled, they may persuade themselves that all is safe with them. Wherefore they must be so certified, as they may understand, that the ministers do tarry for their sakes only, least they should be accused of forsaking their flock.

23. In this matter Tertullian was of a hard judgment, who would not have it lawful for a godly man to fly in time of persecution: whose doubtful arguments we must resolve. First he saith; Persecution is good; Therefore we ought not to fly. He proveth the antecedent; Because that persecution cometh from God, then because it maketh men to be humble, tried, and capable of chastisement and discipline. We say, the conclusion is weak, because good things, which are good in some respect, and not absolutely, are sometimes justly shunned. Of which sort is death: for the same is therefore said to be good, because without it we cannot be joined unto Christ. Of the which nevertheless Paul pronounced, that we would not be unclothed, but be clothed upon. And among this kind of good things, we place persecutions. But whereas it is taken, that men are become the better thereby; we say that is taken as it were a true cause, which is no lawful cause. For persecution is rather an occasion than a cause that men return unto God: for if the grace and spirit of Christ were not added thereunto, men thereby would rather be led unto blasphemy, and they would fall into the pit of desperation: for persecutions do not make all men good. And if that occasions, which are provided for us, should never be shunned; I would affirm this thing of sins, which be stirrers up unto repentance.

Thou addest; It is of God; Therefore not to be avoided. Again, thou mayest see the strength of this argument, in so much as war, famine, pestilence, diseases, and such other discommodities, come from God, which nevertheless if we shun by the industry of our reason and sense, who will accuse us therein, as resisters of the will of God? And he that shunneth persecution sent by God, doth not escape so free, as he feeleth no adversity thereby. In flying away, we have good experience of many discommodities; namely, of banishment, of the lack of necessities. In flying away, we have the loss of our dear friends and country soil. Which things a man doth sometime take so grievously, as he judgeth them more happy, which were slain in the persecution itself, they having obtained the triumph of martyrdom. As Virgil very well describeth, O happy and happy thrice are they, who died before their fathers face under the walls of Troy. Touching Helias, how great things he suffered in the very flying away; the history of the kings teacheth. And of Athanasius there be many things reported by Eusebius.

24. Moreover, he argueth; that It is a fond thing to shun persecution, from which thou canst not escape, if God will have thee to endure it. He concludeth, that he which flieth, seemeth after a sort to boast against God, that he is stronger than he, and able to escape his persecution. But there is none of the godly so deceived, as he will fly away against the will of the Lord: nay rather, he trusteth to his power and will. For the godly do know, how David hath pronounced; Whither shall I go from thy spirit? And whither shall I fly from thy presence? Besides this, they understand, that there is no running of them that be swift, and that flying away is denied unto the feet; unless the Lord be present. David, when he fled from Saul, gave thanks that God had given unto him Harts feet. They which fly, do not

boast themselves against God, neither be they injurious or contumelious; but they lament, they make their prayers, they have confidence, and they humble themselves. How many notable psalms did David make, when he fled away? Further, he sheweth another reason; He that flieth, either he is uncertain of his fall, or else if he do tarry, he is certain. If he be certain that he will deny Christ; he flieth in vain; seeing (as touching the mind) he is already run into the crime of infidelity. But if thou wilt say, that thou art uncertain; why doest thou not hope well, and presume well of the grace of God? We answer, that they which fly, are certain of God; but of themselves they are uncertain. Seeing in their flesh there dwelleth no good thing, how can they thereof promise to themselves any good thing? They know that God will help when they fall among their enemies, but they know not now whether God will have them to be taken by them; nay rather, they presume it is otherwise, seeing the way to fly is open for them. Which thing godliness teacheth to be done by the will of God, seeing God speaketh unto men, not only by outward words of the scripture and prophets, but also by a facility and difficulty of things and occasions. And then they plainly know, that God would somewhat when necessity urgeth; or else something cometh to pass with singular facility. For by these means he hath been accustomed with the inward inspiration of the spirit, and words of holy men, to admonish us of his will.

25. Yet he bringeth a forked argument not much unlike unto these; To stand steadfast in faith, thou thinkest that either it is in thine own hand, or in the hand of God. If thou attribute the power of this virtue to thyself, why doest thou not continue and abstain from flight; seeing thou art able to perform that which thou art desirous of? But thou repossessed the same in God; well then, thou shouldst have trusted and hoped in him. This argument

also we will easily confute. We repose our salvation in God: for how can we be constant of our own selves, seeing We are not able by ourselves, as of ourselves to think anything? And we do very well to put our trust in God, according to our duty: that he (I say) in time, and when opportunity serveth, will help us. But it should be a rash part, to prescribe these things unto him; to wit, that we would have him in any wise to be with us, either this hour or that: and it might justly be imputed a fault unto us, as though we dare be so bold to tempt him. But he saith, that It is an absurdity, to have diverse effects, to be derived from one and the self-same cause. Which will happen, if you make God the author of your flight; for without doubt he sendeth persecution: therefore it is not like that both flight and persecution should proceed from one God. But how vainly they travel in the argument, hereby thou mayest perceive, in that they lean to a false ground; namely, that one and the selfsame cause cannot abide things that be contrary: when as the sun both melteth, and also hardeneth. In like manner, conjunction serveth as well to make a unity, as a duality.

Further, as touching one and the same respect; it might perhaps be granted: but according to diverse respects, the very seats can tell, that contraries may be derived from one original. Now, seeing that God both stirreth up persecutions, and permitteth flying away; we see, that those and the self-same men are not both apprehended by the persecutors, and escape peril also. Wherefore the subject is not all one: they that escape away, escape from torments. But remembering what we have before spoken, we say, that they which fly the sword of persecution, escape not altogether free; but suffer many things in flying. And thus we will grant, that the same men have respect, both unto persecution, and unto flight. But we affirm, that these things are not contrary, seeing he that flieth, hath a trial of

persecution. But the rule of contraries is, that one subject cannot receive them both. Now we say that these be contraries; To tarry; and, Not to tarry: or else, To suffer persecution; and, Not to suffer. Then, as touching the same persecution, these cannot both together ensue. And so the place before alleged hath no absurdity.

26. The adversaries argue, that If flying away be granted, it followeth in any wise, that the sayings of the Lord be repugnant one to another. For he saith; that He, which will not lose his life, shall verily lose the same: and that He, which is ashamed of his name before men, he will be ashamed of him before God. Those things seem unto us very agreeable to our opinion: yea rather, the very words of Christ seem not to disagree. For he that flieth, maketh not more account of his soul, than he doth of the glory of God: nay rather, he avoideth persecution, that he may serve him the more commodiously, and with the greater fruit. Neither is he led by shame, as though he blushed at the name of God: seeing he is ready to testify the same with his blood, when need shall require. But by this means (say they) God should nourish infirmity and weakness in his people, who is said to strengthen them: for they which fly have a vile and base mind. This followeth not of necessity, seeing it is not the part of a strong man, always, and for every cause to stretch forth his whole strength. He expecteth moments and occasions: yea, he saith oftentimes; My strength, O God, will I reserve unto thee, for thee do I keep it, to the intent it may obey thee.

Christ (saith he) refused the helps of the angels, and the defense of the sword: wherefore dost thou fly? We fully grant, that to be done by Christ, the which thou speakest of: but that was, when he knew his hour to be come, who notwithstanding did oftentimes fly at other times, when the time of his death was not come. Even so likewise should one of us do, if he were

certain of the will of the Lord; to wit, that the same day and hour were come unto him, he should not provide for himself to fly. Neither do we admit that which is again inferred; namely, he that flieth, prayeth not as Christ did, who required that the cup might be taken from him; yet in the meantime he stayed: but he that goeth his way, endeavoreth to rid himself of the cup, neither doth he expect to obtain of the Lord. As who should say, that he in flying would prevent the providence of God, which he will not prevent, but endeavoreth to follow, and he accompanieth the hand of the Lord that leadeth him.

27. But this seemeth somewhat to help them, that the apostles in their epistles, when as they wrote unto the churches, and not only made mention of wholesome precepts; but perpetually beat them into the ears of the faithful, they never spake anything of this precept; That we should fly. But why they so did, these reasons may be alleged: forsomuch as of that matter, there can be nothing absolutely commanded. For every man (as I have already said) must examine and make trial of himself, when he taketh in hand to fly away. Furthermore, that which nature hath planted in all living creatures, hath no need continually to be driven into men's remembrance; seeing they are prone enough unto these things of themselves. Certainly, while they do not forbid such necessary things unto life, as these be, they are understood to permit them. Neither is this way of argument of much efficacy: for we ought sometime to do many things, which they do not make mention of. Sometimes we ought not to obey our parents; nay rather, they must be forsaken. Otherwhile we ought not to be at the commandment of the magistrate; and oftentimes men ought to be slain: which things nevertheless the apostles never commanded to be done. Whereas also they cite the saying in John, that The soul must be given for the brethren: it is

true; but that must be, when we see that the same will be profitable unto them; and that the not giving of the same should in reason be an offense unto them: or else, that if we should fly, they might be without the office of a pastor. But if these things do not concur, it would not be counted a giving for the brethren; but a rash spoiling of our life.

28. They discourage men also from flying away; because Charity driveth out fear, as the same apostle testifieth. Which saying is not so to be understood, as though there were no fear in a man that is endued with charity; but thereby he is not driven to do that which he doth: neither is he that flieth moved thereunto by fear. Yea and strong men (as Aristotle saith) be not without fear: but they so temper the same, as through it they commit no shameful act. Doubtless, charity excludeth not the fear of God; because they that fly, are afraid to offend, if they should tempt him by tarrying: nay rather, where charity doth most flourish, there the fear of God taketh most place. And when the Greek verse is objected against them; ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων, that is to say; A man that flieth, will fight again: they dally herewith, saying; Nay rather, he flieth not to fight again, but to fly again. But how fondly this is spoken, Paul testifieth, who being let down through the wall in a basket, fled to Damascus: but afterward, when as Agabus prophesied of many and bitter things, that were prepared for him to suffer at Jerusalem; and that the brethren had prayed him that he would not go, but would withdraw himself from the danger, he was not removed from his purpose of going. And Christ declareth the very same, who oftentimes fled, and afterward (as ye yourselves object) he came to meet his persecutors, setting apart the help of the angels, and of his disciples.

29. After this ye will confirm your saying, with a little verse of Maro; *Usque adebue turpe mori?* Is it so shameful a thing to die? As though we

were ignorant, that death in his own nature is a thing neither dishonest, nor honest: for the one and the other cometh thereunto, according as it is forced by the end or beginning. Honesty and dishonesty of Christian actions, must be discerned by the word, and by the spirit. And now, as touching the saying of our Savior, in the tenth of John, of the hireling that seeth the wolf, and flieth: we have already interpreted the same, when as we showed, by the saying of Augustine, that it is not the part of pastors to fly. Albeit Augustine upon John interpreteth this saying of Christ, that by flying we should understand the holding of our peace; namely, touching them which dare not reprehend the sheep committed to their charge, which be worthy of blame; nor yet excommunicate them which ought to be excommunicated: namely, when the pastor doth not deal freely in his ministry. Christ called himself a good shepherd, for he spared not the Scribes and Pharisees, although he were therefore brought in danger of his life.

Paul did boldly reprove and excommunicate, not only being present, but also while he was absent. This dares not a hireling do, because he seeketh his own: for he feareth, least he should lose the favor and friendship of men; especially of great and noble personages: which things a very hireling hath special regard unto, who in all things attendeth for a temporal reward. Wherefore in Augustine's judgment, that pastor flieth, which holdeth his peace at such things as ought to be reprov'd. This seemeth good to be added, that those things which we have disputed concerning pastors, should be understood of them, when they willingly withdraw themselves from their flock; but not if they be forcibly cast out by tyrants. And we say, that Tertullian may be excused; either because he perhaps wrote unto the minister and pastor of the church. Or else he speaketh hyperbolically: whereby he might encourage the minds of men in his time, when

persecution did most abound. Or else he wrote these things, when as yet he was inclined to the heresy of Montanus.

Of flight in persecution, look the first, second, and fourth epistles, at the end of this book.

Whether David did well, in that (through fear of Saul) he fled unto the Philistines; and what we are to do, if we should fall into the like troubles.

30. How then (wilt thou say) did not David sin, when he fled unto Achish? There be some which defend him, and say, that he might do the same, without hurt of religion and faith. For why (say they) is he here to be blamed, seeing he was not reprov'd before, when he fled into the land of the Moabites? Were they less idolaters than were the Philistines? Further, he had at that time a most mighty enemy, and also ungrateful and untrusty kinsmen: was it meet for him to live always in danger? Besides this, it behoov'd him to have a regard, not only unto himself, but unto them that depended on him: for he had six hundred soldiers, with their wives and children, which led a hard life in the woods and forests. How had he been able to have maintained them in Judea? Should he have used violence against his own countrymen and well-willers, and have gotten meat for them by violence? And what they would have given them of their own accord, it sufficiently appeareth by the history of Nabal. There were even with Saul many honest men, which favored David, and wished him well; and for that cause they were oftentimes brought into danger. Which peril seemed to have an utter end, if David should lead his life out of the Hebrew confines. Wherefore he was to depart, if it had been but for their sakes only. For it is the duty of an honest man, rather to suffer all things, than others for his sake should be cast into peril. Moreover, it was the part of a wise man,

to use the occasion, which God offered him: which unless he had done, he might have seemed to have tempted God. But thou wilt say; he had promises. I grant: but those make not a man slothful and dismayed. What say we to that, when Christ himself went unto the Samaritans, and unto the borders of Tyre and Sidon? Lastly it behooved that some end should be appointed unto the sin of Saul, that he might cease to persecute the innocent man.

31. One the other part, this fact of David may also be reprov'd for many causes. For first it seemeth an unworthy thing, that David (so notable a man) should go as a suppliant unto the Philistines, being men which before time were not only overcome by the Jews, but also by himself. For he seemeth to contemn the benefit of God, who having obtained victory, will submit himself to the very same man whom he overcometh. For this cause was Pompeius blamed, who having achieved so many acts, would afterward become a humble suitor unto Ptolemy. But the stoutness and great courage that was in Cato, is famous; because he forbade the people of Utica, to seek the favor of Caesar for his sake. Moreover, God forbade with very strict words, that the Jews should not enter in league with the banished nations, such as were the Philistines: nor yet that they should desire help of them that were ungodly. Beside this, David, whom God assigned a ruler and prince over his people, now becometh a fugitive. Which thing, what and how great an infamy it is, we are taught both by the light of nature itself, and also by the civil laws. For in the *Digests De captivis & postliminio*, in the law *Postliminium*, in the paragraph *Filius*, and in the paragraph, *Transfugae*; He that flieth unto his enemy, is deprived of the right in his own city. So that by this act, David depriveth himself of the public inheritance of the people of God.

And as it is declared in the same place; He is a fugitive, which in the time either of war, or of truce, flieth either unto the enemies; or unto them, which be neither enemies, nor yet friends, and receiveth assurance of them. And he hath lost the benefit of the Postliminian law, which is debarred from the right of recovering of his own goods and country. Again, *De capite minutis*; Those men are declared to be enemies unto the common-wealth. He which helpeth an enemy, either by his travel, or by keeping of company with him, incurreth the crime of high treason, and is guilty of betraying either his prince or country. And in this crime, not alonely the act itself is regarded, but also the will; so that the same be evidently enough known. If any Christian at this day, being captain of the wars, should fly on the Turks part with his soldiers; he should not only be counted a runagate, but also incur a greater reproach. [Yea, and if he should do the same but even to another Christian prince, that is an enemy unto his own natural prince and country, he should be judged a runagate and traitor.]

And it is credible, that some covenant was made, that David should bear arms against Saul; and seek his life, whom he had twice already spared. Moreover, who is that, which doubteth, but that Saul did insolently boast of this running away of David, and told his friends in reproach of him; that he, whom they attributed so much unto, was a runagate, a faithless man, a forsaker both of his people and religion? And it is very likely, that those men, when they heard those things, scarcely refrained themselves from tears. And albeit that Saul appeared before to behave himself unjustly, when he thrust out David; yet might he now seem to have a just cause of condemnation against him. Besides this, he being a Jew born, and a free man; yet called he himself a retainer and servant of Achish. He also (so much as in him lay) subverted the counsels of God: for God had chosen him

to be a king, who should defend his people; howbeit he revolted unto the enemy, and made war even against his own people. This indeed was rather to play the part of a robber, than the part of a king. And he humbled himself there, where he was to have served in perpetual bondage; and that (which is a thing most grievous) he was to do it unto a wicked and a barbarous king. For so Achish himself pronounced, that it should come to pass; Thou shalt be (saith he) my servant forever. He was constrained also to win the tyrants favor, by no honest practice: for he made a lie, and applied his speech unto his will; namely, that he did sometime invade his own nation the Jews, sometime the Kenites, and sometime the Jerahmelites. Howbeit, there be some, which say, that David lied not at all, when he said, that he fought against the south part of Judah; for that those places appertained to the lot of Judah, as it appeareth by the description of Joshua: albeit that they had not as yet entered into that whole inheritance. But howsoever this be, let it be of what value it can. Surely, these things be spoken by David, for to have the favor of the tyrant; and that (which may not be borne) with a mind to deceive.

32. But let us see what evils followed after this flying away. That city, which David had received as a gift from the king, was sacked by the Amalekites; so that he was miserably constrained to bewail the mishap of his own citizens. I speak nothing how he was constrained to change that imperial power and strength into thievery: for he slew all, he spared neither age nor sex, least the king should have any suspicion of his doing. Further, he divided the prey with the tyrant; and this he did, not once or twice only, but so long as he was there. In the meanwhile, he was constrained to suffer the dishonesty of being at atonement with Achish, and to profess himself openly an enemy unto his country. Besides this, it seemed to be no wise

man's part, to commit himself unto a reconciled friend. Indeed men are wont to use the help of them, with whom they are returned into amity; but that is only for the time that they have need. For what else may we judge that Achish in the meantime thought of David, but that he was a man rude and barbarous, which could find in his heart to war against his own nation? Augustus was wont to say; I love treason, but a traitor I love not. And what hearts the Philistines had towards David, it sufficiently appeareth by the history: for when they should meet together; What make these Hebrews here, (said they?) How can they better please their own king than by our blood? Here doth David openly profess himself to be an enemy unto his country: and Achish admitteth him to be the guarder of his person. And when David, through the earnest suit of the Philistines, should be sent home, he took it grievously, saying; What have I committed?

What shall we say, that in all this space there were heard no prayers; there were written no psalms? No marvel: for these things were done by the counsel of man, without the commandment of God. No wilt thou say; it was not of necessity that he should ask counsel of God. Yes verily; God in the 26th chapter of Numeri commandeth in express words, that in such things counsel should be asked of him; Joshua (saith he) the son of Nun, shall stand before Eliazer, and shall receive the oracle of him: according whereunto he should go in and out. But David was a captain of the people, and in very deed had before time asked counsel of the Lord, and to the same intent he also returned afterward: but now we see no such thing to be done by him. He seemeth to have changed his nature, together with his place: for before that time, he did nothing but that which was plain and sincere; at this time he did all things craftily and deceitfully: and he seemeth now by war to assail Saul the king, whom he before preserved. But Achish, because he

believed that David would imitate the doings of them, whose words he had followed, did not make very diligent inquisition of his doings.

And to consider this matter more narrowly; this defection of David brought great loss unto the Jews. For, as it appeareth out of the twelfth chapter of the first book of Paralipomenon, there flocked unto him a great number of soldiers, from all parts of Judea; so that he had now a great company of bands, even as the army of God. By means whereof it came to pass, that Achish fought only with some part of the Jews, and not with their whole strength: for they which should have helped Saul, were fled unto David. But if so be they had remained in the borders, they might have invaded the land of the Philistines; and so either have delivered, or else helped their own country. Furthermore, the modesty of Saul may sufficiently condemn the rashness of David: for he, when he had almost caught David, left him; to the intent he might repel the Philistines, whom he heard at the self-same time to have invaded his country; and so he preferred the common-wealth before his private hatred. But David, when he saw his country in danger, joined himself with a most cruel enemy, that by a public destruction he might revenge private hatred; and complained, that he might not be permitted unto that battle. But thou wilt say, that he feigned: it may well be, and I contend not for the matter; but in the meantime he helped not his country.

33. But thou wilt say, that God by this means would punish Saul: I grant it. But we ought not to have regard unto the secret will of God, but unto his will as it is expressed in the law: for unto that must all our actions be directed. Further, we ought to beware, that we come not into infamy by our own default. And when David violated those borders of the Philistines, he seemeth to have violated the rite of guestship: for it may be, that either they

paid tribute or custom unto Achish. But because it is uncertain, in what state they stood towards him, I will not speak much concerning that matter. This is certain, that he would have been revenged of Saul, and I see not how that can be defended. For if thou wilt say, that he meant not so ill towards Saul; thou shalt prove nothing thereby. For if at this day some great professor amongst us, should (as God forbid) go on the Papists side: although he should say that he would neither dispute nor write against the Gospel; yet what manner of man would we take such a one to be? Certainly I am sore afraid, when I hear some men say, they had rather be Papists than Zwinglians. Doubtless we would never so speak of them. But David humbled himself, not only under the rest of the Israelites, but also under the soldiers of Saul. [This excuseth not:] for those men defend their country, this man fighteth against it.

In the history of the *Macchabeis*, Jason and Alcymus, and such other like (either for revenge or ambition sake) gathered themselves unto the Macedonians. The same thing did David at this time: he was ever the thunderbolt of war, and to what part soever he inclined, he carried with him a great force to the victory; yet nevertheless he would be absent, when he might have brought great profit. But admit he would not fight against his own nation. The same end undoubtedly had followed him, that happened unto Coriolanus and Themistocles. Coriolanus, when he refused to fight against the Romans, was slain by the Volscians. Themistocles, when he would not assail his own country, drank poison. Alcibiades also was for the same cause slain. Such in a manner is the end of fugitives, unless God take pity upon them. A great deal the more grievous it is, that seeing David knew for certainty, that he should be king; he might also have known, that of necessity he should have war with the Philistines. How then suffered he

himself now to be overcome by their benefits, so as he might not fight against them, without a great blemish of ingratitude?

I might bring many other things, but these seem to be sufficient at this time: wherefore I conclude, that I cannot in any wise allow this fact of David. And I am not only led by reason so to judge, but by example also: for if so be that our Emperors soldiers, at this day, should go unto warfare with the Turk; how greatly would that be to the hindrance of Christianity? But in vain do I make complaint: in very deed we had experience thereof of late days in Hungary. And I would to God, that in this were the end of evils. Perhaps thou wilt say, that God, by a secret persuasion, warned David to go unto Achish. I answer; first, that it is more than I know; secondly, that it is not very probable: for God warned him before hand, that he should return into Judea. But yet howsoever it be, this I say, that that example is not set forth for us to be followed. Herein David committed sin; although not unto death: his faith did after a sort wax feeble, but it was not utterly extinguished.

34. Now must I dissolve those arguments, which we objected on the other part. Wherefore (say they) is he more reprov'd now, than he was before, when he went unto the Moabites? I answer, that the consideration was otherwise, both of the time, of David's mind, and of the nation. For first, he did not then draw so many soldiers with him. Secondly, he went not with the mind to war on the Moabites side; but that he might place among them his old father and mother. Neither had he as yet received the word of the Lord, to return: for there he was first admonished by Gad [the prophet] that he should return into Jewry. Neither were the Moabites so strange unto the Jews, as were the Philistines: for they were of the posterity of Lot. And God, in the second chapter of Deuteronomy, had strictly commanded the

Jews, that they should not meddle with their fields: wherefore the reason is not alike. But whether David did well, in going to the Moabites; I do not here dispute. Certainly, it appeareth that the same journey pleased not God very well; in that he afterward willed him to be called back by Gad. But he was urged, both by the persecution of Saul, and by the treason of his own kindred; that of necessity, either he was to die, or else to fly unto the Philistines. Nay rather, by this flight he did not avoid danger, but he changed one for another: for he cast himself into a more dangerous state among the Philistines, than if he had tarried still in Judea. But it is not the part of a wise or godly man, through fear and feeble courage, to take in hand or do those things, which are not convenient for his person.

Saul pursueth thee: The Ziphites betray thee, but God hath bewrayed their lying in wait unto thee; so as they shall not be able to hurt thee: Saul again and again cometh into thy danger. But it is a grievous thing thus to live perpetually. Admit it be so; yet God by these kind of chastisements, frameth thee to be a king in time to come. Briefly; These things thou doest, either for the mistrust thou hast in God; or else in hatred of the cross. If for mistrust sake, refer thyself unto the promises of God; and consider what he hath before time done for thy sake. If in hatred of the cross, rather lament thou this infirmity of flesh, which so cleaveth to our nature, as it may not be removed, no not from the most holy men. As touching that argument, wherein it is said, that either we must fly, or else suffer death: it is weak and imperfect. For add a third point; namely, that thou tarry there, where the Lord hath placed thee, and thou shalt hope that he will no less be present now with thee, than he hath been before time. Thou sayest that it behooved David, not only to have a regard unto himself; but also unto the six hundred soldiers, which he had with him. The Jews would not of their own accord

give him anything; to wring from them by violence, it was not lawful for him: but the mind was to be elevated unto God; he had promised that he would bring help, and that he would stand to his covenants. He should not in any wise have departed from his station, wherein God had placed him. Further, there was no need, that either he should have used violence, or expected the liberality of his own countrymen. The Philistines were borderers, being enemies unto the name of the Jews, and already condemned of God: from them it was lawful to take preys; for so he did before, and God did prosper his endeavors.

Consideration was to be had of friends, who because they seemed to favor David that was banished, were ill entreated by Saul. Certainly, friends ought not rashly to be contemned: but we must take heed, least while thou wouldst deliver them, thou bring not a greater infamy upon them. For it was a far more grievous thing, that David fled unto the Philistines, than that he was condemned by Saul: but thou must rather suffer death, than that others should come in peril for thy sake. But we must not always respect that which is magnificent and glorious, but that which is pleasing unto God. The occasion offered, was not to be contemned. I answer: He doth those things, that we may the more easily suffer adversities. Further, it had been his part, to hope that God will not always suffer the better sort to be afflicted; or that the church should be oppressed with continual might. This should a wise man think. If he had done otherwise, it had been to have tempted God. No verily, he should rather have put his trust in God, and have tarried in that place, whereunto God had called him.

He had promised to help him. But the promise of God maketh not men to be as stocks or blocks, that it should not be lawful for any man to provide for himself. I grant it doth not: howbeit, we ought by faith to wait for the

help of God; we must not step back through fear and mistrust. If there were no surety to live in the court of Saul, much less safety was it to live among the Philistines. Christ went unto the men of Tyre and Sidon, and to the Samaritans. I know he did: but that was not to take their part against the Jews; but to teach them the Gospel, that he might bring them to God, and heal them, and bestow benefits upon them. Some end was once to be appointed unto the sins of Saul: but yet not so, as thou shouldst cast thyself into greater sins. Many fond and miserable men will have Masses and Dirges to be said for the souls of them that be dead. But while they would deliver them out of purgatory, let them take heed, that they themselves run not headlong into hell. Paul warneth, that We ought not to do evil, that good may come thereof. Wherefore this fact was neither godly, nor yet beseeeming for the person of David. So that we confess, he sinned as well in this, as in other things.

35. But Augustine upon the Psalms, saith; that Sin is of two sorts; one of necessity, and another (as he himself speaketh) of abundance and plenty. If question be asked of many, wherefore they steal: they will answer, that necessity constraineth them, to the intent they may have wherewith to maintain their wife and children. In deed this is some necessity, yet it is not absolute; it is but only by supposition: if a man be of that mind, that he will in any wise live and maintain himself, by what means so ever it be. Others there are, who being rich, yet they never cease pilling of the poor: and that not of any necessity that they have, but of an insatiable covetousness. The sin of David belonged unto the former sort. Neither do I speak this, to extenuate his sin; but only that it may be understood, unto what kind his sin ought to be referred. In explaining of all the arguments, we have showed what we are to do, if perhaps we fall into the like trouble. Now let us see,

what, by this fact of David, may be gathered for our edifying. First, we ought here as in a glass, to behold our own infirmity: for God would have that to be known to us, not that we should the more freely sin, but that we should bewail our own state, and sigh towards heaven.

Moreover, we see of what sincerity the holy scriptures be: for they do not only set forth unto us the virtues of holy men, but also their errors and sins; least we should trust in our own selves, as though we are to determine of our own strength. Augustine in his 49th sermon *De tempore*; After we shall be come (saith he) to another life, we shall stand firmly; for we shall see the chief felicity, from the which we cannot be drawn by any vile and mortal goods. But here we only see, as through a glass, and in a dark saying. Wherefore when other good things are set before us, we be oftentimes drawn away, and do fall: so that it is our part in this life, to wrestle so much as we can. But especially we must take heed, that we fly not to them, which be enemies to the Gospel: for; He which having once tasted the good gift of God, and virtues of the spirit, falleth away again, there remaineth unto him no more sacrifice for sin; but a fearful waiting for the judgment of God. And seeing the devil is a most grievous enemy of God, we must take heed that we fly not unto him with our powers. These things by the doing of David, may be transferred unto us. To fly away and war on the enemies part, is in no wise lawful.

Whether the Holy men were inferior to the Ethnics in abiding adversities, and in repressing of affections.

36. But some do marvel, that holy men, which are accounted just in the holy scriptures, suffered adversities with a slender courage; and that they made not that show of fortitude, which many of the Ethnics made semblance of. We read that Horatius Pulvillus, when he was dedicating of a

temple, was not amazed to hear of the death of his son, but held fast the post, and performed his dedication. Anaxagoras, when he heard that his son was dead; I knew (saith he) that I begat a mortal man. Paulus Aemilius, having obtained prosperous success, at the time that his sons died, said, that he was favorably heard of the gods immortal: for that he made this petition, That if any calamity were near at hand, the same should be turned, not upon the people of Rome, but upon his house. Brutus executed his own sons: so did Torquatus. Wherefore did not God grant these things to his saints? Why do they seem to be of so base mind in affliction, seeing they know it is laid upon them by God? It seemeth to be a goodly question: but I will in few words absolve it. When I do consider thereof, that cometh to my remembrance, which happened in the ship wherein was carried Aristippus, and a certain other hardy fellow, but unlearned. There arose a grievous tempest, so as the ship was well near sunk: the philosopher was sore afraid. When the tempest was ceased, the other man said; What meantst thou (philosopher) to be so afraid? Surely, I which have not studied philosophy, was not afraid, but with a valiant courage looked for shipwreck. The philosopher somewhat pleasantly answered; Thou oughtest not to be careful for the life of a varlet, I saw the life of Aristippus the philosopher in danger.

Even so do I consider, that it should be no marvel, if holy men and Ethnics behave themselves after a sundry manner; for there is great difference between them. For the Ethnics thought, as touching adversities, that they happened through a necessity of nature; or should be abidden without consideration, and that after this life there should remain no life. They had not regard unto the providence of God that governeth all things: or else, if they were of the better sort, they professed the Stoical sect, they followed an immovableness of passions, and a lack of pain. Because they

could not deny, but that they were sometimes troubled with sudden evils; they did things that came naturally of themselves, and things that came not of nature, which were taken before hand, even from their childhood: for that those things are laid before us, which we would desire, and which at the first motion we would refuse. And they said, that we must wrestle, not as did the Peripatetics, to moderate affections, but to root them out. But in that wrestling they say, that reason and affection strive for the possession of man. Wherefore they did therein wholly apply themselves. Howbeit, our cause is far otherwise: we do not weigh those adversities themselves, according to their own nature; but we fly unto the cause. We consider, that God is author, and that we have given the cause of that affliction: those be causes of mourning. There faith is stirred up, and the earnestest it is, the more sorrow we have for the things which we have committed.

We add, that these affections are not altogether stayed by godly men, because they know, that in their own nature they are not evil: for God grafted them in men, at the creation. God saw that all things which he had made were good. He made the soul of man perfect, that it might have both the upper and the grosser parts where these affections be: they be the matter of virtues, and do help them. And to speak of anger, it is the whetstone of fortitude; it helpeth men to do honest things with a valiant courage. There is no affection, which hath not some utility unto honest things. They which go about to extinguish affections, do nothing else, but as they should take away the nature of man. Wherefore the Stoics were foolish men, which therein were wholly bent, that they might take away all affections. Rather ought the apostles to be heard, which say, that they should be moderated. Paul in the first to the Thessalonians, the fourth chapter; I would not that ye should

sorrow as others which have no hope. He taketh not away morning, but he giveth a mean.

37. What is the mean that ought to be used? The Peripatetics reason many things as touching mediocrity: they say, That mean must be used, which a wise man showeth in his life. But man's wisdom is foolishness before God. All men are liars. That same mediocrity must be determined by the word of God. If we have sinned, and do live in adversities; let us be sorrowful, but yet so, that we depart not from the word of God. Let us do nothing against his word, let us not be alienated from God, nor suffer faith, hope, and charity to be put away. God requireth of us, that valiant courage, which the Stoics boasted of, but yet according to right reason. He would not that we should be unreasonable or senseless, as the Stoics would have men to be. Wherefore Crantor in the third book of Tusculane questions, thus speaketh; To live altogether without sorrow, happeneth not without unsensibleness of the mind, and blockishness of the body. But he speaketh tauntingly. Augustine *De civitate Dei*, the 14th book, and ninth chapter, writeth; that This unsensibleness, whereby those affections are cast away, is worse than all vices. Neither is that required, which Aulus Gellius, in the twelfth book, the 15th chapter, sheweth of a certain sword-player, who while his wounds were lanced by the physicians, did laugh. This is a brutish kind of fortitude. This hath God otherwhile given unto martyrs, that in flames, and other deadly punishments, they would be of a cheerful countenance, and would sing. Howbeit, this was given them by an extraordinary way, to the intent that tyrants might be moved, and the standers by be held with admiration: [but] we ought to follow the ordinary way appointed by God.

Paul, in the second epistle to the Corinthians, did rightly and wisely express what is to be done in these cases; We are afflicted on every side, but

yet we faint not; we labor in all things, but are not destitute; even in the persecutions themselves we are not forsaken; we are cast down, but we perish not. Thus fare the minds of the saints: they are afflicted with those sorrows, they are not senseless; yet do they not so sorrow as they will despair. Thus also must we do. Wherefore they, which have brought in a Stoical reason, seem that they would have dealt with blocks; but not have instructed men: they represented unto us a show of wisdom, the which we cannot see expressed anywhere; neither doth it concur with human nature. But there be some, which think it to be a wicked thing for godly men to sigh, to groan, or to be sad. But these be παράδοξα; to wit, such things as are strange, both from the word of God, and from human nature. We must have an eye unto the word of God.

Christ saith; The world shall rejoice, and ye shall sorrow; they shall laugh, and ye shall weep. Yea, and he set forth a decree; Blessed are they which mourn, for they shall receive comfort. Undoubtedly Paul accounteth those ὄστρογος, to wit, they which are without affection, and which be delivered up even to a reprobate sense. In the psalm David saith, under the person of Christ; I looked for some man to be sorrowful with me. Paul commandeth us To mourn with them that mourn, and rejoice with them that rejoice. The same apostle said; that He greatly longed to see the Romans, that he might have some fruit among them. He was jealous over the Corinthians, he would have had them not to be seduced by false prophets. He said, that He sorrowed for his brethren the Israelites, and wished to be separated from Christ for their sakes. Those affections were in him most vehement. He saith that he wrote unto the Corinthians with many tears, not with common affection. Peter bitterly weeped, when he had denied Christ. But why seek we examples of the apostles? Let us have regard to Christ the author of our

salvation. He was many times moved with pity, when he saw them hungry, which followed him; when he saw the Israelites wander like sheep without a shepherd; when he saw a mother following the course of her only son. He wept at the sepulcher of Lazarus; he wept when he looked upon Jerusalem, and considered that it should be destroyed; I have earnestly (saith he) desired to eat this Passover with you. In the garden he was moved with sadness, sorrow caused him to sweat blood. Isaiah spake of him; He bare our sorrows, &c. These things are rather to be followed, than the rigorous sayings of the Stoics.

38. But they marvel at Christ, how he could be troubled with such affections, seeing his soul was blessed, and had always the divine nature joined with him, and in his sight. But it is to be understood, that Christ was not only very God, but also very man: and he had not been very man, unless he had also had a perfect soul, that is to wit, adorned with upper and grosser parts, in the which these affections be. Whereupon Augustine, in the place above alleged; Neither had he a counterfeit human affection, seeing he had the body and soul of a man. Hereupon Ambrose worthily saith; that Christ took upon him, not a show of incarnation, but a truth; and therefore truly had affections. And he added, that this undoubtedly was convenient, that he might overcome sorrow and sadness; but not exclude them. He addeth, saying; Neither is that fortitude commendable, which bringeth in an unsensibleness of wounds, not a grief. If there be any that know they have so insensible a body, as they feel not wounds, they have not the commendation of fortitude or valiant courage: but those [have it] which overcome the griefs which they feel. Wherefore Hilary must be advisedly read, in his 10th book *De Trinitate*, who speaketh dangerously of the body of Christ, and of those affections. He affirmeth, that the Lord had a body to

suffer, but not to feel pain. And he saith, that the cross, sword, and nails put upon Christ the violence of a passion, but not a grief. And he useth a similitude, to wit, that it fared, even as if one would attempt with a sword to thrust through water, fire, or air: he should do violence against these elements, and the sword of his own nature would put to grief; but those bodies be not of that nature, as they can suffer a wound. These things are not agreeable to the scripture, and to a true human body.

On this wise may we argue, that Christ had grief. To the feeling of grief in any man, two things are chiefly required: which things being appointed, grief doth follow; first, that the body should be hurt; secondly, that there shall be a feeling of that hurt. But the body of Christ was hurt; being whole, it was broken. The soul of Christ was most perfect, it had sense; Ergo, it was not without feeling. The self-same are we to judge as touching sadness. This is the nature thereof, that if in the cogitation or imagination we perceive any hurtful thing, that is like to happen, or is present; then it sheweth itself. Such cogitations had Christ. Those things were repugnant unto nature; wherefore there followed a sadness: howbeit, that followed not which had sin joined with it. They were perfect motions, they went not beyond the rule of God's word: they had the nature of a punishment, but not of an offense. Our affections be impure. What cause of difference is there? Augustine, in the place above recited, sheweth the reason; because the affections of Christ were derived of power, ours of infirmity. Christ had that power, that he could use these affections, when and as often as he would; but ours do now spring of infirmity, yea and they rise against us whether we will or no. We cannot bridle them, wherefore they be troublous; but Christ's be clear: not only as they were by institution given unto Adam; but also as

they were adorned by the grace of God, they presumed nothing, but so long, and so much as it behooved.

39. So then we may assign three differences between Christ's affections and ours. The first, as touching the objects; the motions and affections of Christ never declined unto sin, but ours do very often. The second, Christ (as saith Augustine) used, when he judged that they should be used; as when he would that man should be, man was made: it doth not so happen with us; they break forth even against our wills. Thirdly, those perturbations be sometimes so forcible in us, as they disquiet reason it self, and do hinder faith: but it was not thus in Christ. Wherefore Jerome upon Matthew, in the handling of that sentence, [He that shall look upon a woman to lust after her, &c.] distinguisheth and saith, that There is πάθη, and προσπάθειαι, which may be called, suffering, and fore-suffering. That πάθη is always taken in the ill part, when they vanquish and overcome us. But προσπάθειαι be the first motions, which although they be held under the name of an offense; yet are they not crimes, they do not overcome. But what the difference is between a crime and a sin, Augustine in the 41st treatise upon John showeth; Crimes be grievous sins, which have accusation, and deserve condemnation; but sins are of less weight. Wherefore the apostle, when he speaketh touching the ordaining of pastors, will have them to be without crime; not without sin: otherwise he should exclude all men from the ministry.

Therefore in Christ those affections proceeded not so far, that they could alienate his will from the right way: as Jerome saith, when he handleth that place; My soul is heavy, &c. They had rather the nature of fore-suffering than of suffering. His divine nature could bring to pass, that they should not begin to come forth; but by a certain dispensation of grace for our salvation,

he made place for them when the time served. But if they were affections, why did he call them a will, saying; Not my will be done, but thine? He meant the inclination of nature, whereby we shun things hurtful. And it was requisite, that Christ should be sad, and moved with those affections; because it behoved him to be tempted in all things, and to overcome these affections: and this victory not a little furthered our redemption, neither was it against the will of God. For he would have him not only to be crucified, but also to be affected with those motions: even as Jerusalem to be overthrown, and Christ to bewail it; neither while he wept did he against his Fathers will. Wherefore (if we shall believe Cyril) Christ his death, in respect that he was a man, and had appetite and sense, was not voluntary: yet was it voluntary, because it pleased the Father, and because it served to our redemption, for the which Christ came. But it was said; Christ was blessed: how could he be moved with those affections? Because that felicity was so contained in the upper part of the mind, as it did not redound to the lower parts.

40. All these things make against the Stoics; namely, the doctrine of Christ, and the doctrine apostolical: also the example of Christ. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the godly be so sorrowful. Yea, and I think good to add, that true affections are greater in the godly, than in the wicked; who by little and little put them away, and the greater that they be, the more they sorrow, when they be moved against these affections. So David, the more he was inclined to his children, the more he was vexed. They which attribute all things unto destiny and fortune, or to the necessity of a matter; because they do against the scriptures of God, must not be heard. We conclude, that holy men, when they on this wise sorrow, weep, and are moved with sadness, do please God; so as they retain faith, and follow the spirit. But on the other

side, we affirm, that the philosophers and Ethnics, while they seem to deal so magnifically, to condemn all adversities, and by no means to be disquieted, do displease God with all their goodly show of virtues. This thing hath Augustine taught, in his fourth book against Julian, the fourth chapter: and he alleged three reasons. The first is; that Without faith it is impossible to please God: whereas they seem to deal so heroically, and in the meantime be void of faith, they cannot please God. The second reason; Men void of faith, be as yet ill trees: but ill trees bring forth ill fruit. The third reason; It is not sufficient to do those things, which in their own nature seem good: but we ought to do well. Who will say that those Ethnics do those wonderful things rightly, seeing they do unfaithfully? In that they do unfaithfully, they do not rightly. Let them boast of their things as magnifically as they will, these reasons have we. We say, that they and their works do not please God.

The same father saith, in the exposition of the 25th Psalm at the end, that there were many of the Ethnics, which deferred to come unto the Christians: they said, We see in them many defects, the which we have not. He answereth, that they are greatly deceived; seeing in those virtues, which they boast of, they are not good, but in a sort evil: and I have willingly added; that they are often times very evil. Forsomuch as they please themselves very much with those virtues of theirs, they become proud: but pride is hated of God. We conclude, that David, and such as he was, pleased God in sorrowfulness, more than could the *Puluilli*, *Anaxagoras*, *Aemillij*, *Bruti*, or *Torquati*, which seemed with a great and lofty mind to condemn the sorrowful things which happened. When Socrates is objected unto us, of whom Pliny writeth in his seventh book, that he always showed to be of one countenance, never merrier or sadder. Against him we oppose Christ, which

unto us is one for all; also the apostles, prophets, and our David; and we will say, that these did a great deal more rightly and wisely, than he did. For the godly are governed by the word of God, not by the opinions, which men have spread abroad. They are led, not by the opinion or stay of assent of the Platonists, and doubting philosophers: but by a most certain and constant faith. They are directed by the spirit of God, but not by the wisdom of human flesh, which is enmity against God: and therefore they please God. Neither have the godly thought it meet, that affections in these cases should altogether be restrained, or taken away; when they saw themselves to be chastised by God, when they sorrowed that they had broken the laws of the Lord, and that they had given the cause of these evils: these things can never sufficiently be lamented. They did rather judge it meet to slack the bridle unto affections, which might further godliness, and strengthen repentance.

41. But one thing perhaps some man will demand, how it happeneth, that we more read of those griefs in the Old Testament, than in the new? I might peradventure say, that this, which they would prove, is not true. In the New Testament they lament, which do feel their sins. But it appeareth not now, as it did in the old time: it is not done with that preparation. I grant, that the custom then was, that those mourning's should be public: now the consideration of the age in our time suffereth not this. Again I might answer; that certainly the forefathers had the promise of eternal life, as we have: but moreover and that, the promises of the land of Canaan, and the increase of seed, and these temporal blessings were more earnestly offered unto them than unto us. These things are also promised unto us: for if we First seek the kingdom of God, the rest shall be ministered unto us. Howbeit, these things are generally promised unto us, they are nor so often

repeated. We are in greater light, therefore we rather apply our mind unto the better promises. Thereby perhaps ensue lesser sorrows, in the loss of temporal things.

42. This must the rather be called to mind, least we be disquieted, when we perceive that David was so vexed, whereas nevertheless God had said by Nathan, that his sin was put away. Those things are not repugnant in themselves: for it was undoubtedly taken away, and forgiven; because it happened not unto him to eternal death, which he deserved. This bond, which he had procured, was extinguished by the mercy of God. Further he deserveth to be slain, as touching the life of the body; but God did not slay him. Moreover, the adversities which happened, were not punishments of God, in his anger; but fatherly chastisements to preserve discipline, that he might the more deeply acknowledge sin, take heed unto himself from thence forth, and that others also might be made to beware. Neither ought Papists therefore to make a purgatory; because God forgiveth sin in this life, and punisheth in another. For the holy scriptures have nothing at all concerning purgatory; but they show, that the godly shall straightway after death be blessed. Howbeit, if we should grant them (which yet we must not grant them) that God would punish the godly in another world; yet might not the church with her keys mitigate these punishments, as the punishments of David, and of others: this thing standeth in the pleasure of God.

CHAP. XIII. Of Prayers, and of the intercession of Christ; wherein is entreated of speaking in a Strange Tongue, of Music, and of Hymns.

The prayers of the godly, are divided into two kinds. For some be at set times; as be those which are used in a public congregation, at appointed and prescribed days; I mean upon the Lord's Day, and [upon such other days] as are assigned by the church for public prayers. Further, it is the duty of a Christian man, to have hours also appointed every day, wherein he may pray unto God: and that three times, five times, or seven times in a day; as his business will suffer him. Another kind of those prayers there is, which are called uncertain; for we use them so often, as any present danger urgeth us. But Paul saith, that he always maketh mention of the Romans in his prayers: and in some books is added the adverb πάντοτε, Everywhere; although some copies have blotted it out. There were Heretics, which were called *Messalians*, of them the Tripartite history maketh mention: they attributed all things unto prayers, and that so much, as they did derogate both from the word of God, and also from the sacraments; affirming, that all these things do nothing profit: but what commodity soever we have, the same cometh by prayers. And they could

not abide to labor with their hands, or to do any other thing. If a man had urged them to work, they would have said, that the same should nothing at all profit; seeing we ought to do nothing but pray. Whereas the apostle nevertheless warneth expressly, that He which laboreth not, ought not to eat. He also writeth; that A man ought not to neglect the care of his own, especially of his household: which fault if any man commit, he should be taken as one that had renounced his faith.

But passing over this superstition, we must attribute very much unto prayers; seeing this is the nature of the children of God, even for the most part, to give themselves unto prayers; for that is to acknowledge the providence of God. For while we believe that a man can obtain nothing, which is not given him by God, we are oftentimes provoked to pray humbly for his aid, in such necessities as do happen. And while we pray, we do no less submit ourselves unto God, than the clay is subject unto the potter: for we chiefly make our prayers, that whatsoever we desire, we may have the same if it be his will. And forsomuch as in praying, the mind is led away from care and worldly cares, and is wholly carried up unto God; there ought nothing to be more pleasant unto us, than to occupy ourselves in this kind of study. And it is to be lamented at this day, that the manner of praying is so worn out of practice among Christians; that it is a thing but rarely used, and especially in so great a light of the Gospel, and of the holy scriptures. It is no marvel then, though all things do wax so cold. Certainly, heat doth there increase, where the light cannot easily pass through, but is heated back again, and (as they say) reboundeth to the upper parts. Wherefore this lower part of the air, which compasseth the earth, is most hot; because the beams of the sun, which strike upon the earth, (being not able for the thickness thereof to pierce) do rebound back again, and be in a manner doubled;

whereby the heat is stirred up. In like manner ought it to be in our hearts, when the light of God's word shineth upon them: for when we have received it, we ought to return it unto God, in making prayers unto him, to perform those things in us which he hath commanded, and which he hath vouchsafed to reveal unto us. For when we read the scriptures, God speaketh unto us; but when we pray, we speak unto God. And we ought very often to use this dialogue, that when we hear in the holy scriptures, that God either revealeth himself, or commandeth any things; we again for our part may desire of him, that those things be not spoken in vain unto us; but may be done with profit and fruit.

2. We be also taught by Paul, so to order our prayers, that we pray not only for ourselves; but also for our neighbors. Further, when he prayeth, that he might have a prosperous journey unto the Romans; he signifieth, that our works should begin with prayers, if we will have them to have good success. But some are feared away from calling upon God, because they say he heareth them not. But they ought to be confirmed, seeing they hear, that Paul was oftentimes let from going unto Rome; and yet continued he still in the same desire, and used to repeat the self-same prayers. Yea, and in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, he writeth that he desired no less than three times to be delivered from the sting of the flesh: unto whom yet at the last, answer was made; that it was sufficient for him to have the grace of God. Wherefore either we be heard at length, or else (if that which we desire be not granted) there is something granted in the stead thereof, far better and more profitable unto our salvation. God doth oftentimes defer our requests, to the end (as Augustine saith in a certain homily) that we may learn to desire great things with great ferventness.

Others are called away from prayers, because they thus determine with themselves; Although I desire not these things, yet God will do that, which shall seem good unto him: neither can his will be altered by my prayers. But these men understand not, that God, before he granteth any good thing unto his elect, is wont exceedingly to kindle their minds, with a desire to obtain those things. Further, when he will do anything, he stirreth up those that are his, to desire that, which otherwise he would have done; to the intent that for honor sake, he might attribute the same unto their prayers. This is also another cause: for that God's benefits are then the more acceptable, when they are craved and desired. Moreover, in praying, our minds are more joined unto God. Yea, and these vows and holy desires seem to be nothing else, but ladders and degrees whereby we ascend up unto God. Neither do the godly doubtless, while they pray, think that by their prayers they deserve those things, which they pray for. Why then (wilt thou say) are prayers made? I answer that they be as certain ways and spaces, whereby we come unto that, which we earnestly desire. Wherefore God will grant unto us those things, which shall seem to him profitable and convenient, but yet he hath decreed to give them by these degrees: not that prayers are the causes of his benefits, but because they be as it were a way, whereby we must attain to those things.

If thou wilt go unto a river, thou must go that way which leadeth thither; whereas nevertheless, that is not the cause whereby thou comest to the river: for if thou lack powers of the mind, and strength of the body, thou goest thither in vain. And when a Schoolmaster goeth to the School, he must ascend by stayers; when as nevertheless the stayers are no cause unto him that he cometh: for the final cause of his going is to teach; and the efficient cause is the powers of the mind, and the strength of the body. After

the self-same manner must we judge of prayers. But if thou shalt say; But cannot God give those things that he will, even without prayers? Yes verily he can, and oftentimes he doth it. Neither will he be over-curiously prayed unto, as tyrants use; as though he may not be entreated without our fair speeches: neither will he be prayed for his own cause, but for ours. For if any man might be long and much conversant with a man endued with virtues and knowledge, there is no doubt, but that he should become the better, and also the learned. But how much more and excellenter a thing is it, to be conversant and to talk with the most excellent God? The philosophers do think, that it is a great perfection of man, for to know himself; next, to understand what is wanting to himself; lastly, to know that God is the chief and only good that is to be wished for, and of whom all things must be desired. Wherefore God commanded prayers, as a certain mean, whereby we should attain to those things, which we desire. So then, they are fond and foolish, which say; If God have predestinated me to salvation, he will give me the same, even without prayers: for God hath, together with the end, predestinated also the means, whereby we must prepare ourselves to the same. And finally we pray, not, in any case, to the intent we may change God; which thing we should attempt in vain, seeing he is immutable: but rather, that we ourselves should be changed; forsomuch as in praying, we are made capable of the benefits of God.

How God saith that he will not give that which he will give; and so contrariwise.

3. But the Lord saith in the tenth of Judges; that he will not be a help unto the Israelites: when as afterward notwithstanding he did help them. Did God lie? No, in no wise. But the repentance of the people was not as yet come to that pass, that he would have had it. In such state and condition as

they were then in, he said he would not be a help unto them: for God knoweth the moments of times. So doth the physician use to handle a sick man, when he desireth wine in the heat and ferventness of his ague; I will give none (saith he) not because he will never give him any; but for that he knoweth when it will be profitable for him to give it. Again, the sick man desireth a medicine; the physician denieth it, because he will first have the humors to be ripe, that they may be the more easily brought forth. Even so God doth now deal with his people. Neither is this a rare form of speaking in the scriptures. The Lord said unto Moses; Suffer that my wrath may be kindled, and I will destroy them at once. This he said, when he was minded nevertheless to spare his people; but the prayers of Moses pleased God: therefore he would have him to be inflamed, and his desire and faith to be increased. In Matthew, the woman of Canaan cried unto Christ, but he passed by in silence, as though he heard her not. Afterward, she being instant in prayer, he said; I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: and when as she ceased not, he called her dog; It is not good (saith he) to take the bread, and give it unto dogs. And yet was he minded, even at the first, to help her: but first he would have her faith to come to light, that it might be known by all means. And in another place, under the parable of him that asked bread, he saith; Unto whom the goodman of the house, that was within, said: I and my children be laid in bed. And when the other had made earnest suit, by his importunacy, he obtained as many loaves as he would. So in this place, God made answer that he would not help; namely, that people, being in such state as then they were: for even at that time the repentance of them was not full. God changeth not his purpose, but he would have men to be changed more and more.

4. Jeremiah, in the 18th chapter, saith; If I shall speak evil against any nation, and that nation shall repent, It shall also repent me of that evil which I said I would do. And that Jeremiah might the more plainly understand those things which were spoken, he bad him go into the house of the potter, where he saw the workman make a vessel of clay, the which was broken in the hands of him that made it: but the potter fashioned another vessel of the same clay. So the Lord saith; If they shall repent them, I also will repent me: I now devise evil for them, but instead of evil, I will devise good things. Neither for all this (as I have said) doth he change his mind; because such threatening's and promises depend upon the condition which sometimes is changed, whereas God remaineth one, and the same. Of this matter doth Chrysostom very well write upon Genesis, the 25th homily; The Lord had commanded, that Noah should build the ark, and he threatened, that after a hundred and twenty years, he would utterly destroy all mankind with a flood: but when he saw no amendment in the meantime, he abated twenty of the years, and sent the flood in the hundred year; yet was not God altered, but the condition of men was changed.

The same father also upon Matthew, the 65th homily, when he interpreteth that saying; [Verily I say unto you, ye that have left all things, &c.] he demandeth whether Judas was not one of those twelve, and whether Judas shall sit upon the twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel? Hath Christ therefore changed his mind? No (saith he,) but the same Judas was changed. The very which thing we must judge of the city of Nineveh, and of king Hezekiah, whom God had threatened to die: for neither did Nineveh perish at that time, neither yet did Hezekiah die [at the time prescribed:] because both were changed. God pronounced at the beginning, that the fear of men should be upon the beasts. But the contrary happeneth: for men do

now fear lions, bears, and tigers; because of them they be oftentimes torn in pieces. Which cometh to pass, by reason that the condition of men is changed, and not the counsel of God.

5. Wherefore, those promises of God must be understood according to the state of things, as they presently were. So as, when we hear the promises of God, thus ought we to think; Either they have some condition joined with them, or else they are put absolutely: further, either they stand in strength for this time only, or else they are to be fulfilled hereafter. And as touching that, which belongeth to the conditions of promises and threatening's; it must be diligently considered, that some promises be legal, and some evangelical; and what difference there is between them, I have in another place taught. Briefly, I will now say, that they be legal promises, which have a condition annexed; so as the promise is not due, unless the law be most perfectly satisfied. And so those conditions might be called the causes of the rewards, if we could satisfy them: which thing, seeing we are not able to do, by reason of this corruption and infection of nature, God is not bound to give the reward. Wherefore, seeing we are not able to fulfill the law, as should behoove us to do; all the consideration of merit is utterly taken away: and yet for all that, those promises are not given in vain. For, albeit that through infirmity we are not able to perform the condition; yet if we fly unto Christ, and being regenerated, begin a better life, the promises which were legal, are become evangelical: not that we living under grace, fulfill those conditions; but because they were made perfect by Christ, whose righteousness is imputed unto us. After this manner we are to conceive of the promises of God.

6. The same respect also must be had of threatening's: because for the most part the condition; namely, [Unless ye repent] must be added. I said;

For the most part, because generally it is not so: as it appeared in David, who repented, and yet suffered that which Nathan threatened him. Also Moses repented, and yet was he not brought into the land of promise. But as touching the condition of repentance, we must not pass it over, that the same is not perfect in us: otherwise, the forgiveness of sins should be due as a reward to us. Wherefore we must be sure, that the condition of repenting is evangelical, and while repentance is found in us, it is the fruit of faith, and no merit. Of this matter Chrysostom writeth excellently well, in his fifth homily unto the people of Antioch; wherein he comforteth the people as concerning the threatening's of Theodosius. He bringeth a place out of the 18th chapter of Jeremiah, and addeth; that The sentence of God is far otherwise than of the princes of this world. For the sentence of a prince, immediately after it is once spoken, it is finished, and scarcely may be changed: but the sentence of God, if it have threatened anything, consisteth not in very hasty destruction; neither yet remaineth it without all hope of entreaty. Nay rather, it may seem to be a certain entrance and step to salvation: for by this means God doth oftentimes call men home into the right way, and maketh them to be saved. And thus far of conditions.

7. As concerning the time, we must not always expect, that God should straightway perform his promises. And if he shall defer them, we must thus comfort ourselves; He hath not yet fulfilled them, howbeit he will do the same in due time. In the meanwhile, he will after this manner exercise our faith. It is not seldom, that God seemeth that he would do nothing less, than that which he hath promised and threatened. He promised the kingdom to David: but with what miseries did he first exercise him before he fulfilled his promises? For first he was a poor man, and a shepherd; after that, being taken into the court, he began to be hated of Saul, and was put in such

danger, as it wanted little, but that he had come under his power. When our Lord and savior Jesus Christ was to be born of the virgin Mary, the angel promised that he should have the throne of his father David: and yet, until the thirty year of his age, he lived in small show of the world. After that, he was envied of the high priests, Pharisees and Scribes: and thus was he a great while ill entreated, and at the last he was hanged upon the cross. Therefore Isaiah doth very well admonish, that He which believeth, must not be hasty. For God will perform in due time those things which he hath promised: but in the meantime our part is to prescribe nothing unto him. Paul saith in the 10th chapter to the Hebrews; Ye have need of patience, that doing the will of God, ye may attain the promise; for yet a little while, and he that is to come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just man shall live by faith. But if any withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. The very same thing also must we say of threatening's: God said, that he would overthrow the Babylonians; yet did they flourish and triumph, yea and led the people into captivity. Wherefore God would not fulfill his threatening's at that time, yet did he perform the same, when he saw a time convenient.

8. These things let us apply unto that place. For what said God? I will not help: that is, not now presently; but afterward at a time convenient I will help. Yea and God oftentimes maketh answer, even to ourselves inwardly in our heart; I will not help you: for ye be loden with sins. What shall we then do? Shall we cease to pray? No verily. Let us rather follow the Hebrews: they, the sharper answers that God gave them, the more they increased their repentance, John saith; If our heart do accuse us, God is greater than our heart. Our heart doth then accuse us, when we say unto ourselves; God will not hear by reason of sins; God doth more accuse us, because he more seeth

us than we do ourselves. Wherefore David said; O Lord cleanse thou me from my secret faults. What remedy is there then? For who is he, whose own heart will not accuse? Let us convert ourselves unto Christ. But and if the heart will say; He will not help: let us say thereunto; This I may believe, if I should have respect unto myself only; but I have respect unto the son of God, who gave himself for me. From thence riseth that confidence which Paul had, when he said; Who shall bring accusation against the elect of God? It is God that justifieth, &c. Wherefore, if God do not accuse us, neither in very deed shall our heart accuse us, while we have respect unto Christ: for now we have trust unto Godward, and we shall obtain. And while we be converted unto Christ, not only sin and accusation is abolished; but repentance is also increased.

9. But it is doubted of some, whether it be lawful to desire of God, things that be indifferent: for (as they say) we be ignorant, whether those things will be profitable or hurtful unto us, which do ask. And Plato in *Alcibiade* 2. saith, that It is a difficult thing to define our prayers: and therefore thinketh, that God must be desired only in general and universal terms. Chrysostom upon the epistle unto Timothy, the eighth homily; How (saith he) can I know that I shall obtain that which I desire? [The answer is,] If thou desire nothing against the will of God, or unworthy of his majesty; no earthly thing, no worldly thing, but altogether spiritual things; and so forth. The Lord in his prayer teacheth, that only things spiritual must be desired: for all other things he comprehendeth generally, saying; Give us this day our daily bread. And in another place he saith; First seek the kingdom of heaven, and these things shall be added unto you. Howbeit, Augustine in his epistle unto Proba affirmeth, that this kind of things may also be desired of God: for whatsoever things are lawful for us to wish, those he saith are also lawful to

be asked. Further, these things God hath not seldom promised, therefore we may crave them also. And hereunto there do serve examples. For Moses desired victory against the Amalekites. Abraham desired, that Ishmael might live; and he was heard. Paul also desired to be delivered from affliction.

But here there be two things which must be considered. The first is, that in those things, which be indifferent, we do not firmly settle ourselves; but let us perpetually refer them to the glory of God. Further, we must determine to use them well, if they do happen. But some man will say, that seeing we be men, we may be deceived about the right use of children: for only God knoweth how well or how ill we will use our children. Moreover, the nature of man is inconstant, and therefore we may be changed, and may refuse that, which we first desired. Indeed these things be true. But if thou with a faithful and godly mind shalt desire issue of God, there is no danger; because the success is put in the hand of God, by whose will all things to come are governed. He regardeth not that, which thou desirest; but that, which is most profitable unto thee. And Paul saith; What we may desire, we know not; but the spirit helpeth our infirmity, and by his wisdom correcteth our prayers. Neither must this be passed over, that sometimes God seemeth not to hear us, when as nevertheless he then heareth us most of all: as when Paul prayed, that the sting of the flesh might depart from him, he heard, that the grace and favor wherewith God endued him, should be sufficient for him. Therefore, when we make such kind of prayers, we ought to be of this mind; that whatsoever shall happen, we may be contented with the judgment of God. And when as Christ saith; First seek ye the kingdom of God, and then other things shall be given unto you: he saith not, that the things not desired shall be given. Indeed he will give them, but he

forbiddeth not, but that they should be asked; so that they be the latter part of our requests. Further, he did not there speak of prayers; but he spake only of the carefulness, study, and disquietness had about things frail and transitory.

10. Moreover, Christ warneth, that in praying we should not use much babbling. But we must understand, that he, when he spake these things, forbad not long prayers: for he himself continued a whole night praying on the mountain; and before his death he prayed abundantly: and he commandeth us to be ever praying, and never to be weary. And the better to beat this into our heads, he used parables; namely, of the unjust judge revenging the cause of the widow woman, by reason of her importunity: and of the man who being in his bed, and would not rise; yet at the last opened the door unto his friend that continually knocked, and gave him so much bread as he was willing to take. Yea, and the Lord himself at the length heard the woman of Canaan, that constantly cried unto him without ceasing. So now it must be considered, that much speech or babbling is then used; not when we pray long: but when we multiply words without faith and the spirit; being persuaded, that we may be heard, through the number of those words. So Helias derided the Baalites, and exhorted them to cry out louder, whereby they might at the length be heard of their God, being either asleep, or else otherwise occupied. Wherefore, that is a foolish cogitation: for God heareth us, not for our word's sake, but for his own goodness and mercy.

Another cause is, if we will as it were prescribe unto God, and teach him what things we have need of; For God knoweth whereof we have need, even before we begin to pray. These two causes being removed, we may pray so much as we will. And how far forth our prayers ought to be either

long or short, Augustine very well describeth unto Proba; The brethren (saith he) in Egypt have prayers short, and often used, as it were certain darts cast out of the souls: and that (saith he) least the zeal, which they have, should wax cold. Therefore he addeth; If we see our endeavor and ferventness of prayer begin to wax faint, we must not dull it with continuance; but if so be that our attentiveness be cheerful and ready bent, it must not be left. Briefly he saith, that prayer ought to be much, and the talk little. And those (saith he) are much in prayer, who indeed desire things that be necessary, but with words superfluous: but that prayer is much, when our heart being stirred up, we continually persuade him whom we pray unto. He saith, that we ought to deal more with tears than with words; and with weeping rather than with speaking: for words are not given for any other use, but to stir up either ourselves or others.

11. But seeing it is written, that Hanna the mother of Samuel only moved her lips, but her voice was not heard: it may be demanded, whether the voice should be used in prayers. Nether must the question be understood of public prayers, but of private prayers: for of public prayers there can be no doubt. Hereunto we answer, that there is no need of the voice, when we pray unto God privately and apart: because God heareth and beholdeth the mind, and the heart. Howbeit, the voice otherwhile is used, not without fruit; because many times we wax faint in prayers, and the mind itself is heavy: whereupon the voice being used, it stirreth us up, and after a sort refresheth us. Moreover, it sometimes happeneth, that when we pray vehemently; and with great endeavor, and be wholly fixed therein: there breaketh out speech, even before we be aware, which cannot choose but be acceptable to God. Hanna kept not her devotions secret, as if she had desired some shameful and dishonest thing of God: which thing the Ethnics

have sometimes done. Whereupon Seneca, in his tenth epistle to Lucillius saith, that Athenedorus was wont to say, that he had profited very much, which desireth nothing of God; but that he dare openly profess in sight of the world. And as concerning the settling and ordering of our body while we be praying, it must be understood; that God regardeth not with what fashion of our body we pray. Yet, if so be that some decent and modest gesture of the members of our body (proceeding not of hypocrisy, but the affect of faith) do accompany our prayers, he doth not altogether despise the same.

We must specially pray with the heart and with the mind: which thing they do not, that honor God with their lips, but have their heart far from him. Wherefore the School-men do foully err, which affirm, that in our prayers it is not necessary (as they term it) to have an actual attention; but that it is sufficient to use (as they speak) a virtual attention. Because (say they) our heart is not in our own power; Therefore it sufficeth, if we at the beginning determine to pray unto God. Whereas they say, that our heart is not in our own power; we are content to agree thereunto: but on the other side, they must grant, that if our mind be wandering and astray in time of prayer, it cannot be done without sin. Now then let them not excuse this fault, neither let them affirm, that such prayers please God. For we would not so presume to speak unto a prince, being a man, that our mind should not be settled upon him: how much less ought God (who is more excellent than all princes) be called upon after this manner. Chrysostom, in the 29th homily upon Genesis thus writeth; If our mind be astray, we receive no commodity by prayers, but rather a greater damnation. Wherefore, even as all the godly sort have prayed attentively, and from their inward heart; so

ought we also to pray, if we will be heard. For these examples are therefore set forth to us, that we should imitate them.

12. Besides this, it is written of the godly men, that they called upon God on their knees, and with their hands stretched out: not that the very worshipping of God doth chiefly consist in outward things; which nevertheless are of strength to stir up men's minds, that they may give due honors unto God. Yea, and those things do not a little invite those which stand by, to pour out their prayers before God. In bowing of our knees, we testify our subjection towards God; the which is simple and absolute, without any exception. When we stretch out our hands towards heaven, we show that we must expect for help, and for every good thing from God only, and not elsewhere. This gesture also pertaineth unto them that yield themselves subject: for they, which yield themselves unto mighty men, are accustomed to stretch forth their hands unto them. Therefore Paul, in the first to Timothy, the second chapter saith; I will that men in every place lift up pure hands, without wrath or doubting, &c. For if any man direct his outward gestures unto God, but have his mind far separated from him; he shall be accounted no true worshipper of God, but a hypocrite. Yet notwithstanding we must not think, that God doth condemn the prayers of them that sit, stand or lie; so that they proceed of faith. Howbeit, those gestures which are spoken of in the scriptures, and were used of holy men, do very well agree with public prayers, and are not to be numbered among superstitious actions.

13. And as touching the place itself, the Hebrew interpreters do say, that the ladder showed unto Jacob was a prophesy of the house of prayer, and of the temple to come; for where the Lord (say they) appeareth, and the heavens are opened, and angels ascend and descend together, there do we

pray commodiously: for our prayers are easily carried from thence unto God. And that this is here signified, they prove it by the words following: for Jacob said; This is no other thing than the house of God, and the gates of heaven. And there he anointed the stone, and began to pray, and vowed a vow to God: wherefore (say they) the sum that is here entreated of, concerneth the house of God. Which thing we also after a sort will grant unto them to be true: yet under this condition, that our brethren may know, that our church is the true house of God. This doth Paul teach in the first chapter to Timothy, when he saith; That thou mayest know, how thou shouldst behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. And this hath our church of her spouse Christ, who communicateth all that is his with her: for he is the very true house of God. For, not without cause he said of himself; Destroy this temple, and in three days I will restore it again. And Paul unto the Colossians said of him; that In him dwelleth all fullness of the godhead bodily. Therefore, where so ever Christ is; where so ever we have respect to him, we pray in a due place. He is to us the ark, the temple, and house of God, yea the propitiatory place itself: as Paul testifieth to the Romans; Whom he hath appointed to us a propitiatory by faith in [his] blood, &c.

Before Christ, the fathers had a certain place, by the which Christ himself was shadowed, whom it behooved to be of no uncertain kindred and conversation; but even a Jew: and as concerning his bodily presence, to live only in the circumcision. Wherefore, seeing he is now already come, and that he belongeth unto all nations: that ceremony of appointing a certain place for the using of prayers is released. Which thing Christ declared unto the woman of Samaria, that it would come to pass, when he said unto her; The time shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship God,

neither upon this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem. And Paul in the first epistle to Timothy; I will therefore that men every-where pray, lifting up pure hands, being void of wrath and reasoning, without discord. Now then we, having Christ with us, may pray every-where; especially seeing by our communion with him, we be the temples of God. And this doth Paul testify in sundry places, especially in the first to the Corinthians, where he saith; You be the temple of God, &c. Wheresoever therefore we be, so that we be not divided from Christ; we may very well pray with this full trust, wherein we doubt not, but that we be the temple of God. Neither do we therefore speak these things, as though we condemn the having of a certain place, where godly congregations may publicly be had. For this is necessary, seeing we be men so many as serve Christ, and have need of a bodily place, if at any time we are to meet together.

But we must understand that such places are not so fixed, as though they may not be changed, according as it shall be convenient for the church; neither yet are they so described and limited for prayer, as it should be counted wicked to pray out of them. Doubtless we do greatly honor and esteem the godly meetings at places appointed, and agreed upon; seeing we understand, that Christ is the rather with us, when we be joined together. But unto the place, wherein was the ark of the covenant, there is no need for us to come: for the old ceremonies are taken away by the benefit of Christ, and every place is open unto us for prayer. Wherefore, in the first to Timothy, the second chapter, it is written; And I will, that men in every place lift up pure hands. Yea, and Paul himself was heard in the prison, and the thief upon the cross: for God contemneth no place, but heareth believers everywhere.

Howbeit, if we will thoroughly look upon the matter itself, the true ark also, which is Christ, is not wanting unto us: for in very deed Paul calleth him our *κολαστήριον*, that is, either our Propitiator, or Place propitiatory: which thing he alludeth unto the propitiatory place of Moses, which was set over the ark. While we therefore pray, let us by faith look upon our ark; that is, unto Christ, who consisteth of the God-head and humanity. And in that he is God, there is no doubt but he is every-where, although that properly in his body he be placed in heaven, or (to speak more rightly) above all heavens: whither also we must ascend with mind and faith, if we will enjoy him. Neither ought we in praying, to have a respect unto the west, as the Jews did; and that by the commandment of the law: neither unto the east, although that many of the fathers stiffly affirm, that we should pray towards the east; and among others, Basil endeavoreth to show the cause of that tradition (as he calleth it;) namely, for that we should seek again for paradise, which was lost, being placed in the east.

Of the Intercession of Christ.

14. Christ is said to make intercession for us, that we might be the more encouraged. For they which be in great favor with any man, their requests are not lightly denied of him. Wherefore Paul, in the eight to the Romans, maketh mention in what great dignity Christ is with the father. In which place Ambrose writeth on this wise; He maketh us certain and sure, both of the father, and of the son. For before, he said that God justifieth us: now he saith of the son, that he maketh intercession for us. And a little before he wrote of the holy Ghost, that he with unspeakable groanings doth pray for us. The Greek Scholies add; that Christ, when he was upon the earth, did oftentimes pray for the salvation of mankind: for he said unto Peter; I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail. And as John saith; He prayed

unto the father, not only for them that believed, but also for all those, which should believe, that he might sanctify them. And being nailed on the cross, he commended to his father, even those which had reviled him, and put him to death. And we also hear, that he in no wise hath cast away that care, which he took upon him in times past, for the preservation of us. For now, although he reign in heaven; yet he maketh intercession unto the father for us. He thought it not enough to die for us, but that he would also by his ministry help our salvation.

The Arians wrested that place, in such sort, as they would thereby show, that the son is less than the father; because he maketh intercession unto him. For, to pray and to make supplication, pertaineth unto inferiors; and not to equals. Ambrose maketh answer, and saith; that The apostle maketh him equal with the father: for he saith, that he sitteth at the right hand of the father. Wherefore it cannot be gathered by these words, that he is less than the father. But here we happen upon two things to be noted. First, that the persons in the blessed Trinity, are distinct or several: for if the son pray unto the father, it must needs be, that the person of the father is one, and the person of the son another; for no man prayeth unto himself. Further, this is to be noted; that the father is the fountain and first beginning of all things, and of the divine persons also: therefore the son deriveth from him unto us, whatsoever heavenly gifts and graces we have. From this judgment, Chrysostom disagreeeth not: for he saith, that Paul had before made the son of God equal with the father, when he said, that he sitteth at his right hand.

But in that he is said to pray, that is not to be taken properly, as though he maketh supplication unto the Father: but the scripture (saith he) speaketh in that sort, to show the good-will of the son towards us. Otherwise truly he hath all things in his own hand; and as the father giveth life, even so doth

the son give life: and as the father raiseth up the dead, so doth also the son raise up the dead; wherefore he needeth to use no prayers unto him. And seeing he was able by himself to quicken the dead, to redeem the damned, and to justify the wicked; which works are most excellent, and most great: why can he not also by himself, and without prayer, bring all other things to pass. Moreover, he citeth out of the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter; We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you through us, we pray you in Christ his stead, to be reconciled unto God. Behold (saith he) God is here said to beseech men; whereas we ought not so much as to think, that he is inferior unto them. But saving the authority of these fathers, I would judge, that the Arians may be answered another way. For I would say that the son prayeth unto God, not as being God, but in that he is man, and a creature.

But the place alleged out of the epistle to the Corinthians is not of any great force: for Paul expressly putteth this note of similitude ὡς, that is, [as though:] neither meant he anything else, but that the apostles with great affection procured, and as it were beseeched men to return unto God. Of which words cannot be gathered, that God maketh supplication unto men. The apostles, in the New Testament, dealt towards men with a great deal more lenity, than did the law and the prophets in the Old Testament; where all things are in a manner fretted with threatening's and punishments. And that these words of Paul must be referred unto the humanity of Christ, those things which were spoken before do sufficiently declare. But Paul had written before, that Christ died, rose again, and was carried up into heaven to the right hand of God: all which things agree not with the divine nature of Christ. Wherefore it is meet, that that particle also, which followeth, should be referred unto the human nature of Christ: as concerning the

which, Christ himself confesseth himself to be inferior to the father: for he saith; The father is greater than I. And so long as he was upon the earth, because he was a man, he obeyed the magistrates, and his parents: for (as Luke declareth) he was subject unto them. And in Isaiah he confesseth, that he was anointed by the holy Ghost: to give us to understand, that his human nature was not only less than the father, but also less than the holy Ghost.

15. Moreover, it cannot be denied, but that he is our bishop and priest: but the office of a bishop is, both to offer sacrifice, and also to pray for the people. Christ hath offered himself upon the cross, and when he had performed that ministry; there remained another ministry, which he should perpetually exercise; namely, to make intercession for us: unless we will peradventure affirm, that he is no more the bishop of the church. But God himself hath promised the contrary, saying; Thou art forever a priest, after the order of Melchizedek. And yet still, by the priesthood of Christ our sins are forgiven us, and we are reconciled unto God; We have a high priest (as it is written unto the Hebrews) which hath entered into the most holy place, not made with hands, but hath passed through into heaven itself, and which can suffer together with our infirmities, being tempted in all things like unto us. Wherefore we ought with boldness to come unto the throne of grace, for there is offered for us a most acceptable sacrifice.

By the resurrection of Christ, death is vanquished, and also hell. In the kingdom of Christ which he most mightily exerciseth at the right hand of his father, all things are governed. And the prayers, which he continually poureth out for us, are most thankful and very acceptable unto the father. We read also, that The holy Ghost doth make intercession for us: the very which thing is here affirmed of the son. If these two intercessions be compared together, we shall find that the intercession of the son, is the

cause of the intercession of the holy Ghost. For he promised to go unto the father, and to send the holy Ghost unto us. He stirreth up our minds to pray fervently, with sighing's and groanings. Christ maketh intercession unto the father, because he is always at hand with him. Therefore the father is perpetually put in mind of the sacrifice by him once offered; and he smelleth the same as a sweet savor, and thereby is made merciful unto us. And for this cause Christ is called our mediator and advocate: and his prayers are not only acceptable unto God, but they have also satisfaction joined with them. Wherefore, seeing they are both just and acceptable unto God, they cannot take any repulse.

16. Indeed we, so long as we live here, do continually pray one for another; and that by the prescript of the word of God. Howbeit, between our prayers, and the prayers of Christ, there is a great difference: for his prayers (as we have said) have satisfaction joined with them; but so have not ours. For there is none of us, that can make satisfaction unto God, either for himself, or for another man. But that the saints departed from hence, do make intercession for us; we cannot prove it by any part of the canonical scripture: wherefore we ought to have Christ only for our mediator and advocate. Neither must we admit things uncertain for certain. Although I will easily grant, that the saints in the heavenly habitation, do with most fervent desires wish the salvation of the elect; yet dare I not say, that they pray for them; especially seeing the scriptures nowhere teach any such thing. And although I would grant this, yet should it not thereof follow, that we ought to call upon the saints departed: for we are not certain out of the word of God, that they can hear our prayers. And thus they grievously offend, both against religion, and against Christ himself; which do appoint to themselves saints for new mediators and advocates; seeing there is but

one mediator between God and men; namely, the man Christ Jesus, who now (as Paul saith) maketh intercession for us.

The same doth John testify, saying; I write unto you, that ye sin not: and if we sin, we have an advocate with the father, even Jesus Christ the just. Augustine against the epistle of Parmenianus, in the eighth chapter, noteth out of these words, that the apostle excluded not himself from the rest: for he said not; Ye have an advocate: but; we have an advocate. For that none is so holy, but that he hath need of Christ to be a mediator and advocate. Further, he saith not; Ye have not me an intercessor: but; we have an advocate Jesus Christ. Augustine in the same place reproveth Parmenianus, who had elsewhere written; that bishops are mediators between God and the people: which thing he saith must not be suffered of the faithful. The same Augustine, in his tenth book of confessions, the 42nd chapter, thus writeth; Whom could I find that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto angels? But with what prayers? With what sacraments? And he addeth, that there were many, who would have been reconciled by angels, and were miserably deceived: for that an evil angel oftentimes transformeth himself into an angel of light. And if it be not lawful for us to pray unto angels, much less is it lawful for us to do it unto dead saints: for in this there is no less danger of deceiving, than in the other. These things writeth Augustine in that place, both godlily and sincerely; who nevertheless in other places was not so circumspect, in shunning the error of his time.

17. Some affirm, that the saints in the heavenly country do pray for us, if they retain their old charity towards us, which they had while they lived here. And here they endeavor to prove, that the calling upon them is lawful. But these men offended two manner of ways. First, because, though the saints do retain their wonted charity towards us; yet it may be doubted,

whether they pray for us. For it may suffice unto that charity, that both they wish well and will well unto us. For perhaps they be there so certain of the will of God towards us, as neither they will nor can pray. But if thou wilt say, that Christ prayeth for us; and therefore the same may be common unto them, which know no more of the will of God, than the only son, which is most near of all unto the father: then ought ye to consider, that Christ's making intercession for us unto the father, is nothing else, but that he is always present with the father, and that by his presence (because he was delivered unto the death for us) the mercy of God is most readily stirred up towards the elect. But admit that they pray for us, as our adversaries will needs have it; yet can it not be said, that they ought to be called upon by us, seeing we be ignorant, whether they have sure knowledge of our doings. Yea and we see that many of the fathers doubted very much of the same. Furthermore, a just invocation cannot proceed but of faith: and faith hath no place, where we cannot cleave to the word of God. But no place can be brought in the scriptures to confirm this invocation. Wherefore our adversaries can gain nothing by these words of the apostle.

18. Furthermore, this hath been also a perpetual custom of godly men, that they have rendered thanks and praise unto God for his benefits received. So did Moses sing a song unto the Lord for the overthrow of Pharaoh. Even so afterward did Deborah, for obtaining victory against the enemies. Thirdly, we have a song of Hanna. Afterward were set forth the Psalms of David, among the which we read many that be of this argument. And in the New Testament the blessed virgin celebrated the name and praises of God, well-near after this manner; yea, and she seemeth to have borrowed some words and sentences out of the song of Hanna: for she saith; My soul doth magnify the Lord, my spirit hath rejoiced in God, &c. And Hanna saith; My

heart hath rejoiced in the Lord. Mary said; He that is mighty hath done great things for me: and Hanna; There is none mighty like our God. Mary said; And holy is his name: Hanna; There is none holy as the Lord is. Mary; He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble, he hath filled the hungry with good things: Hanna; The weak are girded with strength, and the hungry are filled with bread. To conclude, there be many things alike in either hymn: and it is no marvel, because they entreat of like argument. On the one part, a virgin brought forth; and on the other part, a barren woman was made fruitful. This kind of verses are uttered by the spirit of God, and therefore consecrated to the Lord, that they may return to the original from whence they sprang.

Besides this we must understand, that between Poems divine and human, this is the difference; that human Poems do set forth the renown of kings, princes, fields, cities, regions, castles, women, marriages, and sometime of brute beasts. But divine Poems do only sing of God, and celebrate him only, and do set forth songs and praises of him alone. And that not without cause: for him alone it behooveth the godly to worship with all their mind, with all their heart, and with all their strength. Wherefore godly young men must in any wise be exhorted chiefly to celebrate God in their verses: for it is not to be feared, that in such an argument they shall want matter. But whereas Hanna the mother of Samuel gave thanks unto God; yet is it said that she prayed: because these two are most surly knit together. And he that giveth thanks for benefits received, provoketh God to bestow benefits upon him again: so that the giving of thanks may justly be termed by the name of prayers. But the saints give thanks unto God through Jesus Christ, because even by him all good things are derived to us. And it is meet, that by this very means they should return unto the author: for we, through the infirmity

and weakness wherewith we are infected, do pollute the gifts and graces of God, when they are poured upon us. Wherefore if they be rendered unto God, as they be in us, they become unclean; but they are purified again by Christ, and being offered unto God by him in thanks-giving; they are become a sweet-smelling savor.

The abuse of foreign language.

19. To the intent that the matter may be the more plainly perceived, let us make a brief of those reasons, which the apostle hath brought for overthrowing of a strange language in the church. First he writeth, that he which speaketh with a [strange] tongue, speaketh not unto men, but to God. Whereby it appeareth, that men are not edified by that kind of speech; seeing it pertaineth not unto them. Further he saith; He that speaketh with tongues, edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth, edifieth all men. Therefore, so much difference as there is between one man and all universally; so much is the use of strange tongues inferior unto prophesying, which edifieth the whole church. Besides this, he addeth experience; to wit, that what commodity the church of the Corinthians had received by Paul, all this it had by revelation, by prophesying, by knowledge, and also by doctrine; which otherwise, the use of tongues had little or nothing profited. Moreover, there is a similitude brought in of musical instruments, and of the trumpet; all which are unprofitable, as well for bringing of pleasure, as for the use of wars; unless they make a plain distinction, and a certain signification in their music.

Furthermore, he that useth strange tongues, sheweth himself to be a barbarian to them that hear him; as if he would not communicate with them such things as he hath in his mind. Also, when he prayeth with a strange tongue, undoubtedly he useth the gift of the Spirit; but yet his mind is void

of fruit, seeing there followeth no edifying of his neighbors: which only thing the Christian mind, that is wise, must have respect unto. Also, he that doth on this sort, hindereth them that stand by, from confirming and ratifying those prayers which he openly maketh, by answering unto them after the usual manner; Amen. And here he bringeth in his own example, who being able to do much, and to excel them all in the use of tongues; yet saith, that he had rather speak five words, whose signification should be manifest, than to utter infinite words in a strange tongue, which would not be understood of the hearers. And he affirmeth this to be childish. Which thing God by the prophet Isaiah reproveth in his people; because, as they had been children, they understood not those things, which were spoken. And seeing it becometh all men, to use such gifts as they are endued with; it is meet for the church of Christ to use prophesying, which most beseemeth the faithful. Lastly, the benefit of prophesying is more universally and largely given, than is the gift of tongues: seeing it is profitable, both unto the believers and unbelievers; whereas strange language profiteth them that believe not; yea and sometimes maketh the believers to be laughed at by them.

20. Moreover, the holy scriptures teach what we ought to do in the holy congregation. For in the 102nd Psalm it is written; While the people gather together in one, they do declare the name of the Lord in Zion, and his praises in Jerusalem. But how can the praises and miracles of the Lord be declared in such sort, as they may be understood, whereas a strange language shall be used? And it is written to the Colossians; Let the word of God abound plentifully among you. But if it be not understood, it will be barren, neither will it bring forth any fruitfulness. The sacraments are ministered, when the church meeteth together. And seeing that in baptism

Christ should be preached; and the name of the father, the son, and the holy Ghost celebrated, and the remission of sins and articles of faith pronounced: what shall this profit, if it be done in unknown words: and touching the holy supper, the Lord said; Do this in remembrance of me. But in an unknown tongue, the remembrance is no whit renewed; but rather buried. There is heard a sound, a singing, and a muttering, but there is in a manner nothing of the words perceived: yea and sometimes there be sermons made so intricate and difficult, that they can be understood but even of a very few.

And when as this abuse hath oftentimes been rebuked in these men, it is a world to hear, with how vain and fond imaginations they defend the same. They say, that in the old law there were many ceremonies, the signification of which was not understood: and yet notwithstanding they were observed by the common people and unlearned men. But they which speak on this sort, must show to us, that they have the word of God; wherein it hath been commanded, that they should use a strange tongue in holy service, when as it might be done by them in the vulgar speech; according as the old fathers in the law had showed, that such ceremonies were commanded unto them. Besides, neither is it true, that those ceremonies were utterly unknown unto the common people: for they all knew what meant the feast of Passover, what the Pentecost, and what the feast of tabernacles: and they knew some to be peace offerings, and some offerings for sins. And finally, all things which belonged unto the observations of those ceremonies, were delivered by God unto the Hebrews, in a usual and known language. And if there were besides significations hidden in them, unto the understanding whereof, the common sort did not attain; that is no let at all unto us, who require not of our people all the understanding of the holy scriptures: but we only

complain, that they keep the scripture so secret from them, as they may not once understand the words.

21. They are wont also, when the place of Paul is objected, to fain that the words do only concern sermons, wherein they say, that they also use their mother tongue. But the words of that chapter do most plainly reprove them; for there is express mention made of those things, in which the people do answer; Amen: which happeneth not in sermons. The apostle also maketh mention of thanks-giving, and of divine praises: wherefore it is manifest that this defense of theirs is vain. Further, to what purpose had it been needful for him, to give warning of that, which can never fall into any man's mind, to make a sermon in a strange language? And whereas there be so rare and seldom sermons used, and yet continually in a manner there is a singing, praying, and giving of thanks in the church; it is a wonder why they will not agree, that the apostle instructeth the church as touching these things. Neither must it be granted them, which they continually affirm with open mouth, that in this kind of things the church of Christ hath a liberty: seeing the apostle in the end of the 14th chapter of the 1st to the Corinthians writeth, that these things are commandments of the Lord.

22. There be others among them, which say, that a strange tongue is therefore meet for the scriptures; because the common people are as children and infants, who have need of milk, and not of strong meat. But by what authority will these pleasant men show us, that milk is a strange language? This they can never find: for the same doctrine, being set forth somewhat grossly and rudely, hath the nature of milk; but being more cunningly expounded, it may be called strong meat. Also they dare say, that if lay men should understand all things that be recited in the holy scriptures, they should drink present poison: for they being otherwise unlearned, would

fall into heresies, and grievous schisms. But this opinion of theirs accuseth the whole ancient church, of much want of wisdom: I mean the churches of the Latins, the Greeks, and the Hebrews; in which the holy service was done, not in a strange language, but in their own tongue. Yea and at this day in Illyria, India, and in diverse other countries, among whom the church of Christ is most largely extended, do celebrate their holy service in their native and proper language, and not in a strange tongue. Moreover, God himself, according to the opinion of these men, had sinned, who taught the Hebrew nation in all things, touching salvation, no otherwise but in the Hebrew tongue. When as the two Seraphim's were seen and heard of the prophet Isaiah to praise God, they uttered out such words as might be understood, saying; Holy, holy, holy. And when Christ was born in Bethlehem, the heavenly hosts were heard to sing with a loud voice; Glory be to the highest, in earth peace, good will towards men. And when the angels appeared unto Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and other the prophets; they used such tongues as were understood by them. Therefore, if it be true that our adversaries do also profess; namely, that our church doth imitate the triumphant church, it ought not to use a strange language among her own children.

23. And less are they to be heard, which object; that a holy thing must not be given unto dogs, seeing it is a wicked thing, to reckon them for dogs, and hogs, so as they should be unworthy to hear the sayings of God, they being (through faith and baptism) numbered among the members of Christ, and have the holy Ghost, and do eat the body and blood of Christ. It is no part of the pastors of the church of Christ, to keep secret the words of God. This doth the devil specially seek; to wit, that the words of God may lie hidden, seeing he knoweth, that without them we can neither believe, nor yet

conveniently call upon the name of God. Further, they that understand not what they say, or what they hear; it must needs be, that they turn their mind another way: the which is held as it were with certain reins, through understanding of those words which it heareth.

I marvel at them which babble, that a good intent (as they speak) of praising God, of giving thanks, and of praying, doth suffice: and that it is not required, that the words, whereby these things are done, should be known unto them that stand by. This is a pernicious devise: for it affirmeth only a sincere purpose (which we also require) to be sufficient; and it taketh away from the people of God, the manifold and sundry fruits, which the holy Spirit is wont to bring forth, through knowledge of holy words. Neither doth it make a little unto the contumely of God, that they which have access unto him, should speak those things which they understand not; and should many times imagine far otherwise than they speak. Neither will we willingly suffer, that any man should have dealing with us; and that concerning most weighty matters, when as he himself knoweth not what he would say. Wherefore this infamy must be removed, with singular endeavor, from the holy congregations of Christian men.

24. Moreover, this must not be omitted, that our adversaries have sometimes caviled, that it is lawful in the temples to use a strange language, because those things which should be uttered in an unknown tongue, might be afterward expounded to the common people. But with this their cavil, they both deceive, and are deceived two ways: for it is not true, that those things are expounded in sermons, which either they mutter with huddling tongues, or else make echoes with loud bellowing voices. Yea, and it cometh to pass very often, that things are spoken of them in sermons, far differing from those which were first either said or son among the

sacrificing priests. But admit that sometime it be as they say; what need should it be twice to repeat one thing, and in vain to keep the people in the temples?

If Paul grant unto the Corinthians the use of sundry tongues, so that interpretation be joined therewith; this he doth, lest the gift of God, and the miracle which in those days flourished, should be suppressed: for by that means also it was meet, that Christ should be glorified. But these men have no miracle to bring forth, or whereby the glory of God may be increased: wherefore they must be constrained to use the common speech. And seeing Paul willeth, that there should no place be given to miracle; unless an interpreter be present: how much rather should these men cease to use that tongue, which either they understand not, or else oftentimes have but a simple knowledge thereof? As they, which in the pronouncing of it, do very oftentimes miss, and give an occasion of laughter to the learned sort of hearers; or else, if so he they do understand the same, they have attained it by study or industry, and not by miracle. Wherefore it appeareth, how disagreeing the things, which these men pretend, are from the reasons which Paul hath made.

Of Music and Miter.

25. Now I think good to speak of Miter and Music, so far as concerneth piety; first, from whence they had their beginning, and to what end they are instituted; secondly, whether they may be retained in the churches; lastly, what manner of songs and measures belong unto our profit and salvation. As touching the first, it is to be understood, that the men in old time, be ye when they should give thanks unto God, and also when they endeavored to obtain anything at his hands, were wont with one consent to use certain solemn verses. Wherefore Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Horace, and such other

harping poets, wrote the most part of their hymns for these uses. Also in the Roman common-wealth, the priests of Mars, who were called *Salij*, bearing certain shields without corners; went singing of their verses about the cities. Moreover, the custom was, that Music and Miter should be used, when the praises of famous men were celebrated, chiefly at feasts: whereby they would warn them that were present, to imitate their noble acts, and to detest the vices which did wrestle with their virtues. Further, they used them to recreate their minds, and that they might be comforted in the sorrow conceived for them that were dead. For in funerals they sang epitaphs. But on the other side, in Music and verses was expressed the notable joy, which had happened. Wherefore, in marriages they were accustomed to sing *ἐπιθαλάμια*, that is, Marriage verses.

All these things, if they be done moderately, and in due season, they may both be borne withal, and commended. For herein concur three manner of good things; namely, honest, profitable, and delectable. And singing, although it do of itself delight men's minds; yet when there is added a speech that standeth upon numbers, and is bound to certain feet, (as we see it to be in versifying) it proveth much more delightful. And undoubtedly, poetry had first his original from hence; and that it was the gift of God, I cannot deny: but I would wish, that the same might be purely and chastely retained amongst men. This I speak, because certain dishonest and unclean men have most shamefully violated the same, while they have converted songs and verses unto lewd lust, and to every dishonest act: whose verses, notwithstanding they be very elegant, and made in good Latin; yet are they altogether unworthy of Christian ears. Neither ought they in any wise to be proposed unto young men, who being prone enough of themselves unto vice; there is no need of furthering and inflaming them with new

provocations and engines. Verses of this kind may well be called the Sirens of men's minds, wherein young men being trained, can hardly escape shipwreck.

26. But there was a great use of holy songs among the people of God: for the Hebrews, in the time of Moses, when as in marching with their camp, they took up the Ark of the covenant, they sang that verse; Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Neither did they set the same down again, without some pleasant song; as we read in the book of Numbers. Furthermore, in the tabernacle and temple built by Solomon, the Levites at their times appointed were present, who before the Lord, in the hearing of the people, sang holy hymns; and in giving thanks to God, did most sweetly celebrate certain notable benefits bestowed upon their nation, and joined prayers therewith, and interlarded sentences, for instructing the manners and life of godly men. Also householders, when as either they sat down in their houses, or rose up from feasts, sang certain hymns; while as they kept their solemn feast days, among their own families, according to the commandment of the law; and so, by giving of thanks unto God, they delivered (as it were by hand) his noble acts unto their posterity.

The which laudable custom it should seem that our Lord Jesus Christ refused not; when as (after the pascal supper) the same night wherein he was betrayed, after the singing of a hymn, he went forth with his apostles into the Mount of Olives. And that godly Music hath power to frame the affections of the mind, Elisha testifieth; who being somewhat moved against the king of Israel, commanded a singing man to be called unto him. David also in praying upon the harp, suppressed the violence of the ill spirit, which vexed him. But why Music doth seem so wholly in a manner to ravish men; the reason is easily made. For some pleasures there be,

which only fill the outward senses: and others there be, which pertain only to the mind or reason. But Music is a delectation so set between both, as both by the sweetness of the sound it moveth the senses, and by the artificial composition of the numbers and proportions it delighteth reason itself. And this happeneth chiefly, when such words are added unto it, as the sense of them is both excellent and learned.

Pythagoras opinion was, that they which study his doctrine, should be brought asleep with a harp, and with the Music of the same be raised from sleep; whereby they might quietly enjoy the time both of sleeping and waking. It is also a common saying (as Cicero affirmeth) that rocks and wildernesses do give a sound, and cruel beasts by singing are become gentle, and do stand still. I will not speak how the poets fable, that when the walls of the city of Thebes should be built, the stones of their own motion came together even at the sound of the harp. And no man is so ignorant, what the same poets have written of Arion and Orpheus. And who knoweth not, how much David here and there in his psalms praiseth Music and songs? And among the Christians, Tertullian in his apology teacheth, that The faithful did very often make suppers, wherein, after they had honestly and moderately refreshed their bodies, they recreated themselves with godly songs. And in another place, where he commendeth the matrimony of such as be all of one religion, he saith; that Christian couples do mutually provoke one another to sing praises unto God.

27. But now that we have seen the nature, original, and use of Miter or Music; there resteth to inquire, whether it may be used in churches. In the East part, the holy congregations used singing, even from the beginning. Which thing we may easily perceive by the testimony of Pliny, in a certain epistle to Trajan the emperor, where he writeth; that the Christians used to

sing hymns before day unto their Christ. And it is not to be overpassed, that these words were written in the same time, that John the evangelist lived: for he remained alive until the time of Trajan. Wherefore, if one will say that in the time of the apostles, there was singing in the holy assemblies; he shall not stray from the truth. Paul, being before these times, saith unto the Ephesians; Be not filled with wine, wherein is wantonness, but be ye filled with the spirit, speaking to yourselves in Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing in your heart, giving thanks always unto God for all things, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Against wine the apostle opposeth the spirit: and he plucketh us away from the pleasure of the senses, when he will have Christians, instead of wine to be filled with the Spirit. For in wine (as he saith) is wantonness: but in the spirit is true and perfect joy. Drunkards talk more than enough, but yet foolish and vain things. Speak ye (saith he) but yet spiritual things, and that not only in mouth, but in heart: for the voice soundeth in vain, where the mind is not affected. They which be filled with wine, speak foolish, fowl, and blasphemous things; but give ye thanks to God always, I say, and for all things. To this end doubtless ought the ecclesiastical songs to tend. Also to the Colossians are written certain things, not disagreeing from these. Let the word of the Lord (saith the apostle) abound plentifully among you: teach and admonish one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts.

In these words Paul expresseth two things. First, that our songs should be the word of God, which must abound plentifully in us: and they must not only serve for giving of thanks, but also for teaching and admonishing. And then it is added; With grace: which must be so understood, as though he had said; Aptly and properly, both to the senses, and to the measure, and also

unto the voices. Let them not sing rude and rustical things, neither yet so immoderately, as common minstrels do. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 14th chapter, where he entreateth of a holy congregation, the same apostle writeth after this manner; When ye assemble together, according as every one of you hath a psalm, or doctrine, or a tongue, or revelation, or interpretation, let all things be done unto edifying. By which words is declared, that singers of songs and psalms, had their place in the church. But the West churches more lately received the manner of singing: for Augustine in his ninth book of Confessions testifieth, that it happened in the time of Ambrose. For when that holy man, together with the people, watched even in the church; lest he should have been betrayed to the Arians, he brought in singing, to avoid tediousness, and to pass away the time.

28. But as touching the manner of the song, which ought to be retained in church Music, these things are worthy to be noted. Augustine, in the same book of Confessions, both confesseth, and is sorry, that he had sometimes fallen, in that he had given attentive heed unto the measures and times of Music, more than unto the words, which were uttered under them. Which hereby he proveth to be sin; because measures and singing were brought in for the words sake, and not words for Music sake. And he so repented him of his fault, that he earnestly allowed the manner, which the church of Alexandria used under Athanasius: for he commanded the reader, that when he sang, he should alter his voice but a little; so as he might rather be like unto one that readeth, than unto one that singeth. Howbeit, on the contrary part, when he considered how at the beginning of his conversion, he was inwardly moved with these songs; namely, that through the zeal of godliness he burst forth into tears: for this cause (I say) he consented, that

Music should be retained in the church; yet in such sort, that (he saith) he was ready to change his mind, if a better reason could be made.

And he addeth, that those do sin penally (as he speaketh) which give greater hark unto Music, than unto the words of God. Unto which saying Jerome doth plainly agree, as he hath noted upon the epistle unto the Ephesians. Also Gregorius Romanus, in the Synod of Rome, was of the same opinion. And both their words are written in the Decrees, distinct. 92. in the chapter, *Cantantes*; and in the chapter, *In sancta Romana*: in the very which place we read in the Gloss these two verses, indeed not eloquent, but godly:

Non vox, sed votum; non chordula musica, sed cor;

Non clamor, sed amor cantat in aure Dei:

that is, Not the voice, but the desire; not the musical tune, but the heart; not crying, but loving, soundeth in the ear of God. And in the words of Gregory this must not be slightly passed over, where he saith; that while the sweetness of the tune is sought for, the life is neglected; and when naughty manners provoke God, the people is ravished with pleasantness of the voice.

29. But now let us declare the cautions, which (me thinks) should be used, that we may lawfully and profitably use singing in the church. The first caution is, that in Music be not put the whole sum and effect of godliness, and of the worshipping of God. For almost everywhere in popish religion, they think that they have in the churches fully worshipped God; when they have a great while and a great deal sung and bellowed. Further, we must take heed that we put no merit nor remission of sins therein. For there be many priests and monks, which for this cause do think that they have hereby very well deserved of God, because they have sung a great number

of Psalms: yea, and the Pope also, and the cardinals, bishops, and abbots, when they have heard songs of Masses and evensongs, do oftentimes pronounce unto the people, pardons of their sins. Also this vice must be taken away; namely, that singing be not so much occupied in the church, as there be almost no time left for to preach the word of God, and holy doctrine. As we see it come to pass in a manner everywhere: for all is so filled with chanting and piping, that there is no part of time left for preaching, whereby it cometh to pass, that the people depart out of the church full of Music and harmony; but touching heavenly doctrine, fasting, and hunger starved.

Moreover, so rich and large stipends are appointed for Musicians, that either very little, or in a manner nothing is provided for Ministers, which labor in the word of God. Neither, may that broken and quavering Music be lawfully retained, wherewith they which be present, are so hindered, as they cannot understand the words, though they would fain do it. Furthermore, heed must be taken, that in the churches nothing be sung without choice, but only those things which be contained in the holy scriptures, or which are by just reasons gathered out of them, and do exactly agree with the word of God. For if there should be a window opened unto the inventions of men, it were to be feared, lest ecclesiastical Music would at length turn to fables and trifles. Yea, we see already, that there are brought into the congregation many fond Sequences (as they call them) and fabulous hymns, and many other things also, which rather stir up laughter and loathsomeness, than true faith to the hearers.

I speak not these things as though I would dispraise the hymns of Ambrose, and other hymns which be of that nature: forsomuch as I judge, that by them the faithful may be instructed, and also admonished. The

Symbol of Athanasius seemeth also meet to be allowed, and the psalms of Augustine against the Donatists; and the psalms of Chrysostom, if they were extant: whereof the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, in the 7th book, maketh mention. For whatsoever things were written in them, we must believe that they agree with the holy scriptures; and that they further the edifying of the faithful in the church. But contrariwise, the psalms of Valentine, of which Tertullian maketh mention, must of all other be condemned; and with them the most corrupt psalms which were sung in the temple, in the honor of Paulus Samosatenus, as the history of Sozomenus declareth.

But now to conclude the matter; I affirm, that godly and religious songs may be retained in the church: and yet I grant, that there is no precept given thereof in the New Testament. Wherefore, if there be any church, which upon just causes useth it not, the same cannot be justly condemned: so that it defend not, that the thing itself of his own nature, or by the commandment of God is unlawful; and that it do not for the same causes either reprove other churches, which use singing and Music, or else exclude them from the fellowship of Christ. For the church of Alexandria, as it hath been said before, either used very little singing, or well-near none at all. For they saw the infirmity of the people to be such, as they gave more heed unto the harmony, than unto the words. So that, if we shall perceive in these days, that the Christian people do run unto the churches, as unto a stage play, where they might be delighted with piping and singing; in this case we must rather abstain from a thing that is not necessary, than to feed their own pleasures with the destruction of their souls.

CHAP. XIV. Of Death, of Consolation, of Mourning and Burial; and in what state the Souls of the Godly are before the Resurrection.

We ought not to seek for the fruit of Christ's actions in his own person only, seeing it most of all redoundeth unto us: neither did the divine nature take unto it the humanity in Christ, to the intent it would shut up his benefits within the precincts thereof: but by the same it would derive the force of his goodness unto the rest of the parts of our nature. So that the same concurreth very well, which Cyrillus writeth in his Treatise upon John; namely, that God the word hath after a sort assumed the whole human nature. For albeit, as touching the substance, he only put on a particular man; yet by the same he quickened and sanctified the rest. Even as if a spark of fire should suddenly catch hold, and inflame a parcel of hay: indeed it would first take hold of that, which were joined thereunto; but afterward passing through by little and little, it would kindle the whole stack of hay, were it never so great. The divinity did first remove all sin from the man, which it assumed; and by [removing] sin, [removed] death.

Secondly, through Jesus Christ himself it took away sin from the believers: according as John said; Behold the lamb of God, which taketh

away the sins of the world. And if so be that he have put away sin from them, he hath also driven away death: therefore, so that we believe in him, the life of resurrection shall be given unto us. But some will say; If we be justified forthwith, so soon as we believe; and that sin is taken away: wherefore doth death remain unto us? We answer; that notwithstanding by the mercy of God, and through Christ, sin shall not be imputed unto us; yet the same resteth still in our flesh, and we are bound every day to put off the old Adam. For during the time that we shall keep still any part of the relics of his oldness: even so long shall we carry death about with us. Wherefore we shall once die at the last, that we may put off what infection soever we got unto us by the first Adam; and a body altogether changed shall be restored unto us, in the time appointed.

Look the fifth and sixth epistles at the end of this book.

Of morning for the dead; out of the book of Genesis, upon the 23rd chapter, verse 7.

2. But now let us speak of morning for the dead. Let our proposition be; that It is lawful to mourn for the dead. First, this is apparent, not only by the example of Abraham, but for the most part also of the fathers. Christ, in the 19th of Luke, wept over the city that was to be destroyed: and in the eleventh of John, when Lazarus was dead, and that his sisters wept, he rebuked them not. It is not for Christians to have that mind void of all affections, as the Stoics would have it. They themselves boasted thereof, yet thou shalt not find that they had such affections. If Tertullian in his book *De patientia*, and other fathers, at any time say, that the dead ought not to be mourned for: this understand thou, not of morning at all, but of morning immoderately, according as Paul saith in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, the fourth chapter; I would not have you sorrow concerning

them that sleep, as others sorrow, which have no hope. Faults they be if thou mourn immoderately, that is, over-much. After which manner we read that Samuel was reproved, when he lamented over-much for Saul, being now cast out of his kingdom. Over this, if indecent things be done; as the renting of the body, and such like: or else, if it be done samedly. Finally, that mourning is most to be disallowed, which proceedeth of denying the resurrection.

But we must sorrow moderately, as Paul (by his example) testifieth: for in the second to the Philippians he saith of Epaphroditus; God had mercy of him, and of me, least I should have sorrow upon sorrow. Thou seest, that the apostle, by his own confession, had sorrowed for the death of Epaphroditus, if the same had happened. Neither do mourners that, which is contrary unto the word of God; because God, by whom death is inflicted, would have the nature thereof to be such, that it should bring tears and sorrow; not only unto them which die, but unto those also, of whom they that die are beloved, and are of near friendship: for it is a punishment for man. If it be grievous, there is nothing that cometh without the ordinance and decree of God: look how he will have it to be, so let us take it. Who would say, that men do sin, if they should complain of hunger, of thirst, and of cold; which nevertheless is not laid upon us without the will of God? We confess, that God suffereth nothing to happen unto them that be his: but such as turneth unto their good. Two things therefore are to be considered in these mourning's; one is, the present loss we have, when as a man that is dear unto us dieth; and the other is the counsel of God's providence, which we believe by faith to be good and profitable unto us: but in what sort the same is, we do not now perceive.

Howbeit, we are greatly touched with the wound of our present loss; doubtless, not to the contumely of God, or that we complain of him, as though he handleth us unjustly or cruelly: but we are moved through the sense of our own nature, so instituted by God, which is the cause why we be moved at the present evil. Wherefore we sorrow for just causes, that any brother is departed: all which causes it shall not be needful to recite. Put the case it be because he was dear unto us, because he was gentle and loving, because he promoted the honor of God, and was profitable to the church: and such like. Charity driveth us unto two things; to wit, that we (as members of one body) are desirous to live together, as much and as long as is possible: and further, that we think the mishaps of other men to be our own, through the mutual compassion of Christ his body. Now then, to sorrow moderately, we attribute the same unto nature and unto charity: and not to sorrow over-much, we attribute unto faith; seeing we have the comfort of the resurrection, the which with over-much lamenting we seem to deny.

3. The Ethnics do therefore think, that a mean must be used in mourning: because death is a necessary evil, as that which cannot be avoided by any remedy. But this undoubtedly cannot mitigate sorrow, but augment the same. For who will thus unfitly answer him, that so comforts him? I in very deed do sorrow, because I shall never attain to an end of evil, seeing I cannot avoid the same by any means; in that it hath all desperation joined therewith. Wherefore there be some, which attempt another way. We ought not (say they) so to sorrow for death sake; because, if it be a loosing of the soul from the body (as it is reported to be) it is not to be reckoned among evils: for that the conjunction of the soul with the body is a troublesome thing, and doth not much further our felicity. But if so be thou object

against this their opinion; Then let every man that is wise lay violent hands on himself, to the intent he may obtain that commodity: they will gainsay with these reasons; First it behooveth us to know, that our soul is placed by God in this body of ours; even as a lieutenant is appointed to any castle or fortification, the which for his allegiance sake is not lawful for him to forsake, except he have leave of the Lord which placed him there, unless he will be counted a traitor. And this is known to all wise and godly men, that a man is none of his own, but he is the just and lawful possession of God. Wherefore, if any man kill himself, he doth not destroy that which is his own; but destroyeth the substance of another: which thing how unjust it is, let us thus learn of ourselves.

If our horse or bondman should work his own death, would the same please us or no? I suppose it would not: nay rather we would be grievously offended thereat; and if we might, we would that so great a crime should not be unpunished. And if so be we would think it unworthy, that so great an injury should be offered unto us; will we not give ear, when we do the very same unto ourselves? Neither can we otherwise be in better case, or be better provided for, than under the Lord God himself. Wherefore do we then fly so good a Lord? But when he calleth us, we must go unto him without any delay: for in departing, when he commandeth, we shall not only dwell with him; but also with notable and excellent men, which perpetually enjoy the society of him. Wherefore, seeing this conjunction of the mind and the body is very unprofitable unto us, a philosopher must perpetually think upon the separation of them. But if so be it be the better, and that he profess he desireth it; would it not be a shameful thing for him to be stricken with fear, when he should see the same drawing near unto him? But that the body is hurtful to the soul, they hereby think to prove; because it is against true

philosophy, to obey or make much of the pleasures and affections, which by the same are stirred up in us. For true philosophy teacheth nothing else indeed, but that we should be always mindful to shun these things, as noisome plagues of our nature. Which if we cannot altogether reject from us; yet, that we may at leastwise to our power break their force and keep them under.

4. Afterward they add, that the body is most troublesome unto the understanding: for that which they said before, must be referred to the appetite; for unto the perceiving of the truth, it ministereth deceivable senses. Unto the which who so do give credit, are forthwith beguiled, in searching out the nature of things: and being miserably deceived, they will at the length despair of being able to perceive anything; or else if they think they have understood anything, they shall falsely so persuade themselves. And while we, mistrusting them, use reason and understanding to search out the truth, they overthwart us: and as anything either grievous or pleasant shall be brought to mind, they call us against our wills, from our earnest study. Further who seeth not, that in every kind of doctrine, there is need of severing the mind; which the more earnest it is, and the more the matter is excluded from our cogitation; the more excellent and worthy kind of knowledge is had. And this is spoken of that knowledge, which we use in contemplation, and discerning of anything. But if thou go unto that knowledge, which is performed in doing and practicing, which commonly by the Greek word is called *πρακτική*, that is, Practice; there it is disputed chiefly, whether the matter be honest and just. But of that which is good, honest, just, of virtues, and such like; no sense of the body hath knowledge at all.

I pass over, that in respect of the body it is needful to eat, to drink, to prepare garments, and such other necessities innumerable; which commodities, seeing it is a most laborsome thing to attain, it is unspeakable how much we are for this cause drawn away from knowledge of the truth. Yea, and that we be not disappointed of these things, we must heap riches together. Hereof cometh chidings, contentions, wars, and infinite other things; which if so be they do not overthrow all good endeavors, yet do they corrupt and hinder the same. Whereof it cometh (as it is concluded by the philosopher) that by reason of all the things now spoken of, either we shall know anything with a true and perfect knowledge, or else that we shall attain the same after death only. Then seeing that the mind doth so much the more know and understand anything, as it is more separated from the body, and less cleaveth thereunto; it remaineth, that we ought continually to endeavor to withdraw the mind from the body. And this they make to be the very cleansing of man; to wit, that the pure should be divided and separated from the impure. Now then it is no marvel, if they make the body to be the prison and sepulcher of the mind. If thou peruse histories, thou shalt find many, which killed themselves, to the intent they might go to visit their lovers and dear friends which were departed: and shall we (say they) bear it grievously, if death come unto us, that we may be able manifestly and without impediment to behold the truth? Wherefore they say, that they which for death sake afflict or macerate themselves, and die through sorrow and sadness, are not worthy the name of philosophers; but to be called φιλοσώματοι, or φιλοχρήματοι, that is, Lovers of their own bodies, or Lovers of riches.

5. In this saying of the philosophers now declared, are comprehended certain things, which are not very agreeable to the holy scriptures, and to

the right catholic faith. For we say, that death is to be counted not good, but evil, seeing God laid the same upon mankind as a punishment: wherefore he would have us mourn and lament for the same. The which thou seest to be done by human laws: for if any grievous offense be committed by citizens, they judge them to be punished with death. And all living creatures (which are led by the judgment of nature) which cannot be deceived, because it is ruled by the counsel of God, seeing they shun death, and by a certain common sense, by all means abhor it, no doubt but they judge it to be an evil thing. It is no hard matter also to confirm the same, by an argument of the contrary. Life is accounted good; wherefore death is evil. And that life is to be reckoned among good things, hereby thou mayest perfectly perceive; because God promiseth the same, as the reward of obedience towards his law; He that doth these things (saith he) shall live. Further, death is evil, seeing it is brought into the world through an evil cause; that is to say, through sin. And the holy scripture doubteth not to call the same, The enemy of Christ: for Paul wrote in the first to the Corinthians, that The last enemy, which shall be destroyed by Christ, is death. And it is so evil, as it darkeneth the action of the best and most excellent virtue, I mean the delight of fortitude or valiant courage.

For (as testifieth Aristotle in his Ethics) the same worketh not with pleasure, except it be in that respect, that it hath relation unto the end. For a man of valiant courage, while he dieth for an honest cause, doth it not without grief and some sadness. Which how true it is, was declared in Christ himself, when as in the garden he abode the conflict of the flesh and the spirit. Then are they deceived in this consolation of theirs, while they will make death to be good unto us. Moreover, this reason of theirs hath another absurdity: because they condemn a human body, the which is a

worthy and notable gift of God: not an imperfect, but a most excellent workmanship of God shineth therein. Who is able to express how cunningly the same hath been wrought by God? This is a wonderful thing, not only unto Aristotle, Galen, and other Ethnic writers; but also unto Lactantius, Gregory Nazianzen, and other catholic fathers innumerable. And David confesseth, that thereby is known the wonderful wisdom of God. Finally, seeing we doubt not, but that God made the same among the rest of his creatures; and that the scripture plainly confesseth by the testimony of God himself, that whatsoever things God made, they were very good: it followeth without all controversy, that the same also is good.

6. As touching the conjunction also of the soul with the body, it is decreed, that we must affirm the same; to wit, that it should be accounted good; least we fall into that opinion, which is ascribed unto Origin: namely, that souls for their demerits in another life, are thrust unto bodies. Whom the apostle sufficiently proveth to have judged amiss, who in the epistle to the Romans saith, concerning Jacob and Esau; When as they had not as yet done anything either good or evil, of the one it was said: Jacob have I loved; and of the other, Esau have I hated. Neither is the thing obscure to him that doth well consider it, what commodity, or what help our mind obtaineth, by reason of the body itself: for it is capable of no perceivance or understanding, which have not their beginning through the very senses of the body. And as touching the virtues, which are gotten by exercise itself, and might not be found out, unless the mind had certain grosser parts, the which some acknowledged to depend of the body; we do all confess, that the body itself being removed, very few could remain unto us. Wherefore, seeing it is manifest, that our body and flesh by nature is good, as it was created by God; what do the holy scriptures mean, when they object against

it, that it is corrupted, that it is grievous to the soul, that it lusteth against the spirit? And David complaineth; Behold how I was shapen in wickedness, and in sins my mother hath conceived me. And also Paul; I know that in my flesh dwelleth no good thing. We answer, that all these things come to our body or flesh, not by nature as it was created; but are joined thereto accidentally, to wit, after that man had once committed sin.

7. Here I would have thee to ask of the philosopher, that if it happen a man to be born blind, with a swelling in the throat, or lame; albeit he will grant these things to be great blemishes to the body: will he therefore confess to thee, that the body of man is of itself evil? I suppose he will not. I mislike of the blemishes in the body, yet nevertheless I condemn not the body by itself. If thou urge; Then the body or the flesh is good, and is not good. This I am content to grant, yet canst thou not prove, that here is any contrariety. For this distinction, [by itself] and [by accidents] take away from hence all repugnancy. Wherefore let such remedies be used by Christians, as may not take away the flesh and the body, but correct and amend whatsoever blemishes are brought in: which thing we grant shall be done in the resurrection. With this argument Christ comforteth his in the Gospel, as we read in John, in the dialogue with Martha and Mary. The same argument did Paul use unto the Thessalonians, when he warned them, that they should not be sorrowful for them that are departed, as others which have no hope: and he straightway addeth the cause; namely, the resurrection of the dead.

It is not the part of a very honest and good artificer, to destroy all the foundation; to the intent that something, which is amiss in the building, may be taken away: he will rather amend the fault, but will suffer still the foundation and nature, whereunto the fault and evil cleaveth, to remain. But

between this and the resurrection, I mean in this life; what comfort shall we receive of death? The harm thereof is mitigated: for it is not invincible as before, seeing Christ hath overcome the same, and most happily hath he overcommed it in his conflict upon the cross. But how is death conquered by Christ, when as yet still it striketh all men? The everlasting continuance thereof is taken away from it. But death, if it be not eternal, it cannot now truly be called death; seeing by the decree of Aristotle, and other natural wise men, this is so proper to those things, that be called truly privatives, as a man can no whither be pulled away from them, so that it is impossible he should return from thence to his habit. But if holy resurrection shall be given us, according as we believe, as God promiseth, and as the holy scriptures testify; we shall return to life. Wherefore, it is not properly death, which now commonly they call death. So that it is truly said of the saints; that To the eyes of the foolish and unwise they seem to die. For which cause Christ so eased the sorrow of his elect after this sort; He that shall keep (that is) he that shall in faith hold fast my sayings, and so shall show forth and confirm a true faith by works, he without doubt shall never see death.

And sorrow is not a little mitigated, if we consider, that by the goodness of God it is brought to pass, that of death, though it be evil, a good use may be granted unto us. Understand thou, that if a man take the same upon him with an obedient mind, neither doth he reject that punishment, which the justice of God hath thought good to lay upon us. Further, let him that overmuch sorroweth, consider that here in the godly is mortification wrought, which they do meditate all their life long. Good men are stirred thereby, as by a most sharp and effectual warning, to execute the commandments of God. The godly sort do think devoutly with themselves; If death be laid upon us, it was, because of contempt of the commandment of God. If those

first parents of ours had obeyed the Lord, we had not been subject to so great a calamity. Moreover, if we be wise, we are drawn from voluptuous pleasures, and we condemn the enticements of the world; knowing well enough, that we shall shortly depart from hence. Wherefore like strangers, we will continually meditate and talk of the haven, whereunto we must arrive, and of our heavenly habitation. Also at the time of death, we will rejoice, that all occasions of sin are taken away: then shall be the term and end of our offenses towards God. Which thing when Paul had considered, he cried out in wishing for the same; O unhappy man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

There is none that loveth God, and Christ, but he desireth to make an end of sinning. Besides this, death is the mean (as the state of things now stand) to pass from hence, and to cleave unto Christ: for there is none fully and absolutely joined unto him, unless it be by death. But I said; As the case now standeth: because they, which shall be found alive at the coming of our Lord, as we read unto the Thessalonians, shall be exempted from this necessity and law. Now Paul openly said, that he therefore desired death; surly, not for itself sake, but because he might at the length be with Christ; I desire (saith he) to be loosed, and to be with Christ. For in very deed, if it had been lawful for him, and that it had been put to his choice, it would have seemed unto him a better state, yet living to have been clothed with glory, as he saith in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; We would not be unclothed, but be clothed upon.

8. But as concerning the nature of death changed by the goodness of God, how of a damnable nature, it is made profitable unto us: not only those things which we have spoken of, do put us in mind, but this also; namely, that the same in Christ was made an only sacrifice, pacifying and

reconciling us unto God. Yea and our death also, if we be joined unto Christ, and die for his truth, is made an acceptable oblation unto God; so as we are said to be offered up unto him: even as Paul wrote unto Timothy; I (saith he) am sacrificed or offered, and the time of my departing is at hand. And in the Psalms it is written; Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. But there followeth an exceeding great reward after such a death: for If so be (as the apostle writeth in the same epistle) we die together, we shall also live together: and if we also suffer together, we shall also reign together. But what can more ease us of sorrow, than to acknowledge, that Christ took the same death upon him? Wherefore, for that which he hath suffered, why should we so sorrow and lament, if it happen unto us; seeing he died without desert, but we most deservedly? Neither could the divine promises, or rather the league, covenant, and testament, be more aptly or better confirmed unto us: for even as it is said unto the Hebrews; Not any one of these is ratified, until that death do come.

Briefly, Christian men may many times draw out of the scriptures, these and such other like comforts. But let them not marvel, if that all sorrow be not utterly taken from them: for the Lord will that death shall be grievous. Neither did Christ endure the same without sorrow and tears; yet nevertheless they shall do these things in such sort, as the limits and prescribed bonds shall not be exceed. And finally, it may appear easily by that which hath been spoken, what things of the Gentiles, mentioned since the beginning of this disputation, ought to be retained by us; and what must be refused. We confess, that the pleasures of the flesh, as corporal things, must be mortified: but yet we grant not, that they proceed of the body; unless it be by accidental means, in that it is corrupted with sin. But we deny it to be an utter enemy unto sciences, as Plato or Socrates hath

affirmed: for (as we have already expressed) the senses of the body do very much further to the attaining of them. And that we be much drawn away through preserving of the body itself, from the searching out of the truth, and from divine things; we do not easily grant it to be in godly men. For they, while they refer all things to the glory of God, and Christ, do bestow little or nothing upon the body, that is not done well and according to virtue. But admit that it doth happen sometimes, through our fault, in such sort as thou affirmest; thou oughtest not therefore to infer, that the body is ill: rather seek thou, that the faults therein may be amended. But we utterly reject that kind of consolation; namely, that death must in no wise be lamented: because there is no remedy for the same. For we believe the resurrection, according as Christ and the holy scriptures have taught us.

Of Burial.

9. Whether it be anything expedient for the dead to be buried, or to be left unburied. The Poets have said that it is expedient; namely, Virgil in the sixth book of his *Aeneidos*, on this wise:

*Nec ripas datur horrendas, aut rauca fluenta
Transportare priùs, quā sedibus ossa quiêrunt,*
that is:

*Nor from these fearful banks, nor rivers hoarse they passage get:
Till under earth in graves, their bodies bones at rest are set.*

Moreover, the common sense of all nations doth well-near agree with this opinion. The Jews were very diligent in anointing. The Romans burned the bodies with great pomp. Suetonius reporteth, that together with the dead carcass of most lewd Nero, was burned a great abundance of spices and precious odors. Our Papists at this day, and in ancient time many Christians, provided, that in remembrance of the martyrs, their bodies should be safely

laid up. In the first book of Kings, the 13th chapter, the prophet of God threateneth another prophet (who did eat bread in Bethel contrary to the commandment of God) that his carcass should not come into the sepulcher of his fathers. But if so be that the matter had not forced, it should not have been appointed as a punishment. And in the second of Kings, the 22nd chapter, God promiseth unto Josiah; that because he wept, rent, his cloths, and sorrowed for the wickedness of the people, he should be brought into the sepulcher of his fathers.

In the second book of Samuel, the second chapter, the men of Jabes-Gilead are commended and blessed by David, because they showed kindness unto Saul and Jonathan: for they buried them. But and if so be it had pertained nothing unto them, what kindness had they used unto them? In the 79th Psalm David complaineth, that the unbelieving tyrants, which were destroyers of the people of God, left unburied the dead carcasses of the servants of the Lord, to be meat for the fowls of the air, and to be torn with beasts of the field. But if so be the matter forced not, the prophet would not have sorrowed or lamented for the same. These things notwithstanding; we are of the same mind that Augustine is of, in his little book *De cura suscipienda pro mortuis*; that It nothing availeth the dead, as touching their salvation, whether they be buried, or lie unburied. In the 12th of Luke, the Lord saith, concerning them that persecute the Christians; When they have killed the body, there is no more for them to do.

The Lord denieth not, that they cannot triumph against them, that they cannot scorn them, or that they cannot cast them out to the beasts and birds: but there is nothing else (saith he) that they are able to do against them, that can be felt, that shall be grievous, or shall bring them any harm. All the hairs of the head are so numbered, as they cannot fall without the will of the

father: Matthew the tenth. Even so those things, which be done about the dead bodies of martyrs, unless it were the will of God, they should not be done: but if those should be hurtful to their salvation, how could it be, that God would not turn them away from such as he loveth? Augustine entreateth of these things, in his first book *De civitate Dei*, and unto *Paulinus De cura pro mortuis*. He citeth Eusebius Caesariensis, (which reporteth) that in Gaul there were martyrs slain for professing of Christ, whose bodies were burned, and their ashes thrown into Rhodanus, least they should be buried. Were those holy confessors anything less happy for this cause? I judge, no. The very same thing happened at Rome.

10. But to answer unto the arguments objected: let this be the proposition to be considered of; Those things which be done at funerals, and in burying of dead bodies, belong unto them which be alive; they be their consolations, they nothing profit the dead. This understand by an argument of contraries. Even as it profiteth not the wicked to be buried: so it hurteth not the faithful to lie unburied. Certainly, if it did profit and further unto salvation, unhappy were the state of poor men, who oftentimes be without burial; and especially of martyrs, against whose dead bodies the tyrants are cruel. That which Virgil and Poets say, (namely, that souls cannot pass away, unless their bodies be first buried) is too too fabulous. But if thou wilt say; We read of such a like matter, although it be not altogether the same, in the finding out of many of the martyrs bodies, which appeared unto diverse, and showed their dead carcasses, and would be honorably buried; therefore they cared for sepulchers; which thing we read in finding out the body of saint Stephen. That Geruasius also, and Prothasius, appeared unto Ambrose; he himself testifieth. Some such thing is reported of finding the head of John Baptist.

But I beseech thee to consider here, that seeing these appearing's tend to that end; not only that bodies should be buried, but that buried bodies should after a sort be digged up, and idolatry be brought in, whereby the men might worship relics and dead carcasses, there must not be much attributed unto them; yea if they happen under this pretense, they must not be credited. Tell me I pray thee, if one should appear to thee in thy dreams, and should declare to thee, that his body is unburied, willing or desiring thee to hide the same, because he may not attain unto rest by reason thereof: if thou searching out his body, shalt find it according as he had showed thee; wouldest thou therefore believe that fabulous feigning of Poets? I think not. But thou wouldest suppose, that the same vision in thy dreams happened, without the knowledge of him that is dead; even as we oftentimes being alive, appear in dreams unto our friends, we having no knowledge thereof: or else thou wilt suspect that it is done by the subtlety of the devil, that thou being deceived with that odious opinion, shouldest err from the catholic faith. And if so be we think, that such things happened in the martyrs; wherefore are we reprov'd?

The devil careth for nothing else, but that superstitions and idolatries may flourish: neither will he refrain from deceiving of men with the bones of holy martyrs. For seeing he hath also so perniciously deluded mankind, in the symbols or signs of the holy supper of the Lord, (for he hath studied and endeavored to obtrude these things unto us for idols, neither did it otherwise fall out than he looked for) what marvel is it, if he do the same in the bones of dead men, seeing our sins have most justly deserved the same? Yet would I not obstinately affirm, that it should be impossible, but that God doth sometimes provide, that the bodies of his saints may be honestly buried; as well to show what account he maketh of them, and of those things that

belong unto them, as also to renew to us the memory of them. But forsomuch as I see so many fowl and ungodly worshipping's arise thereof, I am thoroughly persuaded to believe, that those works were done by the devils endeavor. It must in any wise be affirmed, that it is not done for increasing of their salvation, and heaping up of their felicity. For how do they understand or perceive what is done here, among us, touching those things which belong unto them? Their state serveth not to know that, unless God declare it unto them. Which thing we must believe that God did unto Abraham, when he saith unto that rich man, which was tormented in hell; They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. Howbeit, all those things, which be contained in parables, are not to be drawn unto arguments, which should serve for proving of articles of our faith.

11. Whereas it is afterward said, that it seemeth to be the general mind of us all, that sepulchers do profit something: otherwise they would not be so diligently cared for of all men. We answer, that this is a Maxim in no wise to be denied; Every man loveth his own flesh, neither doth he so hate the same, as he will have it to be deprived of the accustomed duties and honors. Wherefore as touching them that live, we willingly grant; that burial doth somewhat profit; but not as touching them that be dead. When I say; Them that live: understand even themselves who shall be buried; (for while they live and think of themselves, they will well unto their own flesh, and desire that they may be buried after the usual manner:) or else those, which when they shall be dead, do any way pertain unto them by some affinity or friendship, and do think of them. As touching these then, we willingly grant that it somewhat furthereth to be buried and entombed. By which place thou seest what is to be said of the prophet, unto whom the unburying was appointed as a punishment. It was no doubt a punishment unto him being

alive, to remember what hard hap that flesh of his should have: which seeing it would in common sense be displeasing unto him, it might draw him back from sin.

I let it pass, that by a figurative kind of speech, that which followeth is understood by that which went before; that he should die out of his native country, being destitute of a number of helps and succors of his own friends, and should die with a kind of cruel death. Unto Josiah also, when burial was promised unto him, it was good, he being yet alive, and weighing the things done before; that is to say, that he should not be carried away into captivity. And the men of Jabes are said to have dealt very mercifully with their masters in burying of them; in so much as they showed that unto them, which they poor wretches would have done to their own selves, when as they remembered their own end: for not one of them, but did choose to have his body buried after the rite and custom. But whereas the psalm complaineth of the unburying of the saints, there it plentifully reckoneth up the beastly cruelty of the enemies of God's people; because they being not content with the death of them, would exercise their cruelty even against their dead carcasses: not because he affirmeth that the saints for that cause should be in worse state. For (as Lucan the Poet saith;) He that hath no coffin to cover him, is covered with the heaven.

12. Even as The death of the saints is precious in the sight of God, so contrariwise, the death of the wicked is despised: and not only their death, but also their burial. Although the loss of burial seem to be a light matter, yet it belongeth to punishment, and it is a certain ignominy. The prophet saith of the king; He shall be buried with an asses burial. The godly complain, that the dead bodies of the saints were given to the fowls of the air, and that they remained unburied in the streets. It is a kind of ignominy,

which God would lay upon Absalom. They cast him into a deep ditch, and a great heap of stones upon him, that after a sort they might seem to stone him; and that according to the law, which commanded to stone them that were incestuous and rebellious against their parents. Those stones made a show of an ignominious sepulcher. [Absalom] while he lived, promised to himself magnificent things: he thought for a perpetual memory after his death to be put into his own sepulcher; but he was counted unworthy to have the use thereof.

So did it happen in England: the cardinal of York built a costly tomb, and while he oftentimes came unto the sepulcher to see how the work went forward, a certain foolish fellow standing by, bad, that if he meant to use that tomb, he should go into it while he was alive; for that he should not be put into that tomb when he was dead. And so it came to pass: for the king, by reason of certain things ill governed by him, waxed angry against him, and punished him. So Absalom built himself a sepulcher, but the judgment of God suffered not him to have the use thereof. What manner of monument it was, that is not known. Some think that it was an image; of this mind was Josephus: some a pyramids; such as the kings of Egypt made in Memphis: it might be an obelisk; such as are seen at Rome. There is a huge one in a place called the Vatican, wherein is the ashes of Augustus. The forefathers sometime made these kind of monuments. Jacob in the book of Genesis, erected for himself stones and titles, that they might be a monument. It is said, that he did the same thing at the sepulcher of Rachel.

Absalom was most ambitious, wherefore he provided a monument, that his name might be kept in remembrance: he would be famous, but he was worthy to have his name wiped out by perpetual oblivion. So was it decreed in Asia, that he, which had burned the temple of Diana in Ephesus, should

not once be named; to the intent he might not become famous. Absalom meant to leave a noble memory, whereas nevertheless he had lived shamefully, and most shamefully died. This is the pride of the ungodly. In the book of Genesis, they say; Come, let us build a tower, which may reach unto heaven. But they got confusion; for there, God confounded their tongues. But on the other side, the godly do abase themselves, they ascribe all the glory unto God, but to themselves rebuke only; Not unto us Lord (say they) but unto thy name give the glory: to thee belongeth honor, but to us confusion. The godly have sometime erected monuments and tokens; but they meant no other thing, but to have extant a remembrance of God's benefits: they did change the names of places, that they might fasten some things in the memory. But let us consider, that this kind of grief or fear, God would to be overcome of his martyrs, to whom he promised punishments, not only while they lived; but also shameful reproaches to be done unto their dead bodies: namely, that they should be a food unto wild beasts, and that their ashes should be scattered. Indeed God could otherwise have turned these things from his chosen: but he ordained, that they should triumph also of these griefs and terrors.

13. Neither are these things spoken on that behalf, that the burials of the dead brethren should be despised by them which are alive: for the bodies of them that departed, were (while they lived) organs and instruments of the holy Ghost. Wherefore, even as we should not despise the ring, garments, book, or such other things of our friend: so ought not we to neglect the bodies of the saints, nor of any others, which be our neighbors, and are by God joined unto us in kindred. This duty did the fathers diligently perform towards Mary and Christ: and therein it was appointed, that they should enjoy the presence of the Lord; because in very deed this kind of work is

allowed of God: and while under this sign we take care about the flesh of man being dead, and contemn it not as a thing of naught, we after a sort testify the faith of the resurrection, whereby God will once restore the same; as who should say, we will not despise that, whereof we know God will have a care in time to come. This yet will I add, that the fathers in old time had somewhat a more care hereof than our men have: if we consider of their state, wherein they had more regard, than we have unto temporal things, and unto things, which concerned the flesh. Furthermore, by this duty, we are stirred up to do good unto the poor: for if it please God, that we should do unto the dead that which doth profit them nothing; how much rather will those works be allowed of him, whereby we benefit his children, and the members of Christ, which do feel and perceive the same?

14. But now let us see, whether it make any matter of burying more in one place than in another. Augustine, in the place last recited, affirmeth that it doth; They (saith he) which be buried at the monuments of martyrs, more offer themselves to the sight of their friends, who visiting the churches, do commend with their prayers unto those martyrs (for whose memory the place is dedicated) the spirits of those persons departed, whose monuments they behold. To this part doth Augustine incline. But (as he saith) it is objected unto him by Paulinus; The saints (as it is written by Paul in the 2nd to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter) shall stand, as well as other men, before the judgment seat of Christ, that there every man may receive according to that he hath done in his body, whether it be good or evil. Therefore the souls of them that be dead, are never a whit the better for the prayer and intercession of them, which do live here. He answereth, that there be some, which have no need of these things, as they which have already attained felicity: and that there be others so condemned to

everlasting punishments, as by no supplications they can be delivered from thence. But he will have some to be found such, as have so behaved themselves in their body, that they have deserved to be holpen with the prayers of them which be yet living: and upon this foundation thus laid, he concludeth, that it may somewhat profit them that be dead, if they be buried at the monuments of martyrs.

But let him take heed how firm is this principle of his: we in very deed accept it not, being set down without the scripture. The prophets, nor yet the law have not made mention of any such thing: neither would the scripture have silenced a thing so very dutiful, and of so great charity, towards miserable deceased sinners; and have spoken nowhere any one word thereof. But if thou wilt say, that it is a most ancient tradition of the church: we grant it, but it is not proved or concluded by the holy scriptures; not only it is not contained in them, but it is in no wise proved out of them. And if the church do pray, it was not for this cause done in times past; to the intent the spirits of them that be dead should be delivered: but (as Dionysius testifieth) it was in respect that the priest should do the part of God's interpreter, and should in the title of the prayer, inform and certify them that are present, what God had done for him that was dead; or what we also are to hope for after this life.

15. Nor obtrude thou to us the second book of *Macchabeis*: it is not in the canon. Further, it was written in those days, when Judea was pressed with the yoke of the Grecians, whose manners it had now not only received, but also embraced the opinions, which savored of philosophy and devises of man's reason; even as it had received a wrestling place, and brothel houses; after the very which manner it received by chance the invention of purgatory: which the prelates of the church by chance espying to be

observed of godly men, with a certain religiousness, did not much pass to take the same utterly away; but they altered and corrected it as much as might be. Which Dionysius (whatsoever he were) doth by a conjecture plain enough declare unto us, in his Treatise *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, where he objecteth against himself; Seeing the dead man hath already that which he shall have, why doth the priest pray over his corps for his felicity? Not (saith he) to the intent he should be holpen with those suffrages; but because it may be declared to them which stand by, what God hath done concerning him: and thereby is given to the people present, as well comfort as assurance both of the resurrection, and of the bestowing of eternal rewards. So as the priest in that place, under the pretense of prayers, playeth God's interpreter.

And against the opinion of Augustine is the Bracarensin Council, in the 36th canon, which decreed, that at the oratories of martyrs, the dead should not be buried. And in the 13th cause, question 2., chapter *Praecipendum*, the same is decreed out of the Varensin Council. Albeit in the same place, in the chapter *Nullus mortuus*, out of the Magociensin Council, the matter was brought to that pass, as none should be permitted to be buried in the temples, but bishops, priests, and abbots. And this doth reason persuade: for temples are not for this purpose provided, that therein dead bodies should be interred; but that sacraments should be ministered, that sermons should be preached, and that God should be prayed unto and praised in them. But now among the Papists, the churches are become churchyards, which they make only for gain sake. And whereas it is expressly commanded in the decrees, that nothing should be taken for burial; they seem never to be satisfied. Jerome treating on a place in Genesis, saith; If this man (I mean Ephron) would not receive the things offered of Abraham, and that when he

was overcome with gain, he received them, is lightly passed over: what shall be done as touching them, which dare wrest away by violence? Otherwise did Ambrose will to be done, when as he writeth in his Book of offices; that gold must be bestowed upon the church, not only that the church may do good unto the poor, but also that there may be provision made for the burial of the dead. Gaine and superstition have brought in this kind of abuse.

Let us not therefore be disquieted, if we be not buried in churches: for against the opinion of Augustine, and against this perverse custom speaketh Chrysostom, upon the epistle to the Hebrews; Wheresoever we be buried, The earth is the Lord's. In the 13th cause, question 2. the chapter *Ubicunque*. Yet is not the care; to wit, the care taking for burial or sepulture, to be detested; nay verily, it is lawful for them that be alive, to choose themselves a burying place. Which we see that the prophet did, which deceived the other prophet: for after that he heard he was dead, he commanded his children, that after his death they should bury him in the sepulcher, wherein the other prophet was laid. For he not only judged, that it would be an honor unto him, that his bones should be spared in the time of Josiah: but he also thought it not amiss in the mean time, that his body should be joined with the dead body of the other prophet. Justly therefore may we provide, to have our bodies buried among our ancestors, among godly men, and among our friends, and acquaintance.

That our souls, being loosed from the bodies, do not sleep.

16. When Paul saith in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; But then we shall see face to face, &c: that same adverb of time [then] doth signify unto us, the state of the time after death; when the souls being loosed from the bodies, with one view and most clear sight,

shall behold things celestial. Which yet Irenaeus granteth not, until the day of resurrection: and he saith, that it is the part of heretics, to persuade themselves, that immediately after death, they pass up unto the heavens, to him that ruleth all things; and are carried to the sight of the father, without attending for the resurrection of the dead. And he affirmeth, that we ought to suffer the very same thing, which Christ would put in trial: who suddenly after death was not raised up, neither did he forthwith ascend to his father; but he tarried three days. And after his resurrection he said unto Mary; Touch me not, because I have not yet ascended to my father. Neither is it meet, that the disciple (as Christ said) should be above the master. Wherefore, even as Christ ascended not immediately after his death: so must we expect the day of the resurrection.

Christ then hath appointed a place definite, wherein, when the souls have put off their bodies, they may rest, even until the coming of the Lord: and then, putting on their bodies again, they may be brought to the sight of God. There are two places chiefly, which are wont to be brought out of the scriptures for the confirmation of this saying. In the sixth chapter of the Apocalypse it is written; that The souls of the dead, which were slain for Christ's sake, cried under the altar; How long (Lord) dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And long white robes were given to every one of them, and it was said that they should rest for a little season, until the number of their fellow servants were fulfilled. And in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, when they were reckoned up which excelled in faith in the Old Testament, it is added; that they as yet received not the promise, and that they without us should not be made perfect.

17. This opinion seemeth to be received by many of the ancient fathers; but none hath more largely written thereof than this Irenaeus; who not only uttered what his judgment was, but endeavored to confirm the same by reasons, which nevertheless are but weak. For he chiefly maketh this to be his foundation, that herein also we ought to be framed like unto Christ: that even as he ascended not unto the Father, till the resurrection was past; so ought not we to expect the same, before our spirits be exalted unto God in heaven. This comparison generally is true; for we confess, that we ought to be made like unto Christ: but yet we do not admit the same particularly, as touching all things. Very many things did Christ, which are not necessary to be done of us. He tarried three days before he rose again, because he would have the truth of his death to be testified: neither did he, after his rising again, go unto his Father immediately. For, to the intent his resurrection might be the more certain, he (by the space of forty days) both appeared unto his disciples, and also did eat with them, and offered himself to be touched. Wherefore, seeing it is not for us to endeavor such things after his death and resurrection; there is no let, but that our spirits may forthwith, after we be dead, ascend unto God, who created them.

Neither do we deny that, which he objecteth, to be spoken by Christ; namely, that The servant is not above his Lord, nor the disciple above his master. But hereof there is no more gathered, but that if the Lord have suffered persecutions, and reproaches (as to be called Beelzebub) much rather shall the same happen unto his disciples. But yet must we not pick out hereof, that we must suffer particularly all things which Christ suffered. He was sacrificed on the cross, and died between two thieves: which ought not to be expected, that it should happen unto all the faithful. We grant that there be certain places appointed unto the souls, being loosed from their

bodies; where they be now kept and contained, even until the resurrection: yet not out of the sight of God, as who should say, they slept and lived in slumber.

18. That which they bring out of the Apocalypse, maketh not against us. Souls are described to be under the altar, the which belongeth to their places. They are said to cry out, as though they expressed the desire of their expected resurrection. But who seeth not, that to cry out, and to desire earnestly, is not the part of sleepers? White robes are given unto them, because they have already received a part of their felicity. And they are commanded a while to look for it, until the number of them that are slain for the name of Christ be accomplished: for then shall they have perfect felicity, when they have attained to the last resurrection. And that which is alleged out of the 11th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, hath the same meaning. For we confess, that the old fathers as yet received not the final perfection; seeing they do still wait for the resurrection, which is meet for us all together to have, even as many as belong unto one and the same body and head.

19. But by what reasons this opinion may be confuted, let us now declare. First the Lord, being at the point of death, said unto the thief; Today shalt thou be with me in paradise. This adverb of time [today] sufficiently declareth, that his felicity was not to be prolonged until the last times. But they, which maintain this opinion, have been accustomed to object, that this adverb [today] is not always taken in the holy scriptures for one and the same day; but that it may signify a very large time. For Peter, out of the saying of David, saith; A thousand years in thy sight are as one day: so as it may be, that the thief was said to be the same day in paradise, although his coming thither should be deferred for many hundred years. But Augustine

unto Dardanus hath not so interpreted that place; where he writeth, that this promise could not be referred unto the human nature of Christ; because the body was that day in the sepulcher, and his soul (as he saith) in hell: unto whom he will not attribute, that he was together at one and the self-same time both there and in paradise.

And therefore he wholly transferreth this unto the divine nature: which had not been meet, if according to that promise (as these men will) the felicity of the thief should have been deferred until a thousand years and longer. Nor doth Peter in that place they bring, will us to interpret, that a thousand years in every place should be taken for one day: he only endeavored most significantly to declare the eternity of God, unto the which a thousand years being compared, would be but as one day. Howbeit, if at any time, days are to be taken for years, that is not permitted to our judgment; but thereof we are admonished by the word of God, as it appeareth in Daniel, when the weeks are reckoned up. And in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, where the prophet is commanded, that he should lie upon his left side, three hundredth and ninety days; and again, forty days upon his right side: and that in the same place, days do represent years, the scriptures do expressly show us.

20. They have also another shift: for they say, that these two adverbs of time, [yesterday] and [today] signify the Old and the New Testament, which they gather out of the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is said; Christ yesterday and today. Wherefore they would have the meaning to be, that to have the thief to be brought today into paradise, should belong to the New Testament. But this conceit of theirs is vain; because in the epistle to the Hebrews, it must so be understood, that Christ is yesterday, and today, and (as it is added) Forever, that his eternity may be understood, the which they

are wont to distinguish into three times: as if it should be said; He was, he is, and he shall be. The third covert, wherein they shroud themselves, is, that it was said unto the first parents; In what hour soever ye eat, ye shall die the death: and yet is it evident, that they did not presently die after they had transgressed. So (say they) it might be, that the promise made unto the thief, which seemeth to be spoken of that day, might be deferred until a longer time.

But that, which these men take as granted, we deny; namely, that the first parents, when they had transgressed, did not forthwith perish. For death is accounted nothing else, but a departing from life; neither have we life without God. So then they died, because they departed from God; and their soul was not severed from the body, but after a sort buried therein: so as, if a man will judge truly, we do not now presently live a life, but a death: which the longer it is, the more grievous it is thought to be by them which judge aright. But because we will not seem to hast, we willingly accept the similitude both of the thief, and also of the first parents: they had the beginnings of death immediately after the transgression, albeit they had not the trial of absolute death: so also the thief was with Christ in paradise, albeit he obtained not that day the perfect felicity, which is attended in the resurrection. Wherefore the argument, which we have already put forth, standeth firm; neither can it with frivolous arguments be overthrown.

21. Furthermore, Paul writeth unto the Philippians; that He wished to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ; for that he doubted not, but it would be an advantage to him. Which desire of his had not been godly, if, after the death of our body, we should sleep with our souls until the resurrection. What profit had it been to Paul, to have been loosed from hence, if he should not straightway have lived with his Christ?

Undoubtedly, while he lived here, he wrote of himself; And now do not I live, but Christ liveth in me. And according to this sentence, Christ was not to live, but to sleep in him after death. Moreover, while he lived here, he might acknowledge and love Christ; but after this life, if he should be asleep, he was of necessity to leave off those actions.

22. There is also another reason brought against them, as touching the rich man and poor Lazarus: by that story is showed, that the spirits after this life do not sleep, but either do enjoy good things, or else are tormented with punishments. They answer, that this is a parable, and that therefore it maketh nothing against them. Unto whom we say, that all the fathers, which interpret that place, do not think it to be a parable: but many rather think it an history; among whom are Gregory and Jerome. And Tertullian goeth so far, as he thinketh the rich man was Herod, and that Lazarus was John Baptist. Howbeit Chrysostom and Augustine sometime call it a parable. But this relieveth them not, seeing a parable is nothing else but a similitude derived from the truth of a thing: as when the parable is brought in of the good man of the house, which divided his inheritance to two of his children. Albeit that the same be a parable, yet is it expedient, that there be a good man of the house, that children be found among the nature of things, and that it be a custom among them to distribute the father's possessions: otherwise parables should be taken of feigned and vain things, which is against the nature of them. So as, although we grant that the parable was contrived by Christ touching these two; yet is it necessary, that not only rich men and poor men should be found; but that unto our souls, departing out of this life, should be given either a place of torments, or else the bosom of Abraham.

Neither do we understand by the bosom of Abraham anything else, then a certain place and receptacle of souls, in the which is granted unto them peace and tranquility in the sight of their God. For they have a peaceable conscience, and they look upon God being present. This place is said to be the bosom of Abraham, because unto him God first promised, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. The same man moreover saw the day of the Lord, and he rejoiced. Of him also we first read, that He believed, and his faith was imputed unto him unto righteousness. And Christ, when he made mention hereof, he spake unto the Hebrews, who boasted of having Abraham to their father. In this last state do we confess our souls to be after this life; and do aptly interpret the sayings of the elder fathers, to wit, that the saints have not as yet full felicity, and perfect reward; for they desire the resurrection. Which desire notwithstanding of theirs, seeing it is in them without trouble, it is no hindrance to their tranquility. Neither is the argument which they sometime use of any weight; namely, that the elect shall in the day of judgment be called to the possession of the kingdom of God: for it is not thereby proved, that they are now altogether without the same; for they have it now begun, but they shall have it then fully perfect and manifest unto all men. And shall not God the father be said at the last day, to receive the kingdom of the son? Who will affirm for this cause that he doth not now reign? He reigneth undoubtedly, although he have many enemies against him: neither is his kingdom evident and famous unto all men. These be principal and plain testimonies, which we have brought against this same error.

22. Whereto we may add that which Solomon hath at the end of Ecclesiastes; The dust shall be turned again into the earth from whence it came, and the spirit shall return unto God who made it. If it return unto

God; it is not to be sent away by him. And Christ said, that It is the will of the father, that he which believeth in the son, should have life everlasting: and I, (saith he) will raise him up at the last day. Two things are here promised unto us; one is, eternal life; the which seemeth not to be staid in the meantime by so long a sleep; the other is resurrection, which shall be given us at the time appointed. And Polycarpus, which flourished in the time of the apostles, as it is declared in the fourth book of the ecclesiastical history, when he was to be burned for the confession of the faith, testified; that he should the very same day be present in spirit before the Lord: whereby we see, what judgment the primitive church had hereof. Yea and Paul unto the Romans writeth that They be the sons of God, which are led by the spirit of God. But we are not moved by the spirit of God to sleep, but both to understand God, and also to love him earnestly. And it is a wonder, that seeing we ought to go forward unto Zion for to see, and from virtue to virtue, or (as we find in the Hebrew) from abundance to abundance; how it cometh to pass, that these men do by sleep so long interrupt this course.

Verily, while we here live, and understand, and love God; although the body be burdensome to the soul, and this earthly mansion press down the understanding, and that the spirit must needs evermore wrestle against the flesh, while the soul is kept within the body, as in a dungeon: doubtless these burdens being laid away, it seemeth to be believed, that we shall more love God, and better know him; and that especially, seeing the apostle hath promised, that God, which hath begun his work in us, will finish the same, even until the day of Christ. And if so be that he finish it; he will not have it broken off, as these men say. And that, last of all, must be considered of, which Christ said was written of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; to wit, that God was their God: and he added, that He was not the God of the dead, but

of the living. Now, if they live; it behooveth them to do something: seeing to live, is to do. Neither doth any other action agree with a spirit free from the flesh, (I mean with a Christian man) than to understand his God, and to embrace him by love. Neither doth the scripture favor their opinion, when as it saith everywhere; that The dead do sleep: for all that is meant as touching the body, which after death is affected after the manner of sleepers. And the holy Ghost used that form of speaking, chiefly that the resurrection of the body might come to our remembrance: for we know that they which sleep, shall after a while be raised up. And this form of speaking the ancient fathers called κοιμητήρια, that is, Places appointed for sepulchers, as if so be thou shouldst say, Dorters, or Sleeping places. But we do not think, that the souls are buried, but the bodies only; so as these phrases of the scriptures do not defend them.

Of wandering Spirits.

23. Furthermore, the spirits of them that be dead, wander not here and there upon the earth, (as Chrysostom very well taught in his second homily of Lazarus, and upon the eighth chapter of Matthew, the 29th homily) where he demandeth the cause, why those possessed with the devil, which are there spoken of, are said to have dwelt in the graves. And he testifieth, that in his time there was an ill opinion, by which the spirits of them that died of a violent death, were thought to be turned into wicked spirits, and were serviceable and obedient unto them, which had been authors of the murder. And he saith, that the devil feigned these things; first, that he might obscure the glory of the martyrs; as though that their souls after death became devils. Further, by this persuasion he brought the conjurers and soothsayers cruelly to kill children, and young men; as if they should have their souls for bondslaves. Howbeit, these things (as that very learned father

testifieth) are altogether repugnant to the holy scriptures, which say; that The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God. And undoubtedly Christ said unto the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. And of the rich man, who enlarged wide his barns; This day shall they take thy soul from thee. And of the soul of Lazarus it is written; That by the angels it was carried into the bosom of Abraham: and contrariwise, the soul of the rich man is described to have been tormented with flames in hell; who when he desired to have some man to be sent unto his brethren, might not obtain the same. But if it were lawful for souls, severed from their bodies, to wander about in the world, either he himself might have come to his brethren; or else he could have obtained the same of some other spirit. Over this, Paul said, that He desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ. And Stephen, being at the point of death, prayed; Lord receive my spirit.

I know indeed, that Gregory writeth in his dialogs; that There be certain spirits of the dead, appointed to serve in common baths, and to practice some harder exercises abroad in the world. But because that book containeth many tales, I therefore think it better to believe Chrysostom, who dealeth by the scriptures. Again, he also proveth, that that perverse opinion is against reason: for he saith; If it should be lawful for souls, after this life, to wander abroad in the world, they would much more easily return to their own bodies. Nor is it agreeable unto reason, that wicked men for parricide should carry away a benefit; namely, to have the spirits of them (whom they have cruelly slain) to be serviceable unto them at their own pleasure. And even as it cannot be, that the body of a man should be turned into the body of an ass; so it is impossible, that the soul of a man should be turned into the nature and substance of an ill spirit. And when as evil spirits by using of conjurations are demanded what they be, and they answer, that they are the

soul of this or that man, who be already departed; he saith, that there must be no credit given unto them: for their testimony must not be of any value, seeing they be infamous. And therefore Paul (as we have it in the Acts of the apostles, the 16th chapter) when an evil spirit witnessed that those men were the servants of the living God, and preached the salvation of men; he rebuked the spirit, and commanded the same to silence. And Christ rejected the testimony of the devil, who said, that he knew him, &c. And not without cause: for the devil is a deceiver, and among true things, which he sometime speaketh, he mingleth many false. So as he must not be credited upon any show of truth, seeing he is not commanded by God to teach men, or to preach salvation unto them. These things are written by Chrysostom, in the places now alleged. Whereby may be confuted the fables of those men, which feign, that the souls of the saints do stand, and are present abroad in the world at their sepulchers and relics, to give help unto those, which call upon them. For that father laboreth to prove, that souls severed from their bodies do not wander abroad upon the earth.

CHAP. XV. Of the Resurrection.

The entitle of the resurrection of the flesh is very hardly believed; because it is a thing far from man's reason. But a sure persuasion thereof comprehendeth many principal points of the Christian faith, which be very necessary unto salvation. And they that are fully and firmly settled in their minds of the resurrection, do provide well for themselves against the last hour. For they, which being at the point of death, do assure themselves of the blessed resurrection, cannot choose but depart joyful and cheerful out of this life. But contrariwise, they which waver in this article, are then in great disquietness: they are vexed, they storm, and know not certainly whither to turn them. Further, this persuasion doth comfort us; when by death we lose our kinsfolk and friends. So did Paul teach the Thessalonians. Besides this, we are hereby armed against persecutions, and hard chances, which we must suffer for the faithful confession of the name of Christ. For what is it that martyrs will not patiently abide, when they know for a certainty, that a most happy life shall be restored unto them? Moreover, the remembrance hereof maketh us to have temperance in

estimation: for we easily forbear unlawful pleasures, when we assuredly trust, that we shall have true and perfect pleasures given us, both of mind and body. And if this article be abolished, many principal points of religion are overthrown. Paul faith in the first epistle to the Corinthians; If the dead rise not again, Christ is not risen. Which is most absurd, for then he should even to this time be detained in death: which is not convenient for God, nor for the redeemer of mankind. And if he be not risen, neither did he truly die: otherwise he should be detained by death. Whereupon they, which deny the resurrection of the dead, affirm, that Christ did not verily die: neither will they, that he had natural, but fantastical flesh only; that is to say, he died in show and outward appearance.

2. Seeing therefore a disputation of the resurrection of the flesh is so profitable and necessary; we shall for good cause stand the longer upon it. First, if it be demanded why God did institute the same, two reasons may be brought: first, that he might truly and perfectly make happy his elect; for true happiness cannot be obtained in this life, because no human actions, neither contemplative, nor active, can be counted exquisite and perfect. For as concerning knowledges, there be a great many more things which we know not, than which we know. Which Socrates perceiving, said; that This one thing he knew; namely, that he knew nothing. Further, those few small things that we know, we have a very scant and slender understanding of them. Neither may we affirm this of natural things only, but of those also which are opened unto us by the spirit of God. Wherefore Paul said; Now we know in part, and prophesy in part, and we now see as through a glass, and in a dark saying. We be of weak memory, and many times our memory faileth us. Who remembereth all things that he hath read, that he hath learned, that he hath taught and determined? The knowledges which come

later to mind, exclude the former: as one nail is driven out with another, and as in the course of waters, the latter driveth away the former. And whereas the knowledges of things do consist either in invention, or in teaching; what one of many is found to be excellent at invention? And very many are unapt and unmeet to learn. Wherefore, as touching things contemplative, we are of small happiness in this world.

Also in matters of practice, there is great want in us, seeing either we live unonestly, or else in honest actions we be very far wide from perfection. For our virtues are maimed and imperfect; therefore we cannot draw out of them any perfect and absolute actions. There happen moreover perturbations, or affects of the mind, which draw us to and fro, so as we cannot altogether be inclined to do those things which be right. Yea and from the body itself, which is frail and brittle as glass, many inconveniences do come. For if it be touched with diseases (which are grown to such a number as they have gotten the upper hand of the physicians art) if it be wounded, if it be torn, if it be fired, if it hunger and be pressed with miseries and calamities; finally, if it be ill handled with penury and beggary, how can it otherwise be, but the mind will be moved, troubled, and grieved? These, and many other things do sufficiently show, that we are past all hope of absolute felicity, while we live in this world.

3. This have diverse men noted, and therefore have referred the enjoying of perfect happiness to another life: but they thought, that the same must only be attributed unto the soul; yea and they judged, that the body, if it should be revoked, would be an impediment thereto. And with this error was infected Marcion, Basilides, the Valentinians, the Manichees, and such other pestiferous sects; who affirmed, that there were two beginnings of things; namely, a good god and an evil. And seeing they thought the evil

god to be the author of visible creatures, they said also, that he was the maker of the body and of flesh; and that therefore the soul being severed from these things after death, should be happy: and that there should be no need of them to be restored again, which do hinder and not further felicity. The same opinion had they, which thought that the soul is joined to the body, as a mariner is coupled to the ship, and as a thing moving unto that which it moveth: and therefore they affirmed, that it would not come to pass, that the soul after this life should be joined again unto his body. For even as the shipman, or they which move and put forward any burdens, when they be rid of their business, and have gotten wealth enough, do not return again to their former labors: so did they think, that souls being once put away from the laborsome government of bodies, should not return again. But they err exceedingly: for the soul must not so be adjoined to the body; for it is the form and perfection thereof, and of both being joined together is made one person. So then, there is left remaining in souls after death a vehement disposition to take unto them their bodies again. Which Plato seemed not to be ignorant of, nor yet Pythagoras; for either of them said, that There is a passage of souls from one body into another. For (as they would have it) souls after death are removed into other bodies. And because they returned not to the selfsame again, that was rather said to be an alteration of place, than a resurrection.

4. But what manner of resurrection soever they have appointed, which have taught, that after the great year, or perfect revolution of the heavens, all things shall be restored as they now be: so that thirty six thousand years hence, we shall become even the same, both in number, and in very deed that we now be; so that I myself shall teach in this place, you sitting here, in such sort as I now teach, and you being present. The reason of this opinion

is astronomical. For they will have it (as Ptolemy taught) that that highest orb of the heavens comprehendeth in it three hundred, three score, and six degrees; and that every star doth every hundred years, pass over one of those degrees: whereby it should come to pass, that after thirty-six thousands years, every star should return to the point from whence it was loosed, and began his motion. And seeing the state or situation of the celestial bodies was then, even in the same manner that it was from the beginning; they think, that all things shall return to the same form, in which they then were. I know there were some of them, which prolong this restitution of all things, not to six and thirty, but to forty thousand years: howbeit, this their reckoning is not allowed.

But ridiculous and vain is each opinion, and is confuted by Aristotle; who affirmeth earnestly, that it cannot be, that the things which perish and decay in the meantime, should return to the very self-same in particularities, whatsoever space of time you will admit in the mean season. Howbeit, these men might lie without controlment: for who can reprove them after thirty-six thousand years; especially, seeing from the beginning of the world, unto this day, six thousand years are not yet finished? I pass it over, that such a kind of devise is repugnant to the truth, because the resurrection of the dead dependeth not of celestial bodies, nor of stars, nor of degrees of the firmament; but upon the will of the high God. Besides this, the holy scriptures do show, that by the last resurrection, eternal life shall be given unto them that be dead; so as they shall die no more. But such a life cannot be looked for of celestial bodies. Moreover, the blessedness of saints would not be firm and steadfast; when they should consider, that they must be thrust forth again unto the same travels and miseries, which they suffered before, whiles they were here. Wherefore men have very much erred

touching the resurrection of the dead. And among the Hebrews were the Sadducees, who believed, that there were no spirits, and denied the resurrection of the dead. At this day also there be Libertines, which make a jest at it: and the resurrection, which is spoken of in the scriptures, they only refer unto the souls. And in the time of Paul, there lived Hymenaeus and Philetus, who affirmed, that the resurrection of the dead was even then past; whose doctrine (as the apostle saith) was like a canker that hath a wide fret: for the minds of the unlearned are easily corrupted with such perverse opinions.

5. Another reason, for the which God will restore the life of the bodies of them that be dead, dependeth of his perfect justice, the which is not in this life declared. Where we see, that for the most part the wicked do flourish in power and dignities; and that they be gently used: but on the other side, that godly and honest men be hardly entreated, and be in danger of most grievous displeasures: which things (unless there should remain another hope) might seem to be unjust: neither also would it be justly done, if the soul only should be either blessed, or tormented with punishments, seeing it hath had the body with it a companion in executing of actions, as well good as bad. Therefore it is meet, that together with the body, it should have experience both of joys and pains, seeing it did all things by the same.

The Rabbins among the Jews, for the testifying hereof, devised a fable, saying; that A certain mighty and rich man planted himself a garden of most noble kinds of trees, which did bear very excellent fruits: and lest it should be robbed, he appointed keepers for the same. And because it behooved to take heed unto the keepers themselves, he appointed two, which were so made, as the one did perfectly see, but yet so lame, as he might not in any wise be able to go: the other was indeed able to go, but was blind. When the

Lord of the orchard was gone, the ill keepers began to consult among themselves, about eating of the fruits. The blind man said; I in very deed lust after them, but I see not: the cripple said; I see them, but I am not able to come at them. After long talk they agreed, that the blind man should stoop down and receive the cripple upon his back, who having his sight, directed the blind man with his hand: wherefore they, being both joined together, came unto the trees, and fulfilled their lusts with those fruits; according to their own desire. The lord of the garden returned, and espying the harm that was done, blamed the keepers. The lame man excused himself, that he could not come to the tree: and the blind man said, that he might not see the fruits. Then the owner, when he knew their sleight and shift; Ye have (saith he) joined your labors together, wherefore I also will join you again, and will punish you together. Therefore he bound them together again, and by beating and striking them, punished them both together. So, say they, doth the case stand in a man: the soul indeed knoweth, understandeth, and perceiveth; but it cannot take any outward work in hand by itself. Certainly the body of itself is a senseless thing, neither doth it perceive. The which nevertheless being moved, and stirred up by the mind, is a fit instrument of the outward actions. Which being so, both reason and justice requireth, that they should be again joined together after death, for receiving of punishments and rewards.

6. These things are spoken generally. And now coming to the matter, we will divide this treatise into certain principal points. First, we will bring the reasons, which seem to hinder and gainsay the resurrection of the flesh. Secondly, we will search out what is the nature thereof. Thirdly, whether by human reasons (and that by such reasons as are probable) it may be proved and confirmed. Moreover, we will bring testimonies out of the holy

scriptures, as well of the old as of the New Testament, whereby it shall be proved, that the same must in any wise be looked for. Afterward we will entreat of the causes thereof. Over this, some things shall be spoken of the conditions and qualities of them that shall rise again. And last of all shall be confuted the arguments of them, which seem to persuade, that there shall be no resurrection. And those arguments will I first of all recite; yet not all, but those only, which I shall judge to be of most importance, by the confutation whereof, others may easily be dissolved.

7. First Porphyrius said, that All bodies must be avoided, for attaining to the felicity of the soul; because they hinder, and further not the contemplation and knowledge of God, wherein consisteth our felicity. By which there seemeth to be affirmed, that souls cannot perfectly be made blessed, if they should be coupled again to their bodies. Further, this cannot be, that when the bodies are already dissolved, and are gone into ashes, they should return to their first elements, or to the first substance of their nature. Besides, it happeneth sometimes, that a man is eaten of a wolf; a wolf, of a lion; a lion, of the fowls of the air, which afterward become the meat of other men: therefore, the flesh of the first man might not be discerned from the flesh of the latter men. Moreover, this will the more plainly appear, if we consider of those Anthropophagi, being men that feed upon man's flesh: whereby it cometh to pass, that the substances of human bodies, by that kind of means, are mingled. Wherefore, if there shall be a resurrection of the dead, unto which men shall those fleshs be attributed? To them that eat, or to them that be eaten? We see also in nature, that it is taken for an impossibility, that one and the same indivisible thing should be restored to number, when it hath perished. And therefore was generation appointed,

that at the leastwise, by procreating like things in kind, order might be continued.

To this, in death, when the soul is taken away from the body, not only the things accident thereunto are destroyed, but the essential beginnings also, whereby a man is made; namely the body, and also certain parts of the mind, as is the power of nourishing and feeling, which cannot be had without the body. Besides this, if any quantity be sundered, it is no more one in number, but they be two quantities. And a motion that surceased, if it be begun again, it may be in kind the same that it was; but in number it shall be distinguished from the first. For who is it, that when he shall have walked a mile, if he stand at rest for a while, and afterward returneth, can affirm, that his latter walk is the very same that was before? And this is not only perceived in quantity and motion, and in things that happen; but also in qualities and forms. For if a man enjoy health, and do fall into a sickness, the first health doubtless is gone: but if so be he afterward recover, the health that happeneth is not altogether the same that the first was. In like manner, if bodies, with all the things belonging unto them, are to be restored, all the humors, hairs, and nails shall be given again, and the heap will be monstrous. But if all these things shall not be restored, but a certain of them, there can be no reason made, why rather one sort than another shall be given again.

8. There be moreover in the holy scriptures many places, which are against resurrection; if they should be weighed as they appear at the first sight. In the 78th Psalm it is written, that God did after a sort chasten the Jews in the wilderness, but that he would not utterly pour out his wrath upon them: because he remembered (saith David) that they were but flesh, and as a spirit that passeth away, and cometh not again. But if so be that the

souls return not again, there is no resurrection. Also it is said in the 114th Psalm; The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord. And if the spirits of them that be dead, do not celebrate the praises of God; and that they which be departed, shall not declare things: there shall be no resurrection. And in the same psalm it is written; All the whole heavens are the Lord's, and the earth hath he given to the children of men. If heaven belong not unto men, but that they must dwell upon the earth, and therein must come to their end, there is no resurrection to be hoped for.

And Solomon, in the third chapter of Ecclesiastes writeth, that There is all one end both of man and of beasts. For as the one doth die, so doth the other: yea they have both one manner of breath. And who knoweth (saith he) whether the breath of the sons of men ascend upward, and the breath of beasts downward? And in the 14th of Job it is written; that it is not so with man, as it is with trees or plants. For these, when they be cut off, are wont to sprout and to shoot forth again: but man, when he is dead, returneth not. Again, it is said, that this resurrection shall be universal. But Daniel, in the 12th chapter seemeth to describe the same to be particular; Many (saith he) which now sleep in the dust, shall rise again. But he would not have said [many] if they should all be raised up. Yea, and it is written in the psalm; The ungodly shall not rise in judgment. And it is meet, that seeing by Christ, the dead are to be restored; they only should obtain this benefit, which shall be joined unto Christ. Whereupon it followeth, that the ungodly, which are strangers unto Christ, shall not be raised up. These are the reasons, which are wont to be objected against those, which affirm, that there is a resurrection.

9. Now let us come to the second point, in searching out what may serve to the nature and definition of resurrection. And we will begin at the

etymology of the word. It is called of the Greeks ἀνάστασις: in the composition of which word, the preposition ἀνά is the very same thing that πάλιν is, which signifieth Again: as if it were meant; That which was fallen to stand up again. Therefore Damascene writing of this matter saith, that Resurrection is the second standing of the dead. And the Hebrews called the same *Thechijath hammethim*; for *Chaia* is, To live. Wherefore it is even as if they had said; The quickening of the dead. And because *Com* among them is To rise, thereof they derived the noun derivative *Thekum hammethim*; that is, The rising of dead men, Also among them there is found *Cuma*. And of the verb *Amad*, which signifieth, To stand, they have derived some noun of this kind. Perhaps also they have other words of this signification, but these are more accustomed, and more commonly used among the Rabbins. Touching the Latin name we will consider afterward.

10. As to the matter. Resurrection belongeth to the predicament of action. And whereas in actions two things are chiefly to be considered; namely, the doer, and the subject itself, into which the action is poured by him that doth. The efficient cause of this action is God; for that no cause in nature, nor power in any creatures can be found, which is able to bring to pass the resurrection: as afterward in place convenient we shall declare. Action in very deed is many ways distinguished. One is natural, as generation, corruption, increasing, diminishing, alteration, and such like. And there be also other actions, which belong to practicing knowledge; as to build, to paint, to plough, to cast metal. And other actions, which have respect unto the will, that is, to man's choice: such be the works of virtues and vices. Again, actions are distinguished, that some be economical (that is, pertaining to household government) others be political, and others be ecclesiastical. But resurrection taketh place in no part of these distinctions:

for all these things, which we have rehearsed, after a sort are revoked unto nature. But the resurrection of the dead is an act altogether beyond nature. Wherefore it shall be reckoned among those things, which do exceed and surpass the force of nature.

11. Now resteth for us to consider of the subject, wherein it is received. And undoubtedly it is no other thing that is raised up but man, which was by death extinguished. But man (as all men know) consisteth of two parts; to wit, of the soul and of the body. So as it must be considered, whether resurrection pertain to the body or to the soul. To speak properly: bodies do rise again, and not souls; for that is said to rise again, which fell when it had stood up. But souls die not together with the body, but remain alive: and therefore, seeing they fell not, they shall not rise again. And that souls remain alive after they be separated from bodies, the holy scriptures do show: for Christ said unto the apostles; Fear ye not them which kill the body, but the soul they cannot kill. But if souls should be extinguished, together with the bodies, they which destroy the body, would also destroy the soul. Over this, Christ said unto the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise: which would not have been, if the soul had perished with the death of the body.

And when the death of the rich man and of Lazarus is described in the gospel, it is plainly enough expressed, what becometh of men after death: for Lazarus was carried by the ministry of angels, to the bosom of Abraham: but the rich man to the torments in hell. There be also other testimonies agreeable unto this saying, but let these be sufficient at this time. That resurrection is to be attributed unto bodies, Tertullian also taught in his 5th book against Marcion, and in his book *De resurrection carnis*: and saith, that many things do rise, which before fell not, as herbs, plants,

and such like; but none is said to rise again, but such as fell first, when they had stood before. And he argueth from the propriety of the Latin tongue, which maketh a difference between *Surgere* and *Resurgere*, [the one signifying To rise, and the other, To rise again.] And he saith, that Cadaver, a dead body, was so called à *Cadendo*, of falling: wherefore he affirmed, that the resurrection is not of souls, but of bodies.

12. Moreover, it must be noted, that the resurrection of the dead is a certain new birth. For even as in the first birth a man is brought forth consisting both of body and soul; so in the resurrection which is a second nativity, he shall be repaired again. In the 19th chapter of Matthew it is written; In the regeneration, when the son of man shall sit in his majesty. In deed the regeneration (as concerning the soul) beginneth now, but it shall be then performed, as touching the body: so as it is a certain new generation. Which I therefore say, least it should be esteemed for a creation, the which is not done of things that be extant, but of nothing. Howbeit, it is not always taken after this sort in the divine scriptures. Wherefore the soul shall return, and of her being shall impart unto the body, even as it did before death: and shall not only give a being thereunto, but it shall bring therewith all the properties of man, and shall communicate them thereunto. In deed there shall be some diversity, but yet not as concerning the essential beginnings: only the things accidental shall be changed, the which may be altered, notwithstanding that one and the selfsame subject still remain. For others be the qualities and affections of children, and others of young men, and old men: yet is the person all one, and even the same man, both in childhood, in youth, and in age. Thus then we may define the resurrection of the dead; namely, that It is a new coupling together of the soul unto the body, by the might or power of God, that men may stand wholly in the last day of

judgment, and may receive rewards or punishments, according to the state of their former life. By this definition all the kinds of causes are expressed. The form is the Coupling together of the soul and the body: the which also is done so soon as men be born, and therefore is added New or Done again, namely after death. The efficient cause is showed, when we affirm, that it shall be done By the might and power of God. The matter is the Soul and the body, which shall again be joined together. The end also is, That at the last judgment it may be determined of the whole man.

13. Furthermore, it must be considered, that there is no small difference between the death of man, which goeth before the resurrection of the dead; and that death, whereby brute beasts do perish. For the death of man is called a separation of the soul from the body. For albeit that the body do perish, yet doth the soul still remain alive: which happeneth not in brute beasts, whose death is destruction of mind and body both together. Whereupon that which Solomon saith in Ecclesiastes, that The end of man and of beasts is all one, is not true, unless it be understood generally; that is to wit, that death happeneth to both: but the kind of death is not all one, both in the one, and in the other. But of the sentence brought by Solomon, shall be spoken afterward: I made mention of it now, because we may understand, that even as between brute beasts and men, is given a sundry respect of death; so, if resurrection also should be granted to them both, the form of the same should not be all one. Wherefore, although it be said of the body, and not of the soul, that it shall rise; yet without the soul, the resurrection shall not be: for the same must of necessity be present. But yet it may after some sort be said of the soul, that it shall rise again in two respects. First, that even as through death it ceaseth to form and direct the body; and in this respect after a sort to die: so on the other side, when it

returneth to form and direct the same, it may as touching these things be said after a sort to rise again. Another cause is, that even the souls are said to fall: so as if it be his property to rise again which hath fallen, they also, seeing after a sort they fall, may be understood to rise.

Therefore Paul said unto the Colossians; If ye have risen together with Christ, savor ye of things that be from above. Now is there any doubt but he speaketh of the resurrection of souls? For they as yet lived, to whom he wrote. Unto the Romans also he saith; If Christ be risen by the glory of his father, so walk ye also in newness of life. And unto the Ephesians; Rise from the dead, rise, and Christ shall illuminate thee. And in the book of Ecclesiasticus, the second chapter; Shrink not away from God, that ye fall not. Again; He that standeth, let him take heed he fall not. And unto the Romans, as touching the not judging of another man's servant, it is written; He standeth or falleth to his own master. Seeing therefore, that all these places are referred to souls, it seemeth, that both falling and resurrection belong unto them. These things are true, but yet it must be understood, that in the holy scriptures there is put two sorts of resurrection; namely, a former and a latter. In the first, we rise in the soul from sin; but in the latter, the body is restored. Now at this time we speak of the latter; therefore said we, that the same is proper unto the body. And even as in that former, the soul riseth again, and not the body: so in the latter the body riseth, and not the soul.

14. These two sorts of resurrection we gather, not only out of the book of the Apocalypse, where they are pronounced blessed, which have their part in the first resurrection: but we learn it also out of the Gospel of John, where in the fifth chapter both are joined together in one place. First, Christ spake there of the former resurrection, when he said, The time cometh, and

now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the son of God, and they that believe it, shall live. That these words belong unto the first resurrection, it sufficiently appeareth, in that he saith; The time will come, and now is. But there is no man will say, that the hour of the latter resurrection was then present. So as then he meant, that those dead should live again, if they believed in the son of God, who for their sins were destitute of the spiritual life of souls: of whom Christ said in another place; Let the dead bury their dead. And unto the Ephesians it is written; When ye were dead in your offenses and sins. And unto Timothy it is written of widows; She that is truly a widow, continueth still in prayers, and supplications before the Lord: but she that liveth in worldly pleasures, she is dead while she yet liveth. Undoubtedly before justification by faith, we are all dead in original sin; or else in those sins, which we of our own accord have added by our choice, and we have altogether need of this resurrection from death. But between the first resurrection and the latter, there is very much difference; because the first belongeth unto the elect only, and unto them which shall perpetually be made blessed: but the latter belongeth unto all, as well miserable as blessed. Of the which resurrection Christ added in the same place of John, saying; And marvel ye not, for the time will come, when they that be in their graves, shall hear the voice of the son of God, and shall come forth: they that have done well, into the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, into the resurrection of judgment. Here there is mention made of graves, that is, of sepulchers. Further he saith, The time will come, and said not, that it is already come. Wherefore, as there is appointed a first and second death, so is there also appointed a first and second resurrection. But we (as it hath been already said) do only entreat at this present of the latter.

15. Thus it hath been showed, that the resurrection of the dead, is an action of those kind of things, which consist of miracle, and not of nature. He then that shall demand, whether it be natural; we will answer him after this manner. As touching the form, the which I said is a joining together of the soul with the body: the name of natural is not to be refused; for it is agreeable to the nature of man, that the soul should be joined to the body. But if we consider of the efficient cause, and of the mean: those things do utterly go beyond nature. Whereby it cometh to pass, that we may easily answer to the third point of this treatise, wherein it was demanded; Whether, for the resurrection of the dead, there might be natural reasons given, and demonstrations made. After this manner, I say, seeing the thing it self passeth all the power of nature; there can no reasons be made for this kind. In deed there be some reasons of force great enough: but if they be diligently examined, they be probable arguments; yet respecting the nature of things, they be not necessary. And to make the matter more plain, we must understand, that demonstrations are twofold. For there be some which resolve their questions into principles, which be known by themselves at the first sight in the nature of things: but there be very few reasons of this kind, so as a certain few only can be showed in the Mathematics.

Other there be, which although they consist not of propositions known at the first, and by themselves; yet the propositions, whereby they conclude, may resolve into those things which be verily and of themselves known. And again, there be certain arguments, which consist of true and necessary principles; but yet not evident in that science which useth them: but such as are showed and truly known in a higher and more worthy faculty. This kind of science is commonly called *Subalternum*, that is, which succeedeth by turn. For a Musician sheweth and concludeth some things of harmony and

sounds, which he showed and made out of certain principles in Arithmetic: which kind of argument is demonstrative, yet to him that knoweth both the sciences; namely, Arithmetic and Music. But to him that is only a Musician, it cannot be called a demonstration; seeing thereof is made no resolution into principles that be known at the first, and by themselves. Even so is it in the reasons concerning resurrection of the dead. Many reasons for the same are brought of natural propositions, the which be very probable: but if the principles of them be examined, natural men, and such as only respect the nature of things, shall not be convinced, because they cannot see a resolution unto supernatural causes, the which may prove a conclusion, and constantly approve the same. But godly men, when they refer these propositions unto the word of God, and in their resolution fortify and confirm them thereby, they have them for demonstrations, which indeed proceed not from natural knowledge, but from faith, which altogether dependeth of divine Oracles.

16. But by what ways the philosophers, and they which lean only on natural reason, do set themselves against the reasons, which are drawn forth of natural principles, must now be declared. And now to begin with those reasons, which seem to have more strength than the rest. First, they say, that A thing imperfect is not capable of perfect felicity; But the soul being separated from the body, is maimed and imperfect; Therefore the soul, for obtaining of felicity, must be again joined to the body. This argument the philosophers answer two manner of ways: for either they would say, that the part which is pulled from the other, is imperfect; forsomuch as it receiveth some benefit and perfection from that other: but that this is the nature of the soul, that it giveth her good things to the body, when as yet it receiveth nothing of it, either of perfection, or profit; therefore the absence of the

body is no hindrance to the felicity of the soul. Or else they would answer, that unto the perfect blessedness of the soul, it is sufficient, that the last good thing be present with it, whereby it perfectly understandeth the same, and doth embrace it with singular delight: and that the body is not needful thereunto. But to the faithful, the reason that is brought is confirmed by the scriptures, because there they learn, that soul and body together are cast by God into hell: but if he do so as touching punishments, it followeth, that he doth so as touching towards.

Another argument is framed after this sort; Whatsoever shall be against nature, is not perpetual; But it is against the soul of man, that it should continue severed from the body: but it continueth, seeing it is immortal, and falleth not together with the body. And as it is a natural thing unto it, to be the form of the body; so is it against the nature thereof to be severed from the same. If this cannot be perpetual, there remaineth nothing else, but that it be again united to the body. Unto this reason first the Ethnics would say, that that which is taken for a certain and evident thing, is unto the light of nature obscure; namely, that the soul after death remaineth and is immortal: for noble philosophers, not a few, judged far otherwise. Yea, and by very learned men; to wit, Tertullian; and Gregory Nazianzen, it is ascribed unto Aristotle himself, that he thought the soul of man to be mortal. And Alexander Aphrodysaeus, no mean Peripatetic, was of this opinion. And Averroes taught in the School of the Peripatetics, that There is only one human intelligence, which by conceits is adjoined unto every man. Wherefore this principle that is assumed; to wit, that the soul after death remaineth uncorrupt, seeing it is a doubt, and dependeth not of things, which of themselves be known and evident in the nature of things: the argument that is built thereupon, staggereth, and cannot be counted firm.

For Avicenna in his Metaphysics saith, that The soul is therefore joined to the body; because through the outward senses, it may procure unto itself both inward knowledge and sciences of things, which when it hath once obtained, there is no need to resort again to that conjunction. Others confute this reason more subtly; saying, that it is against nature, not to be continual, when the originals of the restitution thereof remain in the nature of things. But if these are utterly abolished, restitution is not to be looked for. And that which they have alleged, they set forth with an indifferent plain similitude; A tree (say they) being cut off, lieth along against his nature; which nevertheless is restored, if the roots remaining be quick; because it springeth and groweth again but if the roots be altogether plucked up, the destruction shall be perpetual. Whereby they affirm, that the soul, being pulled away from the body, doth sufficiently understand, that in the nature of things there is no more extant the beginnings of this conjunction to be made again; and that therefore it is not affected with the desire thereof, because the chief of our will is not carried to things impossible. Thus would the Ethnics answer to the reason that is brought. But the faithful use the same reason, and comfort themselves, in confirming it out of the word of God; whereby the immortality of our soul after death is confirmed: and free power of uniting it with the body is granted to be in God.

17. The third reason is wont to be drawn from the justice of God, which must render punishments and rewards for those things, which be own in this life by the body: for because it cannot seem just, that seeing these two, the soul and the body being joined both together, did either right or wrong, only one of them should either be punished or rewarded. Hereto the philosophers would answer, that it appeareth not to them, that the world is so governed of God by justice that rewardeth and punisheth; as it hath consideration of

every particular person, in giving to each one either rewards or punishments. Perhaps they would grant, that as touching the firm and constant motions of the heavens, there is a certain providence: so would they also do, as touching the preservation of kinds: but they would deny it to be had as concerning every particular. Further, they would add, that there be rewards and punishments enow used in those very actions good and evil: for in well doing, there is a wonderful joyfulness of conscience, which excelleth all outward rewards. And again, in doing wickedly men are wonderfully vexed: neither can they escape the butchery of conscience, which is misery and unhappiness enough for the punishment of them.

At length they would affirm, that it is sufficient, while the soul itself either receiveth rewards, or suffereth punishments: and that there is no need, that these things should be done unto the body; because it is not the principal cause of actions, but only the instrument. And there may be a similitude brought of artificers, unto whom only is given a reward, if they have made a fair web, or built a fair house: but unto the instruments, which they used, either in weaving or in building, there is no recompense made. The which instruments receive not the same punishment or loss, if the work have in success: Neither will any man break a poisoned pot, because some have perished by drinking out of the same; especially if it shall be a precious and beautiful vessel. Neither do men break or cast away the sword, wherewith any man is slain; forsomuch as these be instruments, but not special causes. Howbeit, wrath is sometime so outrageous, as cups envenomed are broken, and swords cast away. Wherefore, seeing both the one thing and the other may be, and sometime doth happen; the argument will be probable, but not necessary.

But as concerning that, which belongeth unto instruments, it seemeth that there must be a distinction made; to wit, that some instruments are conjoined, and some dissevered. Doubtless, the body is an instrument of the soul; but is joined unto it: so as it is no marvel, if it bear away with it both punishment and profit. For we see, even while we live here, that the hands are cut off, that the eyes of wicked men are put out. Notwithstanding all this, it must not be forgotten, that this reason, which is taken of the justice and judgment of God, is not general: because infants also shall be raised up, who for all this shall not have need to yield a reckoning of the works, which they did by the body. But yet Paul seemeth to confirm this argument, saying in the 15th chapter to the Corinthians, when he had confirmed the resurrection of the bodies; Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast and constant, abounding in every good work, knowing that your labor shall not be unprofitable before the Lord. But labor is common, as well to the mind, as to the body: therefore profit shall redound to them both. And this kind of argument well-near all the fathers used. I have already declared those, which were of the greatest force: now will I come to other arguments, which are more feeble; wherein is perceived no proof of resurrection, but a certain show of the same.

18. Days (say they) do daily as we see pass away and return; but in very deed yesterday is not the same in number with this day. Also there is brought a similitude of herbs and trees; these things seem in the winter season to be dead, but when the spring-time cometh, they bud forth again, they be garnished with leaves, they put forth flowers, and lastly bring forth fruit. But it must be understood, that they were not utterly dead in the winter season: for there remaineth life still in them, although it lay secret. But thereunto it might be answered, that the life also of man, after death, is

not utterly taken away; because it still remaineth in the souls that be alive. And certainly Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, useth after a sort this reason, and showeth, that after corruption, reviving is obtained, while he saith; That which thou sowest, is not quickened, unless it first die. He thereby also showeth the variety of conditions of new fruit, when the seed is first thrown: for thou (saith he) dost sow a grain of wheat, or some other seed: God giveth a body to it, as pleaseth him. Then, if oftentimes there happen a renewing in creatures; what shall be done unto man, who is of much more value before God, than are trees or hay? For all those things were made for man.

They borrow also a similitude from the bird of India, which is called a Phoenix, the which is properly described by Lactantius, in what sort she dieth, and is renewed. Also there be testimonies taken from the Sibyls, by whom the resurrection of the dead is confirmed. And least anything should want, there are wound in the inventions of the poets; who say, that Hippolytus and Aesculapius were in old time raised from the dead. And so they say that these men for this cause fabled of such things; because this opinion of the resurrection was taught in old time by the fathers, the which by these is transformed, or rather deformed by their fond verses. Howbeit, this is not necessary; because not all things, which they feigned, were invented and taught by the godly fathers: for they wrote and fabled certain things of the Centaurs, Harpies, and Chimeras, which were never devised by the godly. Besides this, there is brought in the image of sleepers, the which is common with us. When a man sleepeth, he ceaseth from actions, he walketh not, he doth nothing: the same being afterward awaked, returneth straightway to his former business. And the similitude is allowed by a form of speech used in the scriptures, which calleth death a sleep: and

dead men they call sleepers. Again, the unbelief of men is reprov'd, who mistrust, that the bodies of men shall from corrupt ashes be restored again: seeing they perceive oftentimes, that of corrupt and putrefied matter, sundry kinds of beasts are brought forth; to wit, mice, moles, frogs, and worms: and out of the caves of the earth are many times gathered most orient precious stones. And who seeth in seed, those things which in process of time are reaped thereof? For the seed of living creatures, is as it were a drop or trickle of an unshapen humor, wherein may not appear either hands, feet, ears, eyes, head, and other such like.

And to speak of the berry of the vine, it hath so very small and slender a body, as it can scarcely be fastened between two little fingers. In what part of the same are the roots and the bodies of the roots, and the intricating of the branches? Where are the shadows of the vine leaves? Where is the beauty of the clusters? And whereas it is but a very dry seed, yet from thence doth come presses abounding with the most plentiful liquor of wine. These things do daily come to pass in nature. Wherefore we must consider, that how often as bodies must be put into sepulchers; so often is the seed of the resurrection committed to the furrows, to be renewed again. Some of the dead have been raised up again by the prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles: yea and it is reported of some godly men, which restored brute beasts unto their former life. It is written of Sylvester, that he restored to life a dead bull. And they say that Saint German called to life his asse that died, and a calf which his family had eaten. But thou wilt say, that these things be forged: I will not deny it; for many things are mingled among the lives of the saints, which although they should be granted to be true, yet must we not of necessity yield, that those brute beasts were restored to the same quantity, for it might be, that not the very same, but their like were

represented. Yet can I not say, that this were impossible to be done by the power of God; for he that made man of nothing, is able out of doubt to renew those things. Gregory, in his sixth treatise of his morals, wrote, that it should be evident unto all men, that it is much more hard to create those things, which have not been, than to repair those that had been.

19. Moreover, it is in God to be able to do all those things, which (as they speak in the schools) contain not in themselves a plain introduction one to the other: for otherwise, those things, when they take away and destroy one another; it is impossible that they should consist together. Yet this hath not diminished anything of the omnipotency of God: for God is almighty, though he cannot either sin, or deny himself, or bring to pass that those things, which be past, should not be past; neither make that man's body, while it is, should not be a body; and that the number of three should not be three: because these be not impossible things by defect in him, but by reason of the very contrariety of things. But the resurrection of the dead belongeth not unto this kind: for as concerning souls, they perish not; but they remain alive together with their powers and human properties. So as they which are dead, may after a sort be said to be alive in their propriety and original. Which Gregorius Magnus, out of the history of Job, confirmeth after this manner; Therein it is taught, that all things were restored unto him twofold: at the first he had seven thousand sheep, there were restored unto him fourteen thousand: he had three thousand camels [afterward] he possessed six thousand: but yet he begat but seven sons, and three daughters. But it is understood, that the number of children also was doubled, because (as Gregory saith) these seven first remained still safe with God, wherefore it might be said, that he had fourteen.

Seeing the matter is after this sort, all the difficulty of the resurrection seemeth to be in the resurrection of the body: for when the same is dead, and that in such sort as there appeareth not so much as the steps thereof; it seemeth impossible to be repaired. Howbeit, seeing it is not gone into nothing, but dissolved into elements, or (as the philosophers speak) into the first matter; therefore it must not be denied, but that it may be framed again of the same matter, and of the same elements. Yea, and the very substance of beasts, albeit they are extinguished by death, yet are they not reduced to nothing. So then, through the power of God, they might be made again, as well of the matter, as of the elements: For God (as it is written to the Romans) calleth those things, which be not, as though they were: neither is there anything that may resist his word. For even as by the word of God all things be made; so by the very same all things may be restored. And these things shall suffice concerning natural reasons, the which, as it hath been said, are probable, but not demonstrative. And that which is vouched hereof, may also be judged of other articles of the faith: for those things, which are believed of any man, cannot by him naturally be known. But will some say; We believe that there is one God: who nevertheless by natural reason is concluded to be. Hereunto we answer, that the philosophers indeed, in searching out of natural things, learned, that there is one principal beginning, which the Grecians called ΘΕΟΝ, and the Latins DEUM, that is, GOD. But that is not he, whom Christian faith professeth: for we do not simply and nakedly believe one God; but believe in him that created heaven and earth, and that hath a son, and the holy Ghost. These appurtenances doubtless the philosophers perceived not. Whereby that appeareth most true, which the apostle taught the Hebrews; namely, that Faith is an argument of things which are not seen.

20. Now, seeing thus it is, reason requireth that we should come to another point of the question, and by the testimonies of the word of God confirm resurrection, which indeed cannot be truly showed by natural reasons. Which testimonies, being comprehended in the Old and New Testament, according to the order of time, we will here begin with the Old Testament: and first with that, which we read in the third chapter of Exodus; I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. This place did Christ use, when he was tempted by the Sadducees. The name of Sadducees, is derived from the word *Tsedec*, that is to say, from Justice; for they were justiciary men, who besides the law given by Moses, admitted no other scripture: they strictly urged the very bare word, not admitting (as it appeareth) any interpretation. And further, because they believed not the resurrection of the dead, they thought in like manner, that there were no angels; even as we read in the acts of the apostles. Also among the Hebrews in those days (to touch that by the way) were Pharisees, of the verb *Pharasch*, which signifieth, To distinguish, interpret, and extend. These men not only allowed the law, but also the prophets as interpreters thereof: also they did expound and interpret the holy scriptures. Besides these also, there were certain called *Essees*, which were so called of the verb *Ascha*, which is, To do. They were very just, and wrought with their own hands, that thereby they might live and help the poor; in like manner as if we should call them laborers. And no doubt but they deceive themselves, which judge, that they were so called of ὅσιος, that is, Holy: for the Etymologies of Hebrew names must not be sought for in the Greek tongue.

Among the Jews also, there were Gaulonites, so called, of a certain principal man of the Jewish faction: these in all respects held with the Pharisees, saving that they held opinion, that tribute should not be given to

foreign nations. For they would, that the children of Abraham; to wit, the people of God, should be altogether free. All these things are plainly set forth by Josephus, as well in his book of the Jews war, as in his antiquities. But now I return unto the Sadducees. By them all things in a manner were attributed unto freewill: they lived rigorously, using homely and rustical manners; so as they might seem to be the Stoics of the Hebrews: saving that the Stoics yielded almost all things to the providence of God, and to destiny; where as these men were of far contrary opinion. And albeit that the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees disagreed one with another; yet did they agree together, to withstand Christ. So as the Sadducees, because they would jest at the resurrection of the dead, said; Among us there was a woman, whom seven brethren, seeing they departed without children, took to wife, (according to the prescript rule of Moses law, the which is written in the 25th chapter of Deuteronomy:) In the resurrection of the dead, whose wife of the seven brethren shall she be? The scope of this question was, that the resurrection should not be admitted, because absurdities thereof might follow, which would be against the law of God: neither could those things consist without impeachment thereof. Christ answered; Ye are deceived. And yet are we not to believe, that the ignorance, wherewith they were infected, did discharge them of fault: for therefore did they err, because they would not understand nor hear them, which rightly admonished them. And of their error he sheweth two heads, or two fountains; first, because they understood not the scriptures; secondly, for that they had no consideration of the power of God.

There be many ways, wherein men may be deceived about the scriptures; either for lack of knowledge in the tongues; or because that proper speeches are not distinguished from those which be spoken figuratively; or when a

hard place is not expounded by another place that is plainer; or when we do not mark, that sometime those things, which belong unto the things signified, are attributed unto the signs: and contrariwise, the properties of the signs ascribed unto the things signified. And he that would more plentifully know of these things, let him peruse the books of Augustine, which he profitably wrote of Christian doctrine. But about the power of God, there is a double error; the first, when all things are assigned unto him without any manner of exception; the other, when too little is attributed to him. And with this latter kind of error were the Sadducees infected: for when as they heard, that the dead should live again after this world, they considered not, that there may be another life from this, in which we now live, and have need of meat, drink, and procreation of children. Wherefore they, having over-slender an opinion of the power of God, did not think that he is able to translate men, after they be raised up, unto a heavenly life, which should be near unto the state of angels. But how they did err, Christ (as we read in Luke) expounded, saying; The children of this world marry wives, and be married, but at the resurrection of the dead, they neither marry wives, nor yet are given in marriage, but become equal unto angels. And while he maketh mention of angels, he reprehended the Sadducees, which denied that there be angels.

21. But why men shall be such after the resurrection, he showed the cause, saying; For they can die no more. Wherein must be considered, that the procreation of children was appointed for two causes. First, for that men, which were at the first created but two only, might be multiplied. Secondly, that when they should be multiplied to the just number (many dying in the meanwhile) others should be substituted in their place. So that, seeing at the resurrection there shall be a just complete number of persons,

and that death cannot happen therein, procreation would be unnecessary. Neither are the words of the evangelists, or rather of Christ, to be understood; as though he taught, that a corporal substance should be wanting unto them, which shall be raised up. For he said not; They shall be angels: but, They shall be as the angels, and equal unto angels. Neither is that to be marveled at, which is written by Luke, that They shall be the children of the resurrection, and the children of God: for that must not be taken, as if it were denied, that the saints are also the children of God in this life. For otherwise, while they live here, how should they cry; Abba, Father: or pray; Our Father, which art in heaven? But the manner of the holy scriptures is, that sometime they affirm things to be then done, when they are made manifest. And because it is not now evident, that we be the children of God, at the resurrection it shall be manifest: for When Christ shall come, then we also shall appear together with him in glory. Therefore it is written in Luke, that The saints shall then be the children of God. Neither is that to be passed over, that those things, which are there spoken by Christ, pertain only to the resurrection of the just. For the ungodly, when they shall rise again, albeit they shall be immortal, yet shall they not after the manner of angels become glorious and impassible. And these things spake Christ of the ignorance which the Sadducees had, as touching the divine power.

22. And justly also might he say, that they knew not the scriptures. For how could they deny angels to be, seeing it is written in the book of Genesis, that an angel forbad Abraham, that he should not offer his son, as he was minded to do? It is there also written, that there were three received by Abraham in guestwise, whereof two at least were angels. Also it is said, that they were with Lot. And an angel appeared unto Moses in the midst of

a bush, and set himself in the midst between the tents of the Israelites and Egyptians. Again, unto Jacob there were seen tents of angels in Mahanaim, and he wrestled almost a whole night with an angel. Rightly therefore did Christ say, that They knew not the scriptures. And the place he brought out of the second book of Moses, as well because they, besides the law, received no scriptures: indeed they read the prophets, and the psalms, no otherwise than we do the fathers, the books of the *Macchabeis*, and the Wisdom, of Solomon and Sirach: as also for that they alleged Moses against Christ. So as rightly he did reply upon them with Moses.

Neither was it the Lord's mind, when he would answer them, to gather all the testimonies of the Old Testament: for then he might have found oracles enow out of the counsel of the prophets, and out of other scriptures. And albeit these words; I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, are found in many places of the holy scriptures: yet do Mark and Luke expressly refer them to the vision which Moses had at the bush; as we find in the third chapter of Exodus. When Jesus had on this wise confuted the Sadducees, the people were amazed, wondering at the wisdom of Christ. But because the simple people is thought sometime to want judgment, therefore Luke added, that Certain of the Scribes said; Master, thou hast said well. Wherefore the reasoning that Christ made, was allowed, not only by the common sort, but also by them that were learned. And not without cause: for what more fit interpreter of the law of God will we have, than the word, by whom it was given at the beginning?

23. But the foundations of this reason must be searched out more narrowly, that they may the more plainly appear. If so be that the fathers, which be dead, were utterly perished; how should God still be their God? Indeed they are dead, that is to wit, in the judgment of man, and according

to nature; but not before God. For it is written in Luke; All men live unto him. But, The fathers living unto God, may be understood two manner of ways. First, if it be wholly referred to the prescience or predestination of God: for all things that are to come, be present with him; neither can he be disappointed of his purpose. Wherefore they which shall be raised up, though it be a thousand years hence, are said to live. Or else, The fathers live unto him; because they reign with him in celestial glory. The same form of speaking used Paul unto the Romans, writing of Christ; In that he died to sin, he died once; in that he liveth, he liveth unto God, that is, he is with him in glory, and sitteth at his right hand. But thou wilt say; Thus it might be said, that not the saints themselves, but their souls do live with Christ in heaven. Indeed this is true, but by the figure Synecdoche, that which is a part, is attributed to the whole. For we doubt not to say, but that saint Peter, and saint James are in heaven with Christ, when as only their souls are conversant there. Yea moreover, Paul said, that He desired to be loosed hence, and to be with Christ: when he knew that only his soul should be with him, until the latter day of judgment. And in the Evangelical story we read, that Lazarus was carried into the bosom of Abraham; and that the cruel rich man was carried into the torments of hell: whereas only their souls were brought to those places.

24. But against the arguing of our Lord there is a cavil objected; namely, that God called himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, because he was their God in old time while they lived, he helped them, and made a covenant with them. But this is a fond objection: because it is not said, that he was their God; but the word is pronounced in the present tense, *ἐγώ εἰμὶ*, I am their God. In very deed, in the Hebrew, the verb substantive is not put to, but it is absolutely written *Anoki Elobe*. But this maketh no

matter, seeing the holy Ghost expressed by the mouth of the Evangelists, the verb substantive, for they wrote ἐγώ εἰμὶ ὁ θεός. But if the godly, who be departed, have no fruition at all of life, nor are not thereunto to be called again; what commodity are they to wait for of him, or how is he their God? Moreover, a master having certain scholars, he may say, so long as they live; I am their master: but when they be dead, he cannot so say. Even in like manner, as a wife, when her husband is dead, will not say; I am his wife: but, I was his wife. And the father, when his son is dead, will not say, I am: but, I was his father. Even so is it gathered, that life must after some sort be ascribed unto those fathers which be dead, if God shall be truly said to be their God: for there is no benefit bestowed upon them, that be utterly dead.

Nor do I make reckoning of those cavilers, which affirm, that God did good unto the fathers departed, in their posterity. For it must be considered in the holy scriptures, that the proposition is copulative; namely, that God would be God both of the fathers themselves, and also of their issue: and therefore the same must needs be true, as well for the one part as the other. Here, in consisteth the strength of this reason, that we understand, that God doth always benefit, maintain, and defend them, whose God he is. And when there was a covenant made between God and men, God would be worshipped, and had in honor by them: and again, that he would acknowledge them for his people. But who can be a father without children? Who can be a lord without servants? Who can be a king without subjects? Certainly none: and even so God cannot be the God of them which be not. But this connection Christ showed not at the first. But Abacuck, in the first chapter, touched the same, when he saith; Seeing thou art our God from the beginning, we shall not die; that is to wit,

everlastingly. Therefore God suffereth not them, whose God he is, utterly to die. And undoubtedly he is worshipped and honored of them, whose God he is. But the dead do neither praise God, neither yet do they worship or honor him. Wherefore Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, if they have a God, they worship him: if they do this, now are they not dead.

But let us hear Christ himself, how he fortifieth and confirmeth the reason that is brought. When he had said; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: as though some man had answered; What then? He added withal; But God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. But against this saying, that seemeth to be which is written unto the Romans; Christ therefore died, and rose again, that he might have dominion both over the dead, and over the living. Whereof some man would gather, that it is no absurdity for God to be Lord of them which be dead. There be some which answer, that Christ said not, that God is not the Lord of the dead: but; The God of the dead. To say the very truth, this seemeth to me but a slender shift in arguing: for it is manifest and evident enough, that the Lord and God in the scriptures are both counted one. And the word Elohe, which is read in the Hebrew, is very often translated by the name of Lord. Wherefore the doubt must be dissolved another way: as to say with Christ, that God is only the God of the living: but that these must be distinguished into two sorts; because some of them have their body as yet joined to them, and some be loosed from the same, nevertheless, they live all. Notwithstanding we deny not, but that it followeth hereof, that the souls of them that be departed, do live with God. Howbeit, it must be added, that God is not a savior of a part of those which be his, so as he would only have the soul to be saved: and as he is God both of the body and of the soul, so will he save both. Nor shall it be meet for them, which have served God

purely and sincerely, to obtain only a half salvation: they shall in very deed have a full, whole, and perfect salvation.

25. By this manner of arguing of Christ, the Anabaptists are two ways beaten. First, because they think, that the Old Testament serveth nothing at all for us, seeing Christ doth plainly take a testimony from hence to confirm the resurrection of the dead; which also the apostles at diverse times did. Again, whereas they contend with us for the baptism of children; they will have us to bring out of the scriptures, express, plain, and manifest words, whereby is affirmed, that children should be baptized. Neither will they be content with the reasons and conclusions derived from the scriptures, when as Christ nevertheless intending here to prove the resurrection of the dead, brought no express testimony, but such a testimony, as from thence the resurrection might be inferred. And he himself having brought in a testimony, added the Minor or less proposition; saying, that He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. But there be others also, even of our time, which think, that the testimony alleged by Christ, was not known to the elder fathers; in such sort as they knew it surly to belong to the resurrection of the dead. For they persuade themselves, that the old people had indeed salvation by Christ, in receiving through him the forgiveness of sins, and perpetual felicity, when as yet they understood not these things. Even in like manner as the children of Christians are saved, when as they nevertheless as yet understand not the heavenly and Christian mysteries.

They say that God, through temporal and worldly promises (namely of the land of Canaan and of innumerable issue) through victories, and riches, fed them, and kept them in his service: but that they acknowledged not Christ as the savior from sin, and from everlasting death, as the author of life, and prince of the resurrection, and of all good gifts. And they will have it, that

Christ first of all other, revealed the secret mystery of the resurrection, and derived his argument from the place which we have now in hand; whereas they of the old time never understood of the same before. Such at this day are the Servetians, who greatly deceive and be deceived. How dare they say this, if they embrace the New Testament? Doubtless Paul affirmeth unto the Galatians, that The same seed promised unto Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed, was Christ. And seeing he believed, and was justified; certainly he had not that by the faith which was of temporal things, or of the multitude of posterity; but of Christ the son of God. For as it is written unto the Romans; We are justified even after the same sort that Abraham was; namely by faith in Christ: who also saith of him; He saw my day, and rejoiced.

Besides this, the prophets did so manifestly foreshow the mysteries of Christ, as they may seem to be no prophets, but evangelists. But did they speak and write those things which they understood not? Surely, that had not been the part of prophets, but of mad men. Neither is it likely, that this meaning of Christ was unknown; otherwise the Sadducees would easily have answered, that that place was not so understood by the forefathers, neither that it was so interpreted of the life of the fathers. But the matter was so evident, that some of the Scribes said openly; Master, thou hast said well. And as the evangelists teach; The Pharisees perceived, that Christ had put the Sadducees to silence: which declareth the matter to be so manifest, as there should be no place left to cavillation. Further, the Pharisees affirmed the resurrection of the dead: and seeing they were interpreters of the scriptures, there can be no doubt, but they proved the same by the scriptures. And that they were before the coming of Christ, it is sufficiently declared out of the history of Josephus, who affirmeth, that they were in the

time of the Assamonaean. Wherefore, Christ was not the first that avouched this opinion; neither did he so pervert the way of teaching, as he proved his own sayings by obscure and uncertain things. Whensoever he handled anything out of the scriptures, he always brought forth those things which were plain and manifest.

When he demanded of the Jews what they believed concerning Messias; and they had answered, that he should be the son of David: he answered; And how cometh it to pass, that David in spirit calleth him Lord, citing the psalm; The Lord said unto my Lord? And if it had not appeared unto all men, that the same psalm was written of Messias, he should have prevailed nothing. In like manner, when he spake of divorce, he cited a place out of the book of Genesis; Male and female created he them. And that saying also, which Adam spake; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; and they shall be two in one flesh. Here also he compiled not his reason of obscure, but of manifest things. In like manner, when he treated of the order and dignity of the commandments, he declared this to be the first and greatest commandment; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: and the other is like unto this; Love thy neighbor as thyself. Wherefore, seeing he always grounded upon manifest and certain things; why then will we only in this place have his reason to be uncertain and obscure, and never known before? But I will pass over these things, and will observe this, that these two vices; namely, ignorance of the scriptures, and of the power of God, may also at this day be objected to all them which be maintainers of wicked opinions: for they are infected with the ignorance either of both, or at the least wise of the one or of the other. So as when we have access to the reading of the scriptures, we must endeavor to be delivered from both those vices, whereby we may

well understand the scriptures, and judge rightly of the power of God. Thus much shall suffice concerning the testimony brought by Christ,

26. Now having respect to the course of times, I will handle the text of Job, which is in the 19th chapter of his book: but before I set forth the words themselves, it seemeth good to touch that, which he treated of before. To the intent that those things, which were to be spoken, should the more diligently be considered, he did move men after this sort to give ear to him; I would to God my words were written, not in papers, but in a book, yea, and graven with an iron pen in lead or in stone, for an everlasting continuance! So the laws in old time were graven in tables of brass, least the writing should wear out. And in Jeremiah we read, that the sin of Judah was written with a pen of adamant, so as it could not be wiped out. The words therefore be worthy of memory, which Job desired to print after this manner. The words are these; And I know (certainly, not by natural knowledge, but by faith) that my redeemer liveth. He beginneth the saying with the letter Vau, which coupleth together: as if he should say; Seeing other faithful men believe this, I also know and confess this with them, that my redeemer liveth.

He calleth him A redeemer; to wit, from death, from sins, and from all evils. He saith moreover, that He liveth; because he is the fountain of life, and quickeneth all things that have life. This undoubtedly is Christ the son of God: for there is no other redeemer given unto men besides him. And therefore a little after he calleth him The last; because there were many partly and imperfect redeemers. But Christ is the last and perfect, beside whom no other ought to be looked for. Albeit, the Hebrew word Acharon may be referred to the time, as to say; That redeemer of mine liveth, and at the last time he shall rise out of dust. This do some attribute to the

resurrection of Christ: for he was raised up with his body, which after the manner of the scripture is called dust. And undoubtedly, Christ in rising again was the first fruits of them which sleep. And he is said to have risen in the last time, because his resurrection happened in the beginning of the last age: for there is no other age to be looked for, than that which we now live in; so that of John it is called the last hour. We may very conveniently also refer that saying to the resurrection of the dead, so as of that living redeemer it may be said; At the last time: that is, At the end of the world; He shall rise, to wit, He shall exercise his power upon dust; that is, upon dead bodies already become dust, in raising them up again.

Over this, Job making the matter more plain, addeth; Afterward, that is to say, At that time; this my hide, or skin, or flesh; which they have gnawn, pierced and hacked (for these things doth the word *Nacaph* signify; that is to wit, sorrows, diseases, and worms) shall not be despised of my redeemer, but in my flesh (that is, being in flesh) I shall see God. The Latin translation hath, *Rursus circundabor pelle mea*; I shall be again compassed about with my skin. They who so translated the same, it should seem they had a respect unto the verb *Jacaph*, which signifieth, To compass about: and in the conjugation *Niphal* it is said *Nikkephu*, that is, They shall be compassed about; namely, my joints, sinews, and members in this skin, and in this hide, and with my flesh I shall see God. Both the one sense and the other do affirm resurrection. With mine eyes I shall see him; I myself, and not a stranger or other for me. He affirmeth that he shall rise in his own proper body, and not in another: for even as Christ took again his own body unto him, even so likewise shall be given unto us our own bodies, and no other.

Whereupon Tertullian *De resurrection carnis* said; I shall not be another man, but another thing: affirming, that there shall be no diversity of

substance, but of conditions, qualities, and properties. Howbeit, they speak contrariwise at this day in the schools; to wit, that every man shall be another person, but not another thing. Nevertheless, the diverse forms of speaking do not alter the matter. I shall see (saith Job) *Li*, which signifieth, For myself, for mine own profit: for albeit he deal severely with me now, and seemeth to be mine enemy, he will then show himself to be merciful and gracious unto me. This is the consolation of the godly, while they abide affliction in this world; even to have an eye unto the resurrection, and therein to quiet themselves. And while he saith; I shall see him with mine eyes, he hath made manifest the two natures of Christ; namely, the divine and the human: for God is not seen with bodily eyes. These things be so manifest, as they have no need of greater light. Whereby it appeareth, that the fathers in old time were not ignorant of Christ the redeemer, nor yet of the resurrection from the dead.

27. Some say, that Job spake these things touching the recovery both of his health, and also of his goods in this life: and they are not of that mind, that he spake anything of the world to come. But that interpretation is strange and vain, the which is two ways to be confuted by argument. First, of the recovery of health as concerning this life, he despaired; and with the hope of resurrection he comforted himself, as it hath been said: which is evident in the same 19th chapter, where he saith, that God dejected all his hope, so as he compareth himself with a plant that is cut off, and springeth not again: and the very same appeareth in many chapters of his book. Further, if he had spoken of this temporal restitution; what needed he to have used such magnifical speech, before he began the matter, wishing that his words were written in a book, and graven in flint, or in lead, for a perpetual remembrance thereof? It is a common matter, that calamities be

removed from them that repent, and to have their old state, and many times a better restored by God: yea his friends promised, that this should happen unto him, if he returned into the way from whence they thought he was departed.

Wherefore Job spake these things, that they might all understand, that even in the midst of death, he godlily comforted himself with the hope of resurrection: which he would teach his friends and others to do by his example. The interpretation that is brought, is so clear, as it may seem to be written, not with ink, but with the beams of the sun. So as they are fond without all measure, which seek a doubt in this plain matter. The Hebrew interpreters upon this place be so obscure, as in reading of them thou mightest seem to grope in the dark: certainly they have even of set purpose followed obscurity. It seemeth they would have said, that Job knew, that God (whom he calleth his redeemer) liveth, through the effect of punishments and miseries, which he perceived to be grievously inflicted. And to this purpose they force that which he saith, as touching his flesh he seeth God: that is to wit, that he feeleth him, and acknowledgeth him by the griefs which he endured, and which he himself, and no other, could have considered. These be trifles impertinent and clean besides the purpose: neither can they be applied unto all the words of this text. Hereunto thou mayest add, that in a manner all the fathers, although they were most ancient, understood this place of the resurrection.

28. But passing over Job, I will bring another testimony out of David. He in the 16th Psalm pronounceth; I have set God in my sight; namely, in perpetual recording of thy law, least I should commit anything against the fame: or else in considering him to be always present in all my thoughts, sayings, and doings, that I should do nothing unworthy of his presence: or

else, in calling always upon him in adversities, least I should put my hope in any other but in him. He hath not failed me, but standeth at my right hand, to maintain, support, and defend me. Therefore was my heart glad; namely, with a sound and perfect gladness, not with a vain, unconstant, and worldly joy. And my glory rejoiced. Under the name of glory, many of the Hebrews understand the soul; because that is the principal part and glory of man. But others expound it to be the tongue, because the worthiness and excellency of man was sometime thought to come by speech. The Hebrew word is *Cavod*, which the Septuaginta in their translation called *Tongue*: which also the apostles observed in the Acts, when they handled this place. Neither doth there want examples, in the which *Cavod* signifieth A tongue. In the 30th Psalm; He shall sing unto thee, *Cavod*, with his tongue, and shall not hold his peace. Also in the 108th Psalm; I will sing and give praise unto thee, *Cavod*, with my tongue. And in the book of Genesis, the 49th chapter, Simeon and Levi are warily instruments of iniquity, my soul cometh not into their secrets, nor my Tongue is not united with their congregations: that is to say, I have allowed nothing of their wicked counsel; neither have I with my Tongue that is, by my commandment, driven them unto so grievous wickedness.

And very well doubtless, among the Hebrews is both glory and tongue signified by the word *Cavod*: for albeit that man's dignity dependeth of a reasonable soul, yet the same being invisible is not known by any other thing more than by speech. Whereupon some have taught, that the special distinction of mankind is, that he is endued with the gift of speaking. And Aristotle said, that Words are tokens of those passions or affections, which be in the mind. Also Democritus taught, that Speech is ῥεῦμα τοῦ λόγου that is, A certain flowing of reason: for the thoughts of our reason, which be

hidden, flow and break forth by words. So as the meaning of David is; I have conceived so much joy in my mind, as my tongue exceedingly rejoiceth in giving of thanks, and setting forth of his benefits. Neither doth my gladness there cease, but it also replenisheth the body: For my flesh shall rest in hope. The verb *Jaschab*, betokeneth not only To lie or rest; but also, To dwell: whereupon some have interpreted; It shall boldly dwell. And from whence this confidence ariseth, he straightway addeth; Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption. My flesh doth rest in hope, or boldly dwelleth; because I hope that I shall be raised from death unto life: and that life not to be common, but a true, happy, and everlasting life. Therefore he addeth; Thou shalt show me the path of life; the fullness of joys is in thy countenance; at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.

29. These verses of David were alleged in the Acts, both by Peter and Paul, before the people of Israel, as being things which pertained to the resurrection of Christ. But in the examination of them, three things seem to be alleged; first, that the sense of the words be understood; secondly, to know whether they do belong unto Christ, or unto David; last of all, how they may be aptly applied to our resurrection. First and foremost we must call to mind, that the judgment was pronounced by God, against Adam and his posterity, that by death they should return into the earth from whence they were taken: and in the earth they should perpetually have remained, unless Christ (by his death and resurrection) had cut off and abrogated that curse. He verily died and was buried, but he lived not so long in the sepulcher, that his dead body did putrefy. He died and was buried, as other men be; but saw not corruption in like manner as they did. Other men also shall not be left in the graves, seeing that in the end of the world they shall

rise again: yet shall they not escape corruption, although that their bodies, by the travel of physicians be preserved either with myrrh, or aloes, or balm, or with other spices. For the flesh is consumed, and being wholly dried up, it cleaveth to the bones, being so corrupted and changed, as it may rather seem to be skin than flesh.

The elect, while they live here, are not delivered from troubles, vexations, calamities, and diseases: yea in comparison of others, they suffer grievous things, and yet they are said to be at rest; verily not in act, but in the hope of resurrection. Thereby are they comforted in the midst of death: by it the martyrs did constantly suffer, and were liberal of their life and blood for the name of Christ. And that this hope is to be understood of the resurrection, the words which follow, do sufficiently declare; Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption. This hope nevertheless, albeit it do cheer us up very much, and doth exceedingly strengthen us; yet hath it sighs and sobs joined therewith. For Paul in the 8th chapter to the Romans, writeth; We having the first fruits of the spirit, do sigh in ourselves, expecting the adoption and redemption of our body: for through hope we are saved.

30. Moreover, that saying hath a great emphasis, wherein it is written; Thou shalt not leave me in the grave: for thereby David prophesieth, that Christ should be buried. For we leave not anything in a place, unless it were first put there. Wherefore he dealeth not in this place touching any protection, safe custody, and defense of the flesh in this world; but of the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life. Even cattle and brute beasts, when they die, be at rest, as well from diseases, as from labors: but they rest not in hope; because they hope not for the blessed and happy resurrection. The Hebrew word *Chasid*, is translated by the Septuaginta ὅσιον, that is, Holy.

So was Christ peculiarly called; The holy one of God: and so did the devils call him, as we read in Mark and in Luke. Scheol, among the Hebrews, expresseth both a grave, and also hell; of the verb Schaal, which is, To crave; because these things seem evermore to demand and crave, neither are they at any time satisfied. The 70 interpreters, and the apostles in the Acts said, εἰς ᾠδίκην, into hell. But *Schacath* is derived of the verb *Schacath*, which signifieth, To destroy and corrupt: whereupon, as well a hole as a grave, is called *Schacath*; because dead carcasses do there putrefy and corrupt. Thus much of the names.

So as the confession of our faith hath, that Christ was dead and buried: but yet so, as neither his soul was long detained in hell, nor yet his body so long tarried in the grave, that it had trial of corruption. These words contain singular and excellent comfort, as touching the flesh; seeing we believe that the same shall be raised up from death. Which doubtless would be no comfort at all, if so be that our body and flesh should be subjected unto perpetual death. The elect do advance their joy and hope; because they be not afraid of death. They know, that in these words, there is no speaking of a certain short deliverance, to be given unto them for a time. Certainly David was many times delivered from sundry dangers, and from most sharp and deadly sicknesses: and for those benefits, he in his psalms gave God sundry thanks; for he acknowledged, that those things were laid upon him for his benefit. But in this place he speaketh of eternal life, and of the chief felicity, which the words that follow do declare, when it is said; Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fullness of joys; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore. But it is a cold comfort that ariseth thorough hope of deliverance, from one danger or another, and from one

disease or another; when others be at hand, and that finally we must die: for that indeed is nothing else, but even to take breath for a time.

Further, I pass it over, that such benefit is common to us with the wicked; because both their death is oftentimes deferred, and they escape from sundry sicknesses. But this is the great happiness of the godly, that unto them death is turned into rest; and the grave is not properly corruption unto them: in the which they sweetly lie, being now delivered from the troubles and labors of this life. And when it is said, that the flesh doth rest in hope: it must not so be understood, as though the carcass or dead flesh doth hope. For if we consider of it, as it is separated from the soul, it is a brute and rude thing, neither doth it hope nor despair: but the meaning is, that the godly, while they live here, do so comfort themselves, as they hope that their flesh shall both rest, and be restored unto a most happy life. If David, which lived under the law, and in the Old Testament thus prophesies concerning the resurrection of the dead, and of Christ; how dare foolish men say, that the fathers in the Old Testament were ignorant of these things? Peter advised the Israelites, that they should give credit unto David; because he could rightly pronounce of these things, in that he was a prophet; whose function is to foreshow of things to come. Further, that Christ was promised unto him by an oath; and that not only he should come forth of his stock, but that he should sit upon his seat, that he might faithfully govern and rule the Israelites.

31. Nor must it be forgotten, that David did not write; I did rest in hope: but he attributed the same to his flesh, least he should give cause of suspicion, that death did also pertain unto the soul: for there be such as think, that the soul doth perish together with the body. Further, that at the resurrection of the dead, both parts shall be restored: the which opinion we

have before confuted, by most evident testimonies of the scriptures. And that the thing may yet more manifestly appear, it is to be understood, that Soul in this place is not taken by all men after one manner: for some do consider of the same properly, as it is distinguished from the body, and then they take the word Scheol, not for a grave, but for hell: to have the sense to be, that Christ was not to be forsaken in hell, but should quickly be restored to his body. And undoubtedly the greatest part of the fathers, when they would confirm the going down of Christ into hell, do use this interpretation: from which also the apostles do not fly, who said with the seventy interpreters; Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell; and turned not the word Scheol, sepulcher. But others do understand Soul, as though it should signify a dead man, that is, the dead carcass itself: and they think it to be said; Thou shalt not leave me being dead, that is, my dead carcass in the grave: so as if the same thing were repeated in the second clause, which was spoken in the first; namely, that it is all one [to say] that the holy one shall not see the grave; and [to say] my soul shall not be left in the grave. This interpretation David Kimhi followeth.

Now, that the soul doth sometimes signify a dead man, or a dead carcass, it is read in the 21st of Leviticus, where God commandeth the Israelites, that they should not contaminate or pollute themselves over a soul, that is, over a dead man, or over a dead carcass. But for this matter I mean not now to contend. But yet as touching that which belongeth unto the descending of Christ into hell, which is gathered of the former exposition; I think it not amiss to have noted, that they fly from the true mark, which think, that the soul of Christ did so descend into hell, where the damned souls are punished for their deserts, as that he suffered there also the punishments and torments of the ungodly, to the intent that we should be delivered from

those evils. These be devises of men, neither are they grounded upon any of the holy scriptures: nay rather, when Christ was at the point of death upon the cross, he said; It is finished: because in dying he had finished his vocation, so far forth as he was sent for the redeeming of mankind, and by that one only oblation or sacrifice (as it is written to the Hebrews) he obtained salvation for us. And we read everywhere in the holy scriptures, that we by the death, cross, and blood of Christ are redeemed: but we read nowhere [that we are redeemed] by the torments and punishments in hell, which happened after his death. Further, when he was even now dying, he said unto the father; Into thy hands I commend my spirit: and they which be in the hands of God, undoubtedly are not tormented with the pains of hell. But of this matter we have sufficiently spoken at this time: for I think, that hereby it is plainly showed, what sense is to be gathered out of the words of David. Now resteth to be considered, whether this oracle were uttered concerning David himself, or touching Christ.

32. The Hebrews, and chiefly among them D. Kimhi thinketh, that the prophet spake these things of himself; namely, that he believed he should in that sort be protected and delivered by God, as he should neither be left in his sepulcher, nor see the grave. Howbeit, Peter excepted him and such other, as we read in the second chapter of the Acts, saying unto the Israelites; For I may boldly speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and that his sepulcher remaineth with us unto this day. By which words he showeth, that his dead body was not only left in the sepulcher, but that it there became rotten, and that therefore that prophesy could not be applied unto him; but was fulfilled in Christ. But the Hebrews laugh us to scorn, and say; Without all doubt your Christ died, and was buried, as ye yourselves confess; how cometh it then to pass, that he saw

not the grave? We answer, that we in very deed confess, that Christ died; but yet not so, that he was detained either by death or by hell. Wherefore his dead body was not left in the sepulcher, neither did he see corruption, if we understand *Schacath*, to signify Putrefaction, which by the apostolical doctrine is the lawful interpretation thereof.

But if we yield unto these men; to wit, that by that word is signified either a grave, or a sepulcher, we will say, that it was pronounced of Christ, that he should not see the grave; either by the figure Hyperbole, or else by Catachresis. By which figures we say, that this thing was not extant, or was not done; because it was extant and enduring but for a short time, or for a moment. If this be spoken as touching them, which believe (as we read in John;) They which have believed in the son of God, shall not see death, whereas they shall be in death, till the end of the world: how much rather and more truly is it pronounced of Christ, which was there but three days, and those not fully complete? And certainly, according to these tropes or figures, his dying was no dying, and his burying no burying. Indeed he died truly, but he tarried not in death; he was truly buried, but he tarried not in the sepulcher: but as touching corruption or putrefaction, he had no manner of trial thereof. Wherefore unto the question proposed, I answer, that David, when he hoped well of his own resurrection to come, spake these things: but yet so spake them, as he altogether bent his mind upon Christ, knowing that he himself was appointed unto the church, to be the shadow or figure of him. Chiefly therefore he referred the resurrection, which he spake of unto him, by whom it is derived unto other men: so as he is justly and deservedly called by Paul; The first fruits of them that sleep. For this cause he spake those things, which might wholly surmount and excel the degree and condition of his own reviving: for he would carry up men to Christ himself.

Neither had these words been truly nor profitably spoken by him, unless he had referred them to Christ, the author of the most happy resurrection.

Wherefore we must understand, that it is a certain and firm rule, that the dignities and prerogatives, which we read in the holy scriptures to be attributed unto the saints; all those are chiefly, and that excellently well to be referred unto Christ. So then David spake not alonely of Christ, but also of himself; but yet so far forth, as he was in Christ, and was included among others of his members. Thou wilt perhaps say, that the apostles seem to deny this, which affirm it to be fulfilled only in the Lord. I answer: they denied not, that the dead body of David was left in the sepulcher; for they affirmed the same to be left there, even unto those times. Nor deny they, that he saw the grave, seeing he was therein even until that day. But again, they denied not, but that he should from thence be taken at the time appointed, and that he should at the last be raised from corruption. Wherefore these things agree to David, so far forth as the grave and corruption shall not be perpetual unto him. Hereby likewise it appeareth, what answer we are to shape unto the third question; namely, that these things belong also unto us, so far forth as we with David be the members of Christ. For as Christ by dying overcame death, not only for himself, but also for us; so by rising again, he liveth both unto himself, and unto us. Wherefore perfect life, perpetual and eternal felicity, as concerning both the soul and the body, do rest in Christ the head; and by little and little distill and flow into the members, according to the analogy or proportion of them.

Some demand why God suffereth the dead bodies of holy men to lie so long in the grave, and to be corrupted and putrefied; seeing both they be holy, and (as Paul saith) the temples of the holy Ghost? Hereunto is answered, that our flesh indeed is of one kind and nature with the flesh of

our Lord; but that in the meantime there be many differences put between them. For the flesh of Christ was pure, neither was it in any respect subject unto sin: but on the contrary part, we are compassed on all sides with sins; only we are not altogether oppressed. Moreover, as David saith; We are conceived in iniquity, but Christ by the holy Ghost. Beside this, it is very meet, that the head should go before the rest of the members; and it is requisite, that the members should be all made perfect together in one. So then, the dead bodies of the elect do wait, until the full number of the brethren be complete.

33. But seeing in the places now alleged, there is only mention made of the resurrection of the blessed; some man perhaps will doubt, whether the wicked shall be also raised from the dead. We answer, that the resurrection doth also belong unto them: because even as in Adam all do perish, and are wrapped in the sentence of death; so shall all be quickened in Christ. But this difference there is, that the godly shall be raised up to glory, but the ungodly to destruction. Wherefore we read in John, that They which be in the graves shall hear the voice of the son of God: and they which have done well, shall go forth into the resurrection of life; and they which have done ill, into the resurrection of judgment: that is, of condemnation. Therefore the holy scriptures have the oftener made mention of the resurrection of the faithful; because that is the resurrection of life. The other, which is of the reprobate, may rather be called an everlasting fall and destruction, than life and resurrection. For which cause the prophet Isaiah, in the 26th chapter said; Thy slain men shall rise again: but speaking before of the wicked; The dead men (saith he) shall not rise again. So then we must assure ourselves, that by the benefit of Christ, life shall be restored as well unto the good, as unto the bad. But the godly shall be honored with great glory, whereas the

wicked shall receive perpetual shame. This in very deed is the cause why the divine scriptures make oftener mention of the resurrection of the godly, than of the wicked. And that in this place only the resurrection of the just is treated of, those words, which David added, do hear witness, saying; Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fullness of joys, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore. By which words are showed, that this happy resurrection pertaineth only unto them, which have set God always before their eyes.

34. But there do not want at this day also, which say, that David indeed fore-told of these things; yet not so expressly and manifestly as they might be understood by others: but that only by the apostles, after the coming of Christ, those things were expounded and made plain. For they affirm further, that in the Old Testament, the resurrection was altogether unknown. But we say, that the prophesy was evident, and that there was no obscurity therein, but by the fault of teachers, who laying aside the scriptures of God, began to follow the opinions of the Greeks; rather bringing in the decrees of philosophers, than the sentences of the holy scriptures. This also might happen by default of the readers, who did not attentively, but negligently peruse the sayings of the prophets. Otherwise the propheties would be plain enough, or at the least wise not so dark and obscure, as they may by no means be understood. For they be given to edify withal, therefore they might not instruct men, unless they should be understood: and they would bring no more benefit to the church, than doth a strange tongue, whose use in the church is forbidden by the holy Ghost, because it tended not unto edifying. But against us is objected a place unto the Ephesians, where the apostle Paul testifieth, that The secret or mystery of Christ was hidden many ages from the children of men, that the Gentiles should be inheritors

also, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel. But that the meaning of the apostle's words may appear, we must make certain distinctions.

35. The first is, to make a difference between the Jews and the Gentiles: for unto the Gentiles we will easily grant, that the mysteries of Christ and spiritual lessons for the most part were unknown. For it was no open profession of them; albeit that there were some among the Ethnics that knew those things. But the Hebrews, which received the law from God, and had given unto them most excellent prophets, were not ignorant of the mysteries of Christ; unless it were in respect that they of set purpose contemned the word of God, or else that they being hindered through affections, and blinded through hatred, would not hear them which taught well. An example may be the wicked Jews, that when as Christ had said; Abraham saw my day, and rejoiced, they were so thoroughly vexed, as they would have stoned him: when nevertheless among the Hebrews, nothing was better known, than that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other the patriarchs, both knew Messias, and also prophesied of him. Howbeit, they were so blinded with wrath, as they inverted the Lord's words, saying; Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Whereas Christ did not say, that he saw Abraham, in respect of his manhood, or else was with him: but that Abraham himself, in spirit and in faith, saw his day. But we must also make a difference between the Jews themselves: for the secrets or mysteries were not known unto them all. For among them, some were Epicures, and altogether Atheists, which contemned divine things: those understood little or nothing of Christ, and of his mysteries. Others were godly, but yet rude and unskillful; who yet were not ignorant of the principal points of religion, and of those things which should be believed of

Messias. But others were learned, and well acquainted with the holy scriptures, which understood in a manner all things touching Messias and the mysteries of him.

36. Furthermore, we grant that the Hebrews, according to their time, did much more obscurely see the mysteries of our salvation, than we do. For propheties are much more plainly perceived, when they are come to pass, than when they are not yet fulfilled. That the fathers in old time knew those things, which belong unto Messias, hereby we may easily perceive, in that they all declared him to be the son of David. For the common people, the children, and blind men called him The son of David. And the Scribes and Pharisees being demanded by Herod, Where Christ should be born, named expressly, In the city of Bethlehem. And Isaiah in the 53rd chapter, so notably, so plainly, and so manifestly foreshowed the acts and mysteries of Christ, as he seemeth not to play the part of a prophet, but rather of an evangelist. In like manner, the death of the Lord, together with his triumph and victory, came so readily to hand in each place of the scriptures, as the Hebrews appointed two Messias's, one of the tribe of Ephraim, which should die for the salvation of their nation; and another they made of the tribe of Judah, and him to be the son of David, which should obtain the victory, and bear rule over all nations. And by this means the things which belonged unto one Christ, concerning his two comings, they divided into two. And the calling of the Gentiles, (whereof in the place before alleged to the Ephesians, the apostle specially discoursed) is showed in the holy scriptures. For there we read, that All nations shall come to mount Zion, to worship Jehovah: and that Altars shall be built unto him, even in Egypt; and that All people shall speak in the language of Canaan: also that From the

east unto the west his name shall be extolled, by offering unto him acceptable and sweet sacrifices.

37. Certainly, these things were very well known unto the Hebrews: yet nevertheless, they were called hidden things, as touching execution and experience. For they believed, that they should come to pass afterward: but the means, the time, the way, and the manner how, all men did not plainly perceive. Herein are we happier than they: for both we understand these things, and we are not ignorant, both when and how they were ordered. Yea and the apostles themselves, whom Christ had commanded to preach the Gospel unto all creatures, kept themselves long time among the Hebrews neither went they unto the Gentiles, because as yet they knew not the time, the means, and the manner how they should preach to the nations. They waited for some certain sign to be given them, which at the last they obtained by the conversion of Cornelius the centurion. Yea moreover, the angels themselves (as the Apostle testifieth in the epistle to the Ephesians) do understand sundry and manifold things of the church, as touching the sundry and manifold wisdom of God. Indeed I willingly confess, that there be certain things in the holy scriptures, which be somewhat hard, being not yet perfectly understood; but those (I say) neither are, nor in old time were of necessity unto salvation. And thus I think, that the godly Jews, in the old time, held in effect the principal points of religion; and believed those things which did suffice unto piety, and that the propheties of Christ were well known unto the godly. And that if there were any, which knew them not, we must think that the same happened through their own fault. For Isaiah, in the 29th chapter, when he had reproved the people of Israel, said; that They were come to that pass, that all the visions of the prophets, were unto them like a book sealed up, which they might not read, if it were

showed unto them. And he straightway added the cause, saying; Because this people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

38. Wherefore, the fault must not be laid unto the scriptures, but rather unto the sloth and negligence of Men, who love darkness rather than light: otherwise, The holy scripture is plain and giveth understanding even to the simple. So as they be very ill advised, which under the pretense of difficulty and obscureness lay aside the reading of the scriptures. And some such ye may find, which say, they know not the secret mysteries of the father, the son, and the holy Ghost: and that they know not whether they be one God, and whether one God be these three; namely, the father, the son, and the holy Ghost. And in the mean time they neglect the diligent reading of the scriptures: and sometime they so deceive themselves, as they suffer to be obtruded unto them, to be worshipped and honored for God, him whom they think to be a creature. In those mysteries they fain themselves dull of understanding, when as otherwise they be sharp enough of wit, and diligent to defend their own inventions. And whereas they challenge unto themselves the knowledge of the scriptures, and boast that they have the key of them; neither do they enter in themselves, nor yet suffer others to enter.

But I return unto David Kimhi, who albeit (as I have showed) that he did interpret the place of the psalm to belong to David, who trusting in the goodness of God, hoped to receive help in all dangers, and that he understood not these things to be spoken of the happy resurrection, (so as except he had affirmed the same in another place, I would soon have judged him to be a Sadducee:) yet did he not overpass a certain sentence of the elders, in Midrasch, which is written after this manner; *Achare melammed melmalto bhi vet bolaa*; that is, He teacheth, that after death the worm and

moth shall not bear rule over him. But wherefore in this place they have so greatly shunned the light, I see no other cause, but the hatred which they bear against Christians: which was greater than that, wherewith the people of Rome hated Vatinius. For seeing it is not unknown unto them, that the apostles; namely, Peter and Paul had used this testimony of David, for confirming of the resurrection of Christ, therefore devised they so many sundry and intricate expositions, because they should not consent unto the apostles of Christ. Last of all, it is to be noted, that the prophet was taught by inspiration from God, not by the power of nature; that resurrection should come: when he saith unto God himself; Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither suffer thy holy one to see corruption. And much more in those things that follow; Thou shalt show me the path of life, &c.

39. The prophesy of David being plainly expounded, it seemeth good to bring forth another testimony, which we read in the 26th chapter of Isaiah. There the prophet, at such time as the Israelites were grievously afflicted and oppressed with extreme calamities, would have them comforted, by testifying unto them what help should be expected from God: the help I mean of eternal life, through the resurrection that should come. Wherefore he turning his speech towards God, saith; Thy slain men shall live: calling martyrs, or those, whose whole life was a martyrdom, The slain men of God; because they set forth the glory of God, through their good works: and whom the same Paul calleth; The dead in Christ. And he addeth; Together with my dead body: coupling and associating himself to those elect of God, that shall be raised up. Certainly, the piece of sentence added, doth not a little serve for vehement affirmation. For he showeth, that he speaketh or entreateth not of things unknown, or such as pertained not unto him; but of those things, which he verily perceived, and after a sort had already tasted.

Which we in like manner should imitate; namely, to apply unto our own selves those things, which are promised by God unto the saints. Undoubtedly, The slain of God shall live in that resurrection, which is now begun, when God relieveth his elect in afflictions: but shall be thoroughly and perfectly fulfilled at the last day, in the blessed resurrection. Whereupon, in the Acts of the apostles, the third chapter, that day is called; The time of restitution of all things. And we must not forget, that the Hebrew word *Nibblathi*, may by another manner of Hebrew pricks be read in the plural number *Nibblothai*: so as it may signify; My dead bodies shall rise: as though God should answer unto the prophet (which said; Thy slain men shall arise) and say affirmatively; Yea verily, my dead bodies shall arise. Furthermore, it must be diligently considered, that the cause of the resurrection is expressed; for therefore the slain men shall arise, because they be of God: but God is not God of the dead, but of the living; as Christ himself testifieth.

40. Besides this, it is said; Awake ye, or Be ye raised up. Because the death of the godly is counted like a sleep, as we oftentimes read in the scriptures. And he addeth; Rejoice ye: because seeing there is speaking of the resurrection of the godly, that day must of necessity be most comfortable unto them. And he calleth them; The inhabitants of the dust: partly, because it happeneth to them to be disquieted, and torn in pieces, while they be in this life; and partly, because after death they be resolved into ashes. Afterward he, turning himself to God, saith; Thy dew is even as the dew of herbs. For even as they, being dried up in the winter, either else, through heat of the sun, do again flourish and wax green, by receiving the dew of heaven: so the dead, by virtue of thy goodness and power, shall return unto life. Herein consisteth the elegancy of this similitude; that even

as these things flourish, and are green without man's labor; even so shall the dead rise again by the power of God, without the force of nature. God hath painted out in externe things, the form and image of the expected resurrection; while as those things do spring, bud forth, flourish, and fructify, which before were withered. Which similitude also Paul to the Corinthians toucheth.

It followeth in the prophet; The earth shall thrust forth her dead, and shall discover her blood; but thou my people enter thou into thy chambers: namely, while the blessed resurrection is attended for. Thou mayest patiently abide the cross, while thou seest so great a good laid up for thee: For the passions of this life, if we compare them to the glory to come, which shall be revealed unto us, are not to be esteemed. Tertullian, in his book *De resurrection carnis*: That which the Hebrews call *Chadarim*, and the Latins turn *Cubicula*, he calleth Larders or Safes; which he saith are for this cause used in the house, that meat may be laid up in them, to be delivered out again unto the use of man. Even so (saith he) dead bodies are put into the graves, to the intent that they should be brought forth from thence again. But to return unto the lodgings, or chambers, and closets, in the which God commandeth that the faithful should bestow themselves in the meantime; namely, before the blessed life. And if it be demanded, what the godly shall there do, while they be afflicted? I answer, that they be therein, to the intent they may weep, complain themselves, sigh, call earnestly for help, and as it were to set forth in the bosom of the father, their griefs, and whatsoever doth disquiet them. For it is not the part of godly men to bewail their griefs in the streets, in taverns, or in barber's shops, or openly to exclaim of their oppressions: for they must commit their cause to the just judge. Even in like manner as it is said by Peter, in his first epistle,

the second chapter, that Christ himself did shut the door unto thee for a little space.

The argument of this consolation is derived from the shortness of time, even as Paul wrote in the second epistle to the Corinthians; that The momentary lightness of the afflictions of this life, doth breed unto us a great weight of glory. And it is called a short time, which is appointed in the meantime, till the resurrection: and that not amiss, although it should be a long time; because this must be understood by comparison. For if a very long time be compared with eternity, it is a very short time. After the same manner, the souls of them that be slain for the name of Christ (which prayed God, that their blood might be revenged) are willed to be at rest, and to attend a certain time. The testimony brought out of the prophet Isaiah, even Ibn-Ezra, a famous interpreter among the Hebrews, referred unto the resurrection of the dead. And the Chaldean paraphrast saith, that Thy God shall throw the dead into hell: which saying belongeth to the time of the resurrection. I might also have brought those things, which be written by the same prophet, in the thirty chapter, and in the last chapter, concerning hell-fire, Topheth, fire unquenchable, the worms that shall never die, sulphur, the bellows, and such like: but the time will not suffer, and I come to Ezekiel.

41. This prophet writeth, that he was led by the spirit into a field filled with bones. This happened two ways; first, because he saw those things by the inspiration of God, and not by human sense or imagination; secondly, because those things were not showed him in the body, but in the spirit, and vision of the mind. And it is to be understood, that the resurrection of the dead was openly at that day believed; and that therefore the prophet did derive his argument from thence. He saw bones that were dry, bare,

withered, and worm eaten; that the greater difficulty of recovering former life might be expressed. For dead carcasses, that be whole and full of moisture, would perhaps be thought that they might more easily be restored to life. God said unto the prophet; Thou son of man, thinkest thou that these bones shall live? He answered; Lord thou knowest. In very deed his faith was tempted, but he made a godly answer, as one that was neither Sadducee, nor yet Libertine. But if the resurrection of the dead were an article of the faith, and openly received, why did he not boldly say; They shall live? I answer: because, albeit he did believe that the dead, at the end of the world, should be quickened, yet was he ignorant touching them, which were there showed him at that time, whether they should be raised up in that hour: and therefore he committed the matter unto God. So as, if there be any doubt objected unto us, touching the articles of faith: we will fitly and profitably follow his example, in referring the matter to God, saying; He knoweth, and is able. And seeing he hath made his will manifest unto us in the holy scriptures, we believe those things, which he hath showed should come to pass.

And as concerning the vision of the prophet, we must understand, that the city of Jerusalem being destroyed by the host of Nebuchadnezzar, and the temple overthrown by Nabuzaradan (the chief man that had to deal with life and death) there seemed to be an utter ruin of the Jews, being in captivity at Babylon. Wherefore, the restoring of them into the land of Canaan, was now in a manner despaired of. But God confirmeth and advanceth their hope, deriving his argument from the Major unto the Minor, that is, From the greater to the less, and saith; Seeing I am to restore life unto the dead (which is a far greater thing, than to redeem captives) I will also make you to be delivered from captivity, as I have promised: which is much easier

than to raise up the dead. And to the intent that the antecedent, that is, the resurrection of the dead, should be more thoroughly perceived, more evident, and more firm; he set before the eyes of the prophet, that vision. Wherefore, by the resurrection of the dead, which is a thing divine, and of much more difficulty, he maketh credit to be given, that that is to be done which is temporal and of lesser importance. The very same kind of argument ought we to use, if we begin at any time to doubt of wanting things necessary unto this life. In that temptation let us say; Seeing God will give unto our body eternal life and felicity in the resurrection; surly he will not withdraw from us the necessary sustenance of this life.

The Hebrews so ordered themselves in those days, as they believed the resurrection of the dead; but of the return into their native country they despaired: when as nevertheless God promised both. But the calamities, which presently disquieted them, so occupied their senses; as either they forgot the promises of God, or else they gave little or no credit unto them. God commanded Ezekiel, that he should prophesy, and speak to the bones, which were in his sight, saying in the name of God; I will put breath into you, and ye shall live. But it is a marvel, that the prophet should be commanded to prophesy and speak unto the bones, which be so rude, base, and void of sense, as they cannot either hear or understand anything. But it must be considered, that all things, though they be void of life, and without sense and motion, do obey God without delay. And Christ in like manner saith in John; The hour shall come, when they that be in the graves shall hear the voice of the son of God: whereas yet the bones and ashes of dead men, which be in graves, neither hear nor feel anything; yet nevertheless it is said, that they shall arise at the voice of the archangel, and trumpet of God.

42. The order and disposition of bones, in the resurrection, is most diligently taught by the prophet. First, bones being joined to bones, are bound and knit together with sinews. Further, they are replenished with flesh, which, because it should not remain unseemly and fowl to look upon, it is covered with skin. When the dead bodies were now become perfect, he commandeth the prophet to prophesy unto the spirit, that it should come; and that they should be made things living with soul. There is two sorts of spirit mentioned; namely, of the soul, which quickeneth the body; and of the spirit of God, which illuminateth and sanctifieth the soul. And for this cause the dead raised up, are not only said to have stood upon their feet, but also it is added; And they shall know that I am God. Undoubtedly God is known by the greatness of his works: but that knowledge happeneth not without the spirit of God. A voice was heard: perhaps it was thunder; and there was an earthquake: for these things were used to be done in showing of the excellent miracles of God. When the law was given in Sina, there was horrible thunder and earthquakes; yea and at the death and resurrection of the Lord, a great earthquake was made. The spirit cometh from the four winds, &c.

At the resurrection of the saints that be dead, the souls return unto their bodies from the high places of heaven; howbeit, by diverse and sundry ways; because the ashes and dead bodies of them be not heaped up together into one certain place of the world. And all the ways doth the scripture comprehend by the four winds; that is, by the east, west, south and north. Or else perhaps the scattering abroad of the captives, unto the four parts of the world is noted. Moses also in Deuteronomy, promised unto the penitent Jews, this restitution from the four parts of the world. Hereby moreover we gather, that the souls of men are not bred in them: even as God breathed a

soul into Adam, and afterward to every man createth souls; even so in the resurrection he will send them from abroad unto them again: which also is a plain token, that they with their bodies do not die. And where it is after added, that All these bones is the whole house of Israel: thereby we learn, that the speech here is meant as touching the resurrection of the godly: for they be truly the house of Israel. And the prophet saw an exceeding great host, because (as we also read in the Apocalypse) the company of the faithful is a great number.

43. All these bones is the whole house of Israel. When he had now finished the proposition, he addeth the application. It may be noted, that the verb substantive [Is] is all one, as if he had said, It signifieth: for those bones were not in very deed the house of Israel, but they did betoken the same; even as the seven unfruitful and empty ears, which were seen unto Pharaoh, were the seven years of dearth. I will open (saith the Lord) your sepulchers. But it must needs be, that the graves were open already, seeing those bones were scattered in the field. Unto this it is answered, that as concerning those bones, the graves were first opened: but if so be respect be had unto ἀνταπόδοσις, that is, the restitution of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, they were yet to be opened. And whereas the prophet saith; And I will bring you into your land: some understand it allegorically, as if the land of the Israelites should be taken for the kingdom of heaven, and eternal felicity. But setting allegories aside, I rather weigh this in this place; that the vanity of those Jews is confuted, who think, that the dead shall only be raised up in Judea. Whereas the prophet in this place affirmeth it to come to pass far otherwise: for to the dead already revived, he promiseth a return into the land of promise. Certainly, it is a fond and foolish devise, so to tie the power and strength of God to a certain place, as it may not or will not

do the same thing in one place, that it hath done in another. The graves do betoken the captivity of Babylon, and the lamentable servitude under a tyrant, which God promised to release. Also the sepulcher of the Jews was extreme desperation; which they ran into, casting aside all hope of their return. This sepulcher did God promise to unlock, by opening the way of their return to their own country. So in very deed, the case standeth as touching assistance of the godly, as when things be in great despair, then ariseth the daybreak of heavenly help. To be short: two things are showed by this oracle; the first is, The resurrection of the dead; the second, The return of the Israelites into their country. And one thing is proved by another: for the restitution of the Jews is confirmed by raising up the dry bones unto life.

44. Against this sound and true interpretation, some do vehemently argue two manner of ways, saying; first, that there is no speaking here of the universal resurrection of all men, seeing those bones made alive are said to be the house of Israel. Secondly, that this was a feigned and imagined vision; and therefore, that nothing can be constantly affirmed thereby. Here unto we answer, that indeed we confess, that the prophet speaketh of the resurrection of the just, as we have already said before: but in that it was a vision, it maketh no matter; neither doth it make anything the less, but that this vision was a general consolation, for confirming the hope of the general resurrection, as well as the restitution of the Jews. For it is sufficient, that the argument is taken and derived from the resurrection of the dead. Also, the Hebrew interpreters do not deny, but that the same is to be proved out of this place. Neither is that of any force, which some cavil; namely, that the argument from the greater to the less, is nothing worth, if so be that which is taken as the greater, be more uncertain, or as doubtful as that which is

inferred for the less. These men think, that the resurrection of the dead is more uncertain, or as doubtful as the restoring of the Jews into their native land. But they are far deceived; because the resurrection of the dead is accounted as better known, especially to the faithful Jews, unto whom it was certain and evident; not by nature or sense, but by faith, through whose light those things become manifest and firm unto our minds, which unto the sense and reason of man be obscure. And that this it was that doth prove, that the Hebrews, which seek occasions against the Christians, never contended with them concerning the resurrection of the dead: because it was always received by them, and by their forefathers. Whereupon Martha, when Christ had promised her, that her brother should be raised up, answered boldly; I know that my brother shall rise again at the last day.

45. But for the better explication of this cavil, I think it good to rehearse what the fathers have judged thereof. Tertullian, in his book *De resurrection carnis*, objecteth the very same against himself: and he answereth; that unless a thing first be, the same cannot be resembled unto another thing by a similitude. And therefore, unless the resurrection be known by faith, and that it shall come to pass in very deed, it cannot (saith he) be applied to the restitution of the Jews. A similitude he saith of a void thing is not meet: and a parable of nothing is not convenient. And certainly, they that will, that the resurrection of the dead is inserted in this place metaphorically, must consider, that such is the nature of a metaphor, that the thing should be translated from his own proper place unto another. So as of necessity a thing must first be, before it suffer a metaphor: for unless that laughter and gladness were in man, he might not apply them to the corn fields and meadows. Nay rather, those metaphors are chiefly commended, which be derived from notable things, and from things that be nearest, and most

known. The very which thing cometh to pass in parables. Christ brought a similitude of the vine, which after it was well dressed, and in excellent order, it was let forth unto ill husbandmen. This parable had not been plain, neither would it have been of force, unless that vines excellently well handled, should be found in the nature of things; and unless that the owners of farms should oftentimes happen upon ill husbandmen. Likewise he brought in a parable of a barren and unfruitful fig tree, the which for a year or two was dressed with compass; and seeing it brought forth no fruit, it was at the length cut down. This parable also had been brought in vain, unless that compassing of the fig tree, and pruning in husbandry or gardening, should not everywhere appear. Nor let any object unto me the monster Chimaera, and such like monsters; which albeit they are not in the nature of things, yet wise men do frame the like shapen things. For albeit Chimaera itself be not extant, yet are the parts thereof seen: the which be the lion, the goat, and serpents; which are everywhere seen.

46. But Jerome (they say) was reproved, because he interpreted not the place brought out of Ezekiel, to concern the resurrection of the dead. I grant: howbeit we must understand, that it is a far other thing for him to gather the resurrection of the dead by the words of the prophet, than it is to have it proved and confirmed by a certain and evident demonstration. This latter did Jerome deny, and that of a sound and right judgment. For it was not Ezekiel's mind to show the quickening of the dead: it was known, and (as we have said) it was at that time believed of the Jews. Wherefore, as out of a known principle, he derived and confirmed thereby the restitution of the Jews. Yet did not this father deny, but that the resurrection of the dead might be gathered hereby: yea rather, he saith with Tertullian, that unless the resurrection itself should consist, there might no similitude be derived

from thence; and that no man confirmeth uncertain things by things not extant. Wherefore, even as the life of withered bones seemeth incredible, and yet the same shall be; so the deliverance of the Israelites out of captivity, which was thought should not come to pass, shall be put in execution at the time appointed. But if any man shall ask, why the similitude is rather brought from the resurrection of the dead, than from any other thing, as it might have been? I would say, it was therefore done, that by the way might be showed, that without mention of the resurrection made, that earthly restitution out of earthly captivity should be no perfect and absolute tranquility and blessedness unto them. And thus much hath been said concerning this place.

47. Now let us allege Daniel. He in the twelfth chapter saith; And at that time shall Michael the great prince stand up, who standeth for the children of thy people. And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was, since there began to be a nation, unto that same time. And at that time thy people shall escape, whosoever shall be found written in the book of God: and many of them, which sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and perpetual reproach and contempt. But such as teach and instruct, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they which make many righteous, shall be as the stars forever and ever, &c. Daniel had set forth four Monarchies, which by a continual succession should prevail in the world; and that the kingdom of God should prevail at the last: but before he should obtain (he saith) that Antichrist should be destroyed, who tyrannically had oppressed the godly. And I understand Antichrist to be Mahomet, the Pope, and all those which are against the religion of Christ. He writeth, that in the same last time, the afflictions and calamities of the church should be more grievous than ever

they were before. But in the meantime he comforteth the faithful, because they should have their present help to be Michael, that is, Christ the son of God, the prince of our Church. The self-same thing did he promise unto his disciples, when he said; I will be with you until the end of the world.

He addeth another comfort; namely, that they shall not all utterly perish in those troubles, but that such as are predestinate unto life, shall escape: that is, they shall be written in the book of God. Lastly, he comforteth the church under this name, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead. And he saith, that many of the dead shall be raised up: neither doth he say [All;] because many shall be found alive at the coming of the Lord. Whereupon Paul saith; We shall not all die, but we shall be all changed. Neither doth the word [Many] betoken a certain small number: because (as Ezekiel said;) There stood up a mighty great host; namely, of those bones restored unto life again. And in the book of the Apocalypse, the company of the saints is described to be great in number. In this place Daniel treateth of the resurrection, and that of the same which shall be universal: for he divideth it into a resurrection of salvation, and of reproach.

And there is no doubt, but that Christ alluded unto the words of the prophet, when he said in John; They which be in their graves shall hear the voice of the son of God, and shall come forth: they which have done well, into the resurrection of life; but they which have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment. As to the felicity of the saints, to be looked for after resurrection, he addeth; that They which instruct others, shall be very glorious; and he compareth them with the brightness of the celestial Spheres. And them which make many righteous, he compareth to the clear light of the stars, because they teach the promises especially of Messias, whereunto they giving their assent, are justified. For the power and virtue of

making righteous, must not be attributed unto men, seeing that is only the gift of God: neither can it be given to men, otherwise than as the ministers and instruments of the word of God. And that which is first spoken of the firmament of heaven, and of the brightness of the stars, I think it to be all one: for it is a usual thing in the holy scriptures, to repeat in the latter member of any verse, that which had been spoken in the former.

48. This prophesy of Daniel, although it be very plain and evident, yet hath it been subject to the cavillations of Porphyrius, no mean philosopher. He being very angry with the Christians, confesseth that Daniel was a most excellent man; but that the propheties, which be written under his name, do pertain nothing unto him, but that they were written by a forgerer, which lived after the times of Antiochus and Maccabeus. And that in his book he prophesied not of things to come; but rather he contrived into riddles, the things which were already past. And those things he saith, which in this place are pieced to, belong altogether to the time of Antiochus: for the Jews were very cruelly used by him. First, he subdued to himself the city of Jerusalem, and robbed the temple; afterward he began to compel the Jews to depart from the rites and customs of their country, and to forsake the just worshipping of God: he forbad circumcision, he obtruded unto them the eating of swine's flesh against their wills; he set up in the temple of God the sign of Jupiter Olympus, to be worshipped. Which done, it came afterward into his mind to go against Persia, where he attempted to rob a church that was most rich, and furnished with very many gifts, and from thence had repulse with great shame. For which cause he conceived so great indignation, as he began to be sick in his mind; and he devising with himself to pour out all his wrath against the Jews, returned with great hast into Syria. But he fell from his chariot, and was so hurt with the crushing of

his body, as partly thereby, and partly through his vehement trouble of mind, and with the news brought him of Lysias and other his captains put to flight and overthrown by the Israelites (for at his going away, he commanded that they should most grievously afflict the Jews) he died. Then (saith Porphyrius) the Jews which seemed to be dead, were after a sort raised up, and are risen again: but yet so, as they which had constantly behaved themselves in preserving of their country, became religious, famous and glorious: but they which shamefully had revolted from true godliness, became very vile and full of reproach. These be the doting follies, yea rather the poisons that Porphyrius scattered in this place.

But of us which profess Christ, the first point of his interpretation may not be received; namely, in that he affirmeth the book not to be written by Daniel, when as Christ not only made mention thereof, but also cited words which we read in the same. As touching the other point, wherein he will that these things should have relation unto Antiochus; Jerome demandeth, how that the afflictions, wherewith the Hebrews were vexed under that tyrant, were more grievous than ever they were before? Certainly, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the city of Jerusalem was overthrown, the temple utterly raced, and all the people led into captivity, and therein kept, until the seventy year. More grievous doubtless were these afflictions, than the other which Antiochus brought upon them. The book of the *Machabeis* doth after a sort mitigate this saying; where it is said, that the evils of Antiochus were more grievous, than had happened from that time, wherein the Jews were without a prophet; that is, from Esdras, which was the prophet Malachi. Howbeit, we must consider, not what is written in the book of *Machabeis*; but that very thing which is contained in the volume of Daniel. Furthermore, we demand why the transgressors of the law are said to be

raised from death, after that king Antiochus was dead (for so Porphyrius expoundeth it) since that revolters rather fell back, than rose again? For while the tyrant yet lived, they were had in estimation, and they occupied the chief priesthoods and bishoprics: and the *Machabeis*, whom perhaps he understandeth to have become famous, lived in exceeding great troubles and sorrows, and were almost all utterly extinct. Judas fell in battle, Jonathan being a captive was slain, and Simon was beheaded in a banquet.

Certainly, I do not deny, but that they were very grievous things, which happened under Antiochus; but not so bitter and rigorous, as are those things which the prophet showeth shall come to pass under Antichrist: whose types and figures went before, who were not only Antiochus, but also Demetrius, and other princes of Greece, which both afflicted the Hebrews, and also were adversaries to the true worshipping of God. I know likewise, that there was a certain other man named Polychronius, which was bold to affirm, that this place of Daniel must not be understood of the resurrection of the dead: but he groundeth upon no firm reasons; and he is confuted by John Oecolampadius a very learned man. Further, we see that by John the apostle, in the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse, the very same things well-near, and in the same order are taught as they be written by Daniel: where we read, that there were seats placed, and the judgment appointed; again it is added, that they did live again, which suffered death for Christ. Lastly, this we may say, even that which we brought for making plain that place of Ezekiel; namely, if they will have it metaphorically taken, that by the resurrection of the dead, is showed the state of the people of the Jews after the death of Antiochus, it must in very deed be determined, that there is a resurrection of the dead: otherwise a similitude or parable cannot be derived from thence.

49. Furthermore, God commandeth the prophet, that he should seal up the book for a time: which must not so be wrested, as though God would not that these propheties should be read and known; seeing prophesy is given, to the intent it should edify and teach. But the holy Ghost prophetieth by Daniel, that the negligence of men in reading and knowing the word of God, should be great: and that therefore, for their incredible sloth, the holy books should be sealed up from them; to the intent they should understand nothing of spiritual things. And therefore he prophetieth, that the incredulity should be great: and he that believeth not, understandeth not the secret heavenly things. Yea, and at this day among Christians, what a very great number mayest thou find, that would be counted and called by that name, which never read the Gospels throughout? We may also interpret, that the books of God are sealed up, as touching our senses and human reason: for A natural man doth not perceive those things that be of God; yea, not only they be sealed up to him, but they seem to be foolishness. These things are open unto them, to whom the Lamb hath opened: to whom only (as we read in the Apocalypse) it is given to open the sealed book.

Over this, there be many which read the holy books, recite them unto others, and instruct others; unto whom nevertheless they are sealed up, because they in very deed have no sense nor experience in themselves, neither do they taste what things they read and teach. R. L. Ben-Gerson thought, that by this form of speech, God commanded the prophet, that from these visions he should take nothing away; nor yet add anything thereto over and besides. At the end it is written; Many shall run into diverse parts, and shall pass by, and knowledge shall be multiplied. By these words let others understand what they will; to me it seemeth, that the time of the New Testament is foreshowed, when as the apostles are sent to

preach the Gospel over all the world. Therefore, when they had wandered among all nations, the sayings of the prophets became much more plain than they were before: as well, for the great abundance of spirit that was poured out; as also for that the prophecies may be a great deal better understood, when they be fulfilled; than before, when they were revealed. And these things I think to be sufficient for this place.

50. Now I come unto the prophet Osee. God promised sundry times, that he would once destroy death: whereby is manifestly gathered, that we must believe the resurrection of the dead; the which being taken away, death reigneth, and cannot be said to be abolished. Isaiah, in the 25th chapter, saith; I will destroy death forever, and I will wipe away the tears from all faces, and I will take away the rebuke of my people forever. These things be manifest: but Osee in the place now brought, did more vehemently and effectually speak the same; From the hand of the sepulcher will I deliver them, and from death will I redeem them. O death, I will be thy plague. O grave, I will be thy destruction. This place did Paul use in the 15th of the first to the Corinthians, as an evident testimony. Neither must it move us, that he followed not the Hebrew verity, but the Greek interpreters: for albeit he change the words, yet he departed not from the sense. The translation of the seventy interpreters was then better known, and was well-near in all men's hands: and so Paul doth sometimes use the same, that even the Gentiles might understand, that those things, which he taught, were extant in the holy scriptures.

But as to the meaning of the prophet thus it standeth. He a little before had inveighed bitterly against Ephraim, that is, against the kingdom of the ten tribes, prophesying destruction, and most certain overthrow unto them for their idolatry and wicked life: afterward he gave the comfort, which I

have rehearsed; to wit, that they should be delivered and plucked out from death, and from the grave. But thou wilt say; How may it be, that these things are not repugnant one with another; namely, that they should be utterly cut off, and that they should be delivered? But there must be a difference put between the Israelites. For on the one part, many of them were of a most obstinate mind, cleaving unto idolatry, and to most grievous sins: to these belonged destruction, because they repented not. On the other side, there were among them some good men, holy men, and true worshippers of God; who notwithstanding that they were to be wrapped in other temporal calamities, yet should they be delivered: and to them properly belongeth the comfort which is brought. But the adversaries will yet urge more earnestly, and say; We do not read, that the ten tribes were restored, nor delivered from the grave of their captivity: some of them perhaps returned, but they came not by great companies; neither was anymore restored the kingdom of Ephraim, that is, of the ten tribes. This indeed is true, and therefore God in comforting them did not promise temporal redemption, or the deliverance of this life: but the blessed resurrection, with everlasting felicity. And he saith, that he will redeem them from the grave, and that he will deliver them from death: and saith, that he will be the plague of death, and the destruction of the grave.

In reading of the prophets we must oftentimes use this rule; namely, that we should understand threatening's to take place, as touching them, which be obstinate in sins, and which will by no means repent: but that promises and consolations shall be most certainly true and fulfilled towards them that repent. Repentance is removed from mine eyes. This added God, that he might appoint the certainty of the resurrection: as if he should say; I will not repent me of this decree, it shall in any wise come so to pass. Ephraim shall

increase and multiply among brethren. Under the name Ephraim, he understandeth all them with Christ their head, which shall be heaped up in the resurrection, with great honors and incredible ornaments. Afterward the prophet returneth with his prophesy unto the wicked Ephraimites, and saith, that they shall be utterly banished. Doubtless they were men of wealth, riches, and power: in the which things they putting their trust, thought that they should never come to ruin. But God saith; Behold, I will bring the east wind, that is, Salmanazar the king of Assyria, which shall dry up their fountains and veins: that is, not only the waters, but also the springing of the fountains, the very originals and roots, so as they may not be repaired anymore: and he will take away the treasure, and all pleasant vessels. This is the interpretation, which to me seemeth plain and manifest.

51. Albeit I note, that David Kimhi converteth the future tense into the preter-pluperfect tense, and saith; I had delivered the dominion of the twelve tribes out of the grave, and had redeemed them from death, and had been the plague of their death, and the destruction of their grave, if they had been wise. By wisdom I mean very repentance, that is; If they had repented, and heard my words. And because they should not despair, by reason of so unhappy a success; the prophet speaketh so magnifically of deliverance and redemption, and also of plague, death, and abolishing of the grave. Even as if he had said; Although that they had been extinct, and utterly abolished; yet I had delivered them. Whereby is gathered, that there is no calamity of men so great, but that God can either take away or mitigate the same. Wherefore we must never despair, but set always before our eyes, that it is the property of God to redeem from death, and to be the death and destruction thereof. And if at any time deliverance come not, and that death

be not taken away; God is not in fault thereof: but our own obstinacy and unbelief, because we will not repent.

Paul, who was most circumspect in perusing the sayings of the prophets, derived the argument (wherewith he confirmed the resurrection of the dead) from that same property of God, whereby he is pronounced in the scriptures to be the conqueror of death, and redeemer from the graves: because it behooveth sometimes, that the properties of God should break forth into act. He noteth, that the prophet doth stir up unto repentance the kingdom of the ten tribes, by promising them, that God would be with them; who is so mighty and magnificent a conqueror over death. Which exhortation certainly would be of no force, if we should desire of God that thing, which indeed would never come to pass. And seeing the apostle had affiance, that it would so be; therefore he useth glorious rejoicings against death, saying: O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy dart, wherewith thou didst pierce all men? It is understood; These things are wrested from thee by Christ.

52. It must not seem any marvel, if Christ be called a plague or destruction: for this must be understood in respect of evil things. And always a new generation must needs be the corruption of the thing which went before: for when fire is made of wood, the form and nature of wood must needs perish; otherwise the fire would not be brought forth. And as the Philosophers or Logicians do commonly affirm; The corrupting of evil things is numbered among good things. And we are wont to say of a noble and happy emperor; He is a lion, a wolf, a dragon; he is fierce and terrible: but it is added; Unto his enemies: whereas otherwise, unto his citizens he is merciful, gentle, and courteous. Yea, and in this self-same prophet, God named himself like a bear, a leopard, and a lioness; but that was toward the

wicked and ungodly: whereas otherwise he is mild and merciful towards the faithful. So as God hath tempered for us a medicine out of the death and resurrection of Christ, whereby we be delivered, and death perisheth: in like manner as a wise Physician drinketh unto the patient of the medicine, wherewith he is relieved, and the ague or disease extinguished. And, of this wholesome medicine we drink healthfully, while as either by reading, or by preaching, there is mention made of the death and resurrection of the Lord, and we with a lively faith embrace the same: and also, when we make protestation of our faith by the sealing of baptism, and receiving of the Lord's supper. For in these holy actions, both the death and resurrection of Christ are celebrated. In the treatise of this place, Paul added; that Death is swallowed up by victory; namely, of Christ.

53. And thus much have we spoken concerning the places of the Old Testament, of which sort there might be more brought: but these I was minded to produce, and to stand content with them. And I have the more largely expounded them, because there be some at this day, which affirm; that in the Old Testament there is nothing concerning the resurrection of the dead: or if there be any testimony there extant, they say it was not known unto the fathers of those times. Now come I to the testimonies and assertions of the New Testament. First we read in the fifth of John, which already I have oftentimes alleged; They which be in their graves, shall hear the voice of the son of God; and they which have done well, shall come forth into the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment. And in the sixth chapter; He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him up at the last day. In the 22nd of Matthew, the 12th of Mark, and the 20th of Luke; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. But God is not the God

of the dead, but of the living. And in the 14th chapter of Luke, when Christ had exhorted them that stood by, that they should be beneficial unto the poor, and that they should make feasts unto them; They have not wherewithal (saith he) to requite thee again, but it shall be restored to thee in the resurrection of the just.

In John; He that loveth his soul in this world shall lose it; and he that doth hate the same, shall preserve it unto everlasting life. And under the word [Soul,] he understandeth this life of the body: whereunto he that is overmuch affected, and will not render it for the Gospel sake shall lose the same; because in the resurrection it shall be judged to perpetual destruction: But he that shall loose the same, shall receive it safe unto eternal life. In the 25th of Matthew; Before him shall be gathered all nations. And in the 13th of Mark; And he shall send his angels, and shall gather his elect together from the four winds, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, to the uttermost part of heaven. In the 17th of the Acts, Paul preached this resurrection to the Atheniens, when there were present with him the Stoics and Epicures, in the street of Mars: who hearing of that doctrine, partly they laughed it to scorn, and partly they said; We will hear thee another time of this matter. And they called him *σπερμολόγον*, that is, A carrier about of news, and a setter forth of strange gods, and of new doctrine. In the same book, the 23rd chapter, when as Paul stood in the college of the Scribes, Pharisees, and priests, and saw himself to live in great danger, he cried out; I am a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, and I am judged of the resurrection of the dead. And again, in the 24th chapter of the same book, when he had pleaded his cause before Felix the president, he testified, that both the just and unjust should rise again. The very which thing he

rehearseth again, when he was before Festus, in the presence of king Agrippa, and Bernice his wife.

54. Yea, and Peter in the first epistle, and first chapter, saith; that God, according to the abundance of his mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. And ye by the power of God are kept through faith unto salvation, which shall be showed in the last time. And in the latter epistle, the third chapter, he saith, that In those days there shall be new heavens, and a new earth. Also John, in his first epistle, and third chapter, writeth; When Christ shall appear, then we shall be like unto him. Whereof it is gathered, that seeing Christ hath a body, and is risen again; we also shall rise again together with our bodies. In the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse, we read; And I saw the dead, both great and small, stand in the sight of God, &c. Also in the 21st chapter; And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, &c. In the 22nd chapter also; Blessed be they which keep his commandments, that their power may be in the tree of life. Paul in the eighth chapter to the Romans; But if his spirit that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, he that hath raised Jesus Christ from the dead, will also quicken your mortal bodies, And in the sixth chapter; For if we be planted with him to the similitude of his death, even so shall we be partakers of his resurrection. And in the 14th chapter; For we shall all appear before the tribunal seat of Christ.

Unto the Corinthians, the first epistle and 15th chapter, he entreating purposely and diligently of this question, in such sort confirmeth the resurrection, that of his judgment and meaning therein, it is not lawful to doubt: I will not draw out words from thence, because it should be meet to recite the whole chapter. Howbeit, this I will rehearse out of the sixth

chapter of the same epistle; Our body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And God hath also raised up the Lord, and shall raise us up by his power. And in the latter epistle, the fifth chapter, mention is made of our habitation in heaven, Not being made with hands: and that we desire to be clothed upon, and that while we be in this tabernacle, we sigh, because we would not be unclothed, but be clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Further it is added, that All we shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that everyone may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. Unto the Ephesians, the second chapter; When we were dead through sins, he quickened us together in Christ, and hath raised us up together with him, and made us to sit in the heavenly places, &c. Unto the Philippians, the third chapter; That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his afflictions, while I am made conformable unto his death, if I may by any means attain to the resurrection of the dead. Unto the Colossians, the second chapter; Ye being buried together with him, by baptism, in whom ye are also raised together with him, through the faith of the operation of God, which hath raised him up from the dead. Likewise in the third chapter; Your life is hidden with Christ in God: wherefore when Christ your life shall appear, then shall you be made manifest with him in glory. Unto the Thessalonians, the first epistle, the 4th chapter, he admonisheth them, that They should not sorrow for them that are asleep, as others do, which have no hope: for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so God will bring with him those which sleep in Jesus. And strait after; For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, and with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Unto the

Hebrews, the second chapter; That by death he might abolish him, who had power over death. In the same epistle, the eleventh chapter: when Abraham at the commandment of God would have sacrificed his son Isaac, of whom he had the promise of posterity; he considered with himself, that God was able even to raise him up from the dead, from whence also he reduced him, to be a figure of the resurrection. Jude, in his epistle, bringeth in Enoch for a testimony, who was the seventh from Adam, and said; Behold, the Lord cometh in thousands of his saints, to give judgment against all men, and to reprove all the wicked. And soon after; Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life. Let it be sufficient, that we have brought these things out of the New Testament: unto the which add the article of the apostles Creed, wherein we confess ourselves to believe the resurrection of the flesh. Further, all those places, wherein Christ is said, that he shall be judge of the quick and the dead, have relation unto this.

55. Now that we have seen the signification of the word, and also the definition; and have sought, whether this resurrection may be plainly set forth by natural reasons; and further, have brought testimonies, as well of the old as new scriptures: now it followeth, that we speak somewhat of the causes thereof. It is the effect of faith, and it followeth justification. Whereupon it is said in the sixth chapter of John; He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him up at the last day. So as God, by his power, is the efficient cause thereof. For which cause Christ said unto the Sadducees; Ye err being ignorant of the scriptures, and of the power of God. And not only God the father himself, but also the holy Ghost is cause of the resurrection. For (as we have already said) it is written in the epistle to the Romans; If the spirit of him, which hath raised up Christ from the dead, dwell in you, &c. Yea moreover, the son himself, which is Christ

Jesus, is a cause of this resurrection: for in the Gospel of John he said; I will raise him up at the last day. And again; Even as the father raiseth up and quickeneth, even so also the son quickeneth, &c, Further; They which be in the graves, shall hear the voice of the son of God, and shall come forth, &c. In the eleventh of John; I am the resurrection and the life. Moreover, there is an argument taken hereof; that Christ, by his death took away sin, which was the cause of death. Verily no man doubteth, but that the cause being removed, the effect is taken away. In the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter; In Adam all men are dead, in Christ all men shall be revived: and as by one man came death, so by one man came the resurrection from the dead.

The final cause of resurrection is assigned to be, That the whole and entire man should be judged at the tribunal seat of God, and should receive rewards or punishments, according as he hath behaved himself. But the angels, although they shall be ministers of the resurrection, yet can they be no causes. Among the causes of the resurrection to come, the resurrection also of Christ is numbered: for Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, saith; If the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again: and if Christ be not risen, our preaching is in vain. But we may argue on the other side; Christ rose again; Therefore we also shall rise again. So then, the resurrection of Christ seemeth to be the cause of our resurrection; which indeed is to be granted: but yet not so, as that very action, wherein Christ was raised up, and which is now past, is the efficient cause that performeth or doth anything, which should bring forth our resurrection: but because the divine power and might, which is in Christ, seeing he is God, is retained still, even as he raised him up from the dead, so will he also quicken us in due time. This we see come to pass in human things. For he that is a white

man, begetteth also a white son: not that the color itself can procreate, but that those beginnings or causes, which wrought the begetter to be white, do make him also white, which is begotten by him. Even so our resurrection shall not be unlike to the resurrection of Christ. Further this must be noted, that the divine actions, and heavenly benefits, which are employed upon men, be (as Damascenus saith) derived unto us by the flesh of Christ, which now should be none at all, unless he had been raised from the dead. Wherefore by this means, the resurrection of Christ may be also called ours: because without that, we might not have obtained ours. Again, if we should like philosophers follow Plato, adjecting unto the four kinds of causes an Idea [or pattern,] we might say, that the resurrection of Christ was the exemplar cause of our resurrection. The final cause of resurrection is assigned to be, that The whole and entire man should be judged at the tribunal seat of God, and should receive rewards or punishments, according as he behaved himself. And thus much of the causes.

56. It followeth, that we should speak of the properties and conditions of the bodies, which shall be raised up. The Schoolmen called them endowments or qualities: neither can I disallow of those, which they have reckoned; because I perceive them to be gathered out of the holy scriptures. Howbeit, I think not that all the properties were gathered by them; neither yet may it be: for in this life we cannot have experience of the glory of the saints; but we shall then perfectly and absolutely know it, when we shall come unto it. The first condition that cometh to my remembrance of the blessed, is immortality. And assuredly, in the divine scriptures, so often as there is mention of the life to come; the same is said to be eternal, as being that, which shall have no end. Paul saith; This mortal must put on have immortality, and this corruptible body must put on incorruption. And seeing

the punishments and rewards, which shall be rendered, according to the nature of works, be sempiternal; the subject or nature, which shall be given them, must needs be immortal also. Furthermore, seeing it is no doubt, but that Christ destroyed sin and death; it remaineth, that the life of the saints should be immortal. And in the sixth chapter to the Romans it is written; Christ rising again from the dead dieth no more; neither shall death have any more power over him. Besides, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter; Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Yet must not these things be taken for the very nature and substance of flesh and blood: for they, which shall rise again, shall be wholly endued with these things. But the apostle hath respect unto corruption, unto the which flesh and blood in this life are subject: wherefor he added; And corruption shall not inherit incorruption.

57. Upon this property followeth another; namely, that after resurrection there shall be no need, either of meat, drink, or of women: seeing men (as Christ taught) shall be like unto angels. Wherefore, the Mahometists, and the Saracens are herein shamefully deceived; who believe, that after the resurrection, the blessed sort shall have ministered unto them abundance of meat, store of drink, and a plentiful use of women: for so hath their Alcoran taught. Yet hath Avicenna in his Metaphysics, not unwisely interpreted this, and saith; that Those speeches are metaphorical, because (as he thinketh) the honest pleasures of the life to come might not be expressed, (especially unto ignorant men) otherwise than in terms of the vulgar delights, which be received in this world. These things I said were not unwisely brought, because even in the holy scriptures are found such allegories or translations. For we read in the twelfth of Luke; Blessed be those servants, which the Lord shall find waking, for he will gird himself about, and passing by, will

minister unto them. And in the 22nd chapter of the same evangelist, it is written; I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my father hath appointed unto me, that ye should eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. Yea, and among our most ancient fathers, there were very many, which thought, that Christ, at his latter coming, should reign together with his saints for the space of a thousand years, in singular delights, and great pleasure. These men be called by the Grecians, χιλιασταί, of the Latins *Millenarij*; of whom Augustine spake at large in his second book *De civitate Dei*, and 20th chapter. Hereby they first took an occasion of error; because Christ did eat and drink together with his apostles, after his resurrection; secondly, because the prophets do oftentimes make mention of these things, when they prophesy of the last times. Moreover, unto this purpose they wrested a place out of the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse: where there is mention made of those thousand years. To confute this error of theirs: first we say, that Christ, with his apostles, did eat and drink, to the intent he might leave a most testified truth of his human nature, and not to serve necessity. For he had an incorruptible body, which was neither troubled with hunger, nor thirst. Wherefore the meat and drink which he used, turned not into the substance and quantity of his body; but they departed, and were resolved into their first matter. Whereby it may be understood, that there were certain things, which Christ did after his resurrection, to testify the truth of his human body; and some other, for the setting forth of his glory.

Tokens of his glory were these; that he vanished away upon the sudden, when he was seen, and was suddenly present with his apostles; that he came in unto them, when the doors were shut; and at the last, in that he ascended up into heaven. But on the other side, he showed himself still to be very man, when he offered himself to be seen and handled, when he did eat and

drink together with his apostles, when he ascending up into heaven, was visibly separated from them. And whereas the holy scriptures, as well in the prophets, as in the evangelists, make mention of meat and drink: that (as we have declared) is done by an allegory, and by metaphors and similitudes well enough applied unto teaching. This we may show by a testimony of the book of Proverbs, where wisdom is described, which mingled her wine, and prepared her table. Which things cannot be agreeable unto wisdom, whose nature is spiritual, and sticketh in the minds of men: but under the name of meat and drink, we understand the knowledge of God, the fervent love of heavenly things, and the joy that floweth out of the presence of God. These things (I say) shall unto the elect be like most delicate meat and drink.

And therefore, when as Mary sat at the Lord's feet, and was marvelously refreshed with his doctrine; she was defended by Christ himself, when she was accused by Martha, in respect that she intermitted her business of preparing things necessary to livelihood: for he said; Mary hath chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from her. Touching the place of the Apocalypse, we must understand, that the resurrection, whereby the saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years; is not that, whereof we now entreat: but it is the regeneration, whereby we are justified. And therefore it is there in express words added; And this is the first resurrection. Neither doth the thousand years note any other time, than that, wherein we now remain under the protection of Christ in his kingdom, which is the church. Neither is it any doubt, but that the certain and prescribed number is there put for an infinite number. So as those things belong not to the latter coming of Christ, but unto the former. Which if those ancient fathers had considered, they had not so fallen into error. Wherefore, in that mortal life, there shall need neither bodily food, neither yet procreation of children: for

these things serve unto mortal life, but the other shall be immortal. And because there is nothing diminished of the substance of bodies, there shall be no need of that renewing which is made by meat and drink. And because also none shall die, others shall not be substitute in their place by new procreation.

58. Another condition or quality they have called light, and splendent brightness: whereof Paul to the Philippians saith; God will make our base body like to his glorious body. And a show of this condition did Christ make, when he was transformed, where his face did shine like unto the sun. And in Matthew it is written; The just shall shine in the sight of God like unto the sun. Neither did Daniel pass over this brightness or clearness, as we have already heard. And Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter saith; Now it is sown in ignominy, then it shall rise again in glory. Moreover, they think that this brightness must be derived unto the bodies of the blessed, from the souls, which shall see God: not as in a dark speech, or in a glass; but shall see him indeed as he is: by which sight they shall receive so great joy and gladness, as it shall flow from thence to their body. Neither is it unknown to any, that the mind and the spirit doth exhilarate the countenance, and make the body cheerful. Besides this, there is put an agility in the bodies of the blessed: for the body and members shall be wholly subjected unto the soul, so as it shall neither contend nor strive against it. Whereof Paul said; It is now sown in feebleness, but then it shall rise in power. Therefore in the book of Wisdom, the third chapter, it is read of the saints, that as sparks they shall run through the reeds or stubble.

And Paul unto the Thessalonians saith; We that shall be found alive, and the dead that be raised, shall be caught up to meet with Christ in the air. This no doubt will be a great rejoicing, and nimble motion of our bodies,

that we shall ascend unto Christ through the air. In this ability the body of Christ excelled, seeing it walked upon the waters, and gave power unto Peter to do she like: and seeing Christ himself was taken up out of the earth into heaven. And herein it consisteth, that the soul shall perfectly govern the body, so as the weight and burden of the flesh shall be no hindrance unto it. This property in very deed belongeth unto local motion. Wherefore it is a wonder, that the Ubiquists admit this quality to be in the bodies of the blessed, (as they write in their books;) and yet do affirm heaven to be everywhere: so that they will not attribute places certain to the body of Christ, and to our bodies, when we shall be blessed; as though local motion may be without a place.

59. Over this, unto the saints after resurrection, there is appointed an impassibility: for they shall not be corrupted nor diminished with any passions, sorrows, or diseases. Wherefore the apostle wrote; It is now sown in corruption, but it shall rise again in uncorruption. Of affections and passions in bodies, we must not judge all after one sort: for some be hurtful, which do waste and diminish the body, yea and finally do consume the same. Such are hunger, thirst, sickness, sorrow, and others of this kind: from these affections the saints shall be delivered. But there be other passions, which do rather help nature, and make it perfect; than hurt or impair it: such are the feelings of the senses. The eye is not hurt, when it is affected with beautiful colors; neither the hearing with harmony and tunes well composed; neither is the smelling harmed by good odors. So as our bodies shall not be deprived of these passions, when after resurrection they shall be in the everlasting mansion. They add, that there shall be a subtility; which must not so be understood, as though the bodies of them that rise again should be converted into spirit, and that it should be airy or elemental, or

like unto the wind, so as they may penetrate all things: but I refer this subtilty unto the exquisite, subtle, and sharp understanding of the senses: as also unto the affects, which do follow the body, and which shall not be gross and full of impediments; neither shall they trouble the mind.

And to this purpose might be bent that saying of Paul; It is sown a natural body, but it shall rise again a spiritual body. By which words he meant not, that the body should be transformed into a spirit; but he taught, that the human body (saving the nature thereof) should, as much as may be, draw unto the property of a spirit, as touching knowledge and affects. These notable properties have the schoolmen gathered, being confirmed by the holy scriptures. And yet have they not declared all: for saith Paul to the Corinthians; The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard those things, which God hath prepared for them that love him. Neither must we leave untouched, that neither the holy scriptures, nor fathers, nor schoolmen, in any place, have attributed, either unto the flesh of Christ being risen, or to other saints, the gift of ubiquity, or prerogative of no certain place. Wherefore it is to be marveled at, that this devise so pleased certain men of our age: yea and the schoolmen especially. Thomas Aquinas said, that it is hereby gathered; that because the conditions of blessed bodies do attain unto heavenly properties, their habitation after this life is in the heavens; yea above the heavens.

Furthermore, they dispute concerning the age of them that shall rise again; and they affirm that the same shall be of full growing, of mans state, ripe and strong. And hereunto they wrest that, which is read in the epistle to the Ephesians; Till we meet together in the unity of faith, and acknowledging of the son of God, unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ. But (by their leave) the words of the apostle have no

relation to this purpose: for he entreated not there of the fashioning again of bodies, but of the instauration of souls, as the words going before do most plainly declare. But as concerning a perfect age of them that rise again, I do not disagree with them: but yet [I affirm the same] after another sort. When God created the first men, he made them not either infants, or cripples, or else imperfect, or deformed. And seeing the resurrection is a certain new creation or forming again, it is meet that it should be like the first. So that, as those things, which God created, were very good; that is, perfect in their kind: even so shall the bodies, which by his power shall be repaired in the resurrection, be perfect of nature.

60. But what shall we affirm of the properties and conditions of the wicked, when they shall rise again, as concerning their body? In very deed they shall have immortality, but other qualities of the godly they shall not obtain. Nay rather, they shall be deformed with contrary and plain opposite qualities. They shall be altogether destitute of light and clearness: for as Christ taught; They shall be commanded to be cast into the uttermost darkness. Neither shall they be without sufferings: for they shall be vexed with immeasurable torments and griefs. There (saith the Lord) shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished. Cheerful also and nimble shall they not be, because they shall be cast bound hand and foot into hell-fire. Neither (for the cause, which we have now alleged) shall subtilty happen unto them; forsomuch as they shall live in tears and weeping, in most gross affects, and in vehement desires: even as it is gathered by the evangelical narration of the rich man and Lazarus. Howbeit, among those things that I have spoken, this of ours must chiefly be remembered: to wit, that through this diversity of qualities

and conditions, the subject, that is, the substance of our bodies is not to be altered: for in any wise the same body and the same flesh is to be raised up.

Neither must we give ear to Origin, which thinketh; that only the body shall be restored, but not the flesh. We must rather believe Christ, which said, after he was risen from the dead; Feel and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as ye see me have. And if the same body shall rise again, the same flesh and members shall also be restored. A place also shall be appointed for them: for these things cannot consist without a place. But that the subject shall be all one, Paul plainly proved, when he said unto the Corinthians; This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. The pronounce demonstrative [This] doth plainly declare the substance and very human nature of a body. Yea, but thou tellest me, that the same apostle, in the sixth chapter of the same epistle saith; Meats are ordained for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them. It is also said, that The blessed shall be as the angels: so as they shall neither marry wives, nor the women shall be married. To what purpose shall variety of sex be in the blessed, which rise again; to what use, or to what end? We answer, that indeed God, in the everlasting felicity, will take away from them that be raised up, the use and action of these parts: but not the substance and nature of them.

And being demanded why the things themselves shall remain still, the use and action being taken away: we answer, that therefore they shall remain, because they belong to the wholeness and perfection of a human body. For if all these things should be taken away, what part thereof would be remaining? First, the throat should be plucked out, the stomach, and all the bowels, whereby dregs have their passage, and flowing humors are distilled. Further, it is meet, that those parts, which we have rightly used, while we

lived here, should be benefited with reward together with us. And seeing blessed men did honestly and temperately use their throat, their taste, and their belly, and chastely kept their inferior parts; why should they not receive these parts, that they may be crowned together with them?

61. Neither is it a firm consequent; The use of certain parts and members is taken away; Therefore they themselves also must be taken away. It doth not so come to pass in nature: An old barren woman, which can no more bring forth children, or give suck, is not therefore deprived of her paps; nor yet of those parts, which served for procreation. Yea, and a valiant and noble emperor, which hath done many worthy acts in battle, when he dieth, hath his armor, which sometimes he wore, fastened about his tomb; although he is not to use the same anymore afterward. And the ships, which sometimes bare away the victory upon the sea, albeit that men cannot use them anymore; yet do they draw them up into docks, and will have them preserved there, for a perpetual memory of the things that were done. Yea and Christ himself also being risen from the dead, brought again with him the skars of his wounds: and said unto Thomas, which doubted; Put thy fingers here into my side, and into the holes of the nails, and be not unbelieving, but faithful. The wounds had already performed their part, for by them mankind was redeemed; and yet had he them after he was risen from the dead; to the intent it might be perceived, that it was the very same body, which had suffered before. Elias also and Moses, when they had fasted by the space of forty days, had not in vain their mouth, throat, and belly; when as nevertheless they used not them a long time.

62. But I return to Origin, who thought, that the body should rise again, but not the flesh. But we in the Creed do confess not the resurrection of the body, but of the flesh. But this father, as we gather out of his book *περί*

ἀρχῶν, saith; that There be two errors noted, as concerning the resurrection. The first he maketh to be ours, which think, that flesh, blood, bones, and the very same members, are to be received, when we shall be raised up. For this he supposeth to be absurd and fond, and over gross: because he thinketh, that it would follow thereof, that we should eat, drink, and marry wives again. But how weak this argument is, we declared before, when we showed, that it is meet and convenient, that without use and proper functions, these parts shall be received at the blessed resurrection. Another error he maketh of certain heretics, which altogether denied the resurrection of the dead, attributing eternal salvation to souls only: and of such, as were bold to call the resurrection of Christ, a fantastical resurrection; as who should say, it were only showed by an imagined vision. Wherefore he, having set down these two errors, as certain extremities, pretended to allow of a certain mean way. He said, that when the soul shall be separated from the body, the four principal things whereof the body consisteth, retire themselves again to their own store-houses of nature: so as the flesh goeth into the earth, the breath into the air, the blood and other humors into waters, the heat into heaven. These he affirmeth, do not perish, when they come there; but are so mingled with those elements, as they can be no more discerned or drawn away from thence.

Howbeit, he affirmeth, that the bodies shall rise again; and so rise again, as to everyone shall be given his own proper body, and not another man's. The body of Peter (as he saith) shall be given to Peter; of Paul, to Paul: because it is not meet that sins should be punished in a strange body, and not in the same, by which they were committed. And after what manner this may be done, he thus declareth. In seeds there is engrafted by God a certain nature and power of things, that it may draw unto it all the matter that is to

come, and the corporal substance of things which do come from thence. Yet nevertheless, in the seed of the tree are not seen the fruits, the flowers, the leaves, the branches, the bark, or the body: whereas otherwise, the nature and power of all these things hath being in the same. Even so he judgeth to be in the ashes and matter that remaineth of our bodies. And he calleth that power by the Greek word σπινθηρισμόν, or ἄστέριον: or (as Erasmus corrected it in his scholies to Jeronymus) σωτήριον, that is, A preserving place, or seed-store of the dead. And this he saith shall at the time of the last judgment, shoot forth and bud out human bodies; but not flesh, bones, and blood, least in heaven we should have need of meat and drink, of marriages, barbers, and of handkerchiefs to wipe away the uncleanness of the nose.

And when he denieth that the flesh shall return, he abuseth the words of Paul, wherein he saith; that They which be in the flesh cannot please God. For the apostle, [By flesh] meant not in that place substance and nature: but corruption, viciousness, and lewdness. Even as in the book of Genesis, God said; My spirit shall not rest upon these men, because they be flesh. And by Paul it is written; But ye be not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the spirit of Christ dwell in you. Wherefore Origin judged, that the body of them that rise again, shall be *Homogenium*; that is, of one and the same nature. Now (saith he) we see with eyes, we hear with ears, and we go with feet: but then we shall see, hear, and go with that whole body. He moreover abuseth the words of the same Paul unto the Philippians, when he said of Jesus Christ, μετασχηματίζει, that is; He shall transfigure the body of our humility. For this he also understandeth to be spoken of the nature and substance of our body; whereas it respecteth only the changing of qualities and conditions. For the Greek word σχῆμα, from whence that verb is derived, belongeth to the predicament of quality: and so doth μορφή, which signifieth, Form or

Shape, whereof is derived σύμμορφον, that is to say, Conformed. These things if Origin had weighed, he had not so foully fallen, as to say, that the bodies of them that rise again, shall be airy or elemental, so as they should not be subject, either to seeing, or feeling; but shall be invisible, and unpalpable. Yet did he leave them a place: for he said, that they should not be removed, according to the variety of places: where in the meantime, they which confess, that flesh and bones shall be restored again unto us, do take away place from them.

But I return to Origin, who teacheth, that indeed the bodies shall rise again, but not the flesh. But these are distinguished, as the general and the special kind: for every flesh is a body, but everybody is not flesh. For flesh is that which consisteth of blood, and veins, and skin, and also of bones and sinews. But of bodies, some be airy or elemental; such as Plato assigned to certain spirits, and unto our souls, wherein, as in a certain chariot, they should be carried, and joined to the outward body, which is the more gross and more earthy. And those bodies, which he imagined to be on this sort, might not be either felt or perceived. There be also other bodies, which may both be seen, and felt; when as yet they be no flesh: as is a wall, and wood, which be sensible bodies, and yet no flesh. So as the body, which is the general word, is drawn by the flesh into a special kind. Which is proved by the words of Paul unto the Colossians, who saith; When ye were strangers from Christ, and enemies by cogitation in evil works, hath he yet now reconciled in the body of his flesh, through death. And in the same epistle; With circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh, subject to sin. This was the opinion of Origin, out of the book περί ἀρχῶν, as Jerome reporteth in his epistle against John bishop of Jerusalem.

63. He greatly erred in many things concerning this matter. First, he fondly reasoneth of that seed-store of dead men, remaining after death in the ashes of them that be departed. For what need is it to appoint an original of the resurrection in the matter of our body? The action of raising up from the dead, is all wholly in God: neither are there any powers of the body, whereby it should spring up again. And to note this by the way: some of the ancient fathers must be read very circumspectly; because they seem to attribute unto the Eucharist, that which Origin hath assigned to reason, and to a power engrafted in the bodies, which is not extinguished in them that be dead. Of this matter did Irenaeus in his 4th book, and Justinus in his apology unto Antonius the emperor write, and said that our bodies, when they have received the Eucharist, are no more mortal, because that sacrament is become unto our bodies a preserver unto life everlasting. If these things should properly and absolutely be understood, as they seem to be at the first sight (as though they should teach, that the body and blood of Christ passeth into the true nourishment of bodies, and so in them to be the beginning of the resurrection) the opinion would be very absurd.

For the very meat of the body is concocted, digested and distributed among the parts, and is also converted into the substance and nature of him, which is nourished. But the body of Christ being impassible, cannot be changed into other bodies; even as also it cannot be buried with them. Yet did those fathers truly write, so as their sayings be fitly understood. Wherefore, let us understand, that the faithful in the supper of the Lord do receive bread and wine with the mouth of their body, and they with their mind and spirit do receive the body and blood of Christ, even in such sort as he was given upon the cross for our salvation: and that in receiving these things by faith, we be justified and regenerated, or we be confirmed in

righteousness and spiritual birth. But justification and regeneration, which be in the mind, do make the body itself capable of resurrection. And in this respect we may say, that the outward elements which we receive with our body, are a preparative to the resurrection; because they be instruments of the holy Ghost, whereby he stirreth up faith in us, which is the very original of resurrection.

64. Herein moreover Origin erred, in judging that the body, which he acknowledgeth in the resurrection, shall be of one and the same nature: so as the whole shall see, the whole shall hear, and the whole shall go; as though it shall not have eyes, ears, and feet, distinct one from another. Furthermore, Christ in his transfiguration, when he gave to his apostles a pattern of blessed bodies, was not so changed, as that he went into a round figure, as be the bodies of the sun, moon, and stars. His face remained several from the rest of his parts: for the evangelist writeth, that His face did shine like the sun. Furthermore, when as after his resurrection he did eat and drink together with them, I judge he did it with his teeth, mouth, throat, and belly; not with his feet, or the skull of his head. Also he talked with them, and that no doubt with his tongue and mouth; not with his knees and legs. Besides, it is said in plain terms, that he showed his side that was pierced upon the cross; wherefore he had the same distinguished from the other parts of his body. So as these members were either members in very deed, or else counterfeit members and delusions. If they were very members, let these men agree, that bodies with their several members, shall be restored in the resurrection. But if they were delusions and counterfeit things, the truth of the resurrection is ill proved by a lie.

But they will say, that these were certain prerogatives belonging unto Christ; because he was not, as we be, conceived of man's seed; but by the

help of the holy Ghost was fashioned in the virgin's womb. Howbeit, for my part, I take the resurrection of Christ to be the image and similitude of our resurrection: so that if to him were restored his own proper parts, they shall also be restored unto us. But they add, that these things were done of the Lord, with his apostles by a certain dispensation; when he was raised up from death unto life: otherwise he showed the condition of his body to be airy and spiritual, when as he so dealt with his apostles as they knew him not; and vanished not out of their sight, in such sort as he became invisible: as also, when he entered in unto them, the doors being shut. But the apostles knew him not, in respect that he himself was invisible, or that he wanted flesh and hands: but because (as saith the evangelist) their eyes were holden, that they should not know him. Wherefore, when as they knew him afterward, he writeth, that their eyes were opened; to the intent we should know their eyes to be letted, and no diversity to be in the body of the Lord. Further, he withdrew himself upon the sudden from their eyes, neither did they see him anymore; because their eyes were let, that they should not perceive his departing.

Apollonius Tyanaeus, when he was in the council before Domitian, was suddenly taken from among them, neither did he appear anymore: not that his body was made invisible, or vanished into air; but because the eyes of them that were present, were held by the conjuring of devils, that they could not see him while he was yet present, or when he went away. Therefore that which was done by devilish sorceries, about the body of a profane man, shall we deny unto the body of Christ, in whom was present the perfect Godhead? Also, the argument as touching the doors is weak: for it might be that he came in unto the apostles, by the house top, or in at the windows, when as the gates were locked. And perhaps at his coming, the doors gave

place, and made passage for him. But what needeth much speech? Ezekiel making mention of the resurrection of the dead, speaketh nothing of an airy or elemental body, but he saith that the bones came unto bones, and everyone to his own joint; that they were jointed together with sinews, covered with flesh, and skin put thereupon; and that at the last, they stood upright upon their feet. And so the prophet describeth bodies, even as he knew that it would come to pass at the resurrection. And Job saith; In my flesh I shall see God, with these eyes of mine, neither shall I be another, but as touching substance, the very same that I now am. These things are so manifest, as they have no need to be explained.

65. And in the resurrection we shall not only have that body, which we now have; but it shall also occupy a place: neither can it be together and at one time in many places, because the nature of bodies, and especially of human bodies, suffereth not this: for seeing they be limited, and described with their parts, members, and lineaments, they must needs be contained in certain places. And yet notwithstanding at this day, there be found some so shameless and intemperate, who to defend their opinion, either of ubiquity, or of real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy supper, dare require of us to prove unto them, and that out of the holy scriptures, that a body cannot be without a place, and that it cannot be together at one time in sundry places. What if we again for our part, should demand of them, that out of the same holy scriptures they should show us by express words, that a definite body may be without place, or together at one time in sundry places? Certainly, unless they will use other canonical books than those which the catholic church acknowledgeth, they shall never be able to show us any such testimony. Wherefore the voice of nature, which hath God himself to be author, must be heard. That undoubtedly hath

decreed, that these things cannot be; even as our adversaries themselves do testify. And Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus hath acknowledged, and Cyrillus also in his dialogs *De trinitate*, who wrote; that Even the divine nature, if it were divisible, should be of quantity, and in any wise in a place, nor might not avoid circumscription.

Verily the grounds of nature are not to be new made, except it be when they withstand the word of God. But these things which I have declared, are not repugnant thereunto. Seeing then they cannot show it to be otherwise had in the holy scriptures, let them cease without them to obtrude unto us articles of faith, which are not lawful to be coined without the word of God. But we will follow the teaching of the holy scriptures, which wheresoever they speak of the body of Christ, do everywhere attribute a place unto him: sometime saying, that he was in Galilee: otherwhile at Jerusalem: now and then in Bethany, or in the temple, or in the house of Simon. And they so assign him a certain place, as they may exclude him from another: for he himself saith, when he went to raise up Lazarus; He is dead, and I am glad that I was not there. Whereby he testifieth himself to be so in the way, as he was not at that time in Bethany. And the angel (to the intent he might show him to be departed out of the sepulcher) said unto the women; He is risen, he is not here. Thus he so went from thence, as he was not there present. After this manner doth Christ speak, and the angel testify. So as the human nature of Christ was comprehended in a place, and was nowhere else.

But they will say; When we ask the question concerning power, thou answerest us as touching the fact. Hereunto say I, that that power, which is not showed to have at any time broke out into act, is no hindrance to any purpose. Again, I return to the first demand, and I require, that they will show me by the word of God, how this can be; namely, that a human body

is without place, and that it is together in diverse places: but seeing they cannot do this, let them cease to affirm, and to set it forth as a thing necessary to be believed. I know they will say, that it is written and affirmed by Christ, as touching the wine and bread of the supper; This is my body, and this is my blood. But these words are far otherwise understood, and expounded by the wiser sort, than they understand them: wherefore, a firm and certain argument is not taken from a place diversely expounded. And this perhaps also they will object; There is nothing impossible unto God. I know that so it is written: howbeit, that sentence must not be admitted without all exception. For Paul excepted, when he said; that God is so true, as he cannot deny himself. And the fathers excepted many other things. And it is commonly said in the schools; that Whatsoever things do include contradiction among themselves, cannot be done by God. Furthermore, the Heretics abused that saying, who being reprov'd by the Catholics, that they affirmed absurd and impossible things; answered, that With God all things are possible. Paulus Samosatenus, which denied the distinction of persons, and affirmed the father to be the same that is the son: and being urged by us, that it is impossible that any should beget himself, granted the same to be impossible, as touching us, but that with God all things may be.

66. But I retire myself to the scripture, which acknowledgeth so great a conjunction between a place and a body comprehended therein; as the place being taken away, it utterly forbiddeth the thing placed, to be; which reason would not be firm, but altogether feeble, if it were lawful for a body to be without a place: for it might not be proved, that it hath no being, if the place be utterly taken away. In Job, the seventh chapter, when as the prophet would show, that man after death hath no being, saith; His place shall not know him: that is to say; He shall not be. And in the 20th chapter it is

written of the taking away of the wicked out of life; The place shall not behold him: that is to say, He shall not be. And David, in the 37th Psalm, expressed the same more plainly, saying; Yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be: thou shalt seek his place, and he shall not be found. Thus therefore doth the scripture speak. Whereupon Augustine, whom these men with so great impudency refuse, is not to be accused, when he wrote concerning bodies; that If they be nowhere, they be not at all. For he did not learn that form of speaking only of Aristotle, or of natural philosophy; but of the phrases of the holy scripture.

Neither is there any reason, why these men should imagine, that these sayings belong only unto this life, and to the present state we be in; seeing places do also pertain unto the everlasting felicity, in the kingdom of God. For Christ said to his disciples, when he advertised them of his departure; I go to prepare a place for you. And again; I will that where I am, there my minister should be. And in the Apocalypse we are taught; that The company of the elect do follow the lamb whither soever he shall go. But local motion cannot be without place. And that one body cannot be in many places at one time, the fathers did so well know, as they would not attribute that unto angels. Yea and they proved thereby, that the holy Ghost is God, because he was together at one time in many places, which (as they declare) cannot agree to any creature. And to this opinion did Basil, in his treatise *De spiritu sancto*, Didymus, Cyrillus, Theodoretus, and many others condescend. But the scripture doth confess the very same of the body of Christ: for Peter, in the Acts said, that Heaven must contain him, so long as, or until all things be restored. There is a great efficacy, and a great weight of signification in the adverb of time [Until] or [So long as.] For it is showed, that the body of Christ shall so be in heaven, as in the meantime his presence shall be

excluded from our places. There might perhaps be other things brought; but these I judge sufficient for proving of these properties in the bodies of them that rise again; whereof I have hitherto treated.

67. Now lastly we must confute those arguments, which were objected at the beginning; as though they should make against the resurrection of the dead. First it was said, that by the judgment of Porphyrius, souls, for obtaining of the chief felicity (which consisteth in the knowledge of divine things) should eschew all bodies; because those trouble and let the mind, that it cannot apply itself unto heavenly things. Yea and he seemeth for this cause to have forsaken Plato, who affirmed a return of souls to their former bodies. Here we answer, that this Philosopher had respect to human bodies: not as they were instituted at the beginning; but as they be now infected and corrupted. And indeed, so good is God, as at the beginning he gave nothing unto men that was evil, or that might hinder felicity; He saw all things that he had made, and they were very good. And it is a ridiculous devise (I will not say a wicked) to affirm σῶμα, to be said as it were σῆμα, that is, a body as it were a sepulcher; because it is as it were the sepulcher of our souls. God made the nature of man to be bodily, because it might be holpen by the body; not to receive detriment thereby. This if it did afterward in some part procure, it must not be ascribed unto God; but unto sin. Neither yet in the meantime is it altogether unprofitable, while we be conversant in these calamities, if a man by faith use the same well. Whereunto add, that it shall be restored unto us so corrected and amended in the blessed resurrection, and so furnished with excellent conditions and qualities; as it shall not diminish the desired felicity, but it shall rather augment the same.

There was another argument; namely, that after death the parts of our body are so resolved into elements, from whence it is taken, and so mingled

with them; as thence forth it can be no more dissevered and brought forth. But this is to judge over meanly and basely of the power of God, when we will not attribute as much unto him; as we grant unto the endeavors of men in this life. If water be mingled with wine, there be such men, as can dissever the one from the other again. Further, goldsmiths and finers of metals can resolve into their parts, those lumps, which are mixed together of gold, silver, brass, and steel. Neither doth there want such, as can of every dry and hard thing press out oil, or liquid fatness. And shall not God (who is declared to be omnipotent, and could create the world of nothing) be able to draw human bodies out of the ashes again? And therefore it is written in the Apocalypse, the twenty chapter; And the sea gave up her dead, which were in her; and death and hell delivered up the dead, which were in them, &c.

68. But it may be (say they) that human flesh should be devoured either of fishes, or of birds, the which afterward may become the food of men, and be converted into the flesh of another man. Hereunto we answer, that certainly the dust and ashes are raised up, not as they were the substances of fishes or of birds; but as they were of a man first consumed by them. Neither shall the latter man (which fed of those fishes and birds, and turned them into his own flesh) be raised up with the augmentation or matter of the other man, which went before him. The very which answer may be made concerning the Anthropophagi. And that the matter may be the more plainly known; we must understand, that in the nature of things, there is no need about the keeping still of the substance of one and the self-same body, that all things, which were in it, should perpetually remain in the same. For the matter of our body doth continually shed and fall away; the hairs and nails do shed, and are clipped; many things flow out by the mouth, by the

nostrils, and by other excremental parts: further, the natural heat doth always spend the vital moisture; and the substance, which floweth out, is repaired again by new eating and drinking: and this is done every hour, and yet do not the bodies cease to be the same in number. Which also we see come to pass in trees, whose fruits are gathered, whose leaves fall, and whose branches are each year shred; when as yet the same trees do remain very long the same in number. So that if the whole matter together should be taken away, that unity might not be appointed: but because the matter avoideth by parts, and that the new matter, which is gathered by meat and drink, is joined to those that were before; therefore unity is retained, especially where one and the self-same form endureth, and is preserved.

Seeing therefore unto the truth and unity of a body, there is no necessity, that all things, which passed through the same, should be in it; it may be that God doth not lay up in the resurrection, for such as were consumed by the Anthropophagi, the flesh of those, which did eat them; but that he will restore other things, which at sundry times flowed from their body. And if perhaps anything should be wanting, he will supply it by his power: even as an addition of flesh was given to the rib of Adam, when Eve was formed thereof. But if a man will say, that it may happen, that the Anthropophagi did not feed of any other thing than man's flesh: we say that this is to small purpose, seeing they have also other brute beasts, which they feed of. They do also use milk, and the grains called millet, and panicke, and such other like meats. Wherefore the substance to some shall be all one, that it was in others, and it shall be diminished, which was too much. There was brought another reason; If there be a resurrection to come, there had been no need of new generation; But the same (as we see) is continued, and God commanded it as well before the flood, as after. But they, which reason after

this sort, ought to consider of two things. First, that procreation endureth to the end of the world: but that it is to take place no more after that time. Further, when generation was commanded, there was no condition added, that it should be perpetual. Wherefore the argument is most weak: for it is taken from the nature of things present, whereas this state of ours is sometimes utterly to be changed.

69. Besides this, it was said, that In death the essential beginnings of man are destroyed: and not the body alone, but the inferior parts also of the mind. For the powers of the senses; namely, of fervent desiring and being angry, do perish as do those, which serve unto nourishment and procreation. We answer; that the use indeed of these things doth surcease by death, but that the powers themselves are not extinguished, but be kept whole in the soul, which is severed from the body: so that when the body shall be restored thereunto, the exercise of them shall be restored also, except that which declareth itself to belong either to procreation, or nourishment of the body in this life. Furthermore, it was objected; that One and the same unity of body cannot be preserved, when as the life or continuance thereof shall be broken off. For the being, wherein we be, consisteth in a certain succession, or continuation of life. And indeed we see, that walking, when it is broken off, if it be afterward renewed, is not one and the same in number. And it was added, that in augmentation, the same thing happeneth as touching other qualities. For health being discontinued by reason of sickness, when the sick man is restored, health indeed returneth; but it is not the same in number: for as well the old things brought forth, as the new, are diverse. Hereunto we say, that this indeed is true, and altogether taketh place in those efficient causes, in which the action, or thing itself brought forth, is distinguished from the efficient cause: as it cometh to pass in all

causes created. But the resurrection is the work of God, wherein the action is not divided from the nature and substance of the agent itself. And lastly, whereas it was alleged, that the heap of those things, which passed and fell from the body, should be monstrous; and that if all things should be restored at the resurrection, men's bodies should be of exceeding greatness: but if on the other side, all things shall not be laid up in store; what reason can be assigned, why some parts should be restored more than other some? I answer; It hath been already said, that not all things which be cast forth of our bodies, shall be received when we rise again: but only those things, which make to a just and convenient quantity. But why rather one sort than another are kept in store, we must commit it to the judgment of God, who disposeth all things with singular wisdom.

70. Now it resteth, that we dilate of those places, which in the holy scriptures seem at the first sight to be against the resurrection. In the 78th Psalm it is written; And he remembered that they were but flesh, their spirit or breath departing away, and not returning again. For the exposition of this place, the scope must first be considered; namely, that God was led to take mercy of his people, because their infirmity was known unto him. So as, because of their frailty and feebleness, therefore had he mercy upon them, and scattered them not abroad with one only stripe. Sometime the spirit is said to be against the flesh, in respect that the flesh is said to be weak, and the spirit strong and valiant. So said Christ unto his apostles, when as they slept, while he was in praying; The spirit indeed is ready, but the flesh is frail. And Isaiah in the third chapter, describing the weakness of Egypt, saith; Egypt is flesh, and not spirit: that is; It staggereth with feebleness, it standeth not firm and strong. But sometime the flesh and spirit are taken both for one thing, and both betoken infirmity; even as in this place: where

the same thing is repeated in the latter clause, which is spoken in the former. In this place therefore, the spirit is not meant to be the soul of man, or the divine inspiration; but the breath, blast, and wind, which being gone and past, perish, and are restored no more. When the life of man is finished, we begin not again at the original; neither do we bud forth as trees and herbs cut down: but we lie in the dust, not returning unto our former state.

When I say, that after death men be not like unto herbs, I am not against David, who saith in the 103rd Psalm; He knoweth his workmanship, he remembereth that we are but dust. The days of man are as grass, and as the flourishing flower of the field; the wind cometh over him, and he is withered, and his place hath known him no more. Herein standeth the similitude, that the sudden and unexpected destruction of flourishing man, may be perceived: but in this is the similitude taken away, that men do not spring forth anew, like unto plants and herbs. There is showed moreover, that there is nothing found in man to provoke God unto mercy, but misery. But if spirit be taken for the soul; then we will say, that the prophet doth weigh of man, and consider of him according to his own nature and strength; and truly pronounceth, that his spirit doth so depart, as it returneth not. For the blessed resurrection is a miracle, and not a work of nature. This scripture speaketh not of man, according to those things which he shall receive, through the bountifulness and power of God; but according to the faculties and strength, which it hath by nature.

Also it is written in the book of Wisdom, the 15th chapter; His spirit shall go forth of him, and it shall not return again. And no man doubtless hath brought with him from his mothers womb, or from the originals of nature, the power to rise again. Indeed our soul hath a being after death, but it hath no power of itself to return unto the body which it had. Nay rather, if God

should remove from it his preserving power, it would fall to utter ruin. This is the common and received exposition of this place. Howbeit, there is another sense, which cometh to my remembrance, no less profitable than both the former. When the Israelites were pressed with adversity in the desert, and were for just causes punished by God; they cried unto him, that they might be delivered: but this they did very unperfectly, which was not hidden from God. Yet nevertheless, he had mercy upon them; because they were flesh, that is, of a corrupted nature: and for this cause they oftentimes fell again into the same sins. Also their spirit, that is, their earnest motion of praying and invoking of the true God JEHOVA, was not steadfast in them; but in a manner passed by them, and returned not, seeing they fell again to idolatry, after the deliverance obtained. Wherefore these were *Chronij*, that is, Temporizers: as we read in the parable of the seed in the eighth of Luke.

71. In the 115th Psalm, it is written; The heaven of heavens is the Lord's, but the earth hath he given to the children of men. Whereupon some do gather, that men are so become bound to the earth, as heaven doth not belong to them. But they are far deceived: for from thence is drawn abundantly, the goodness of God, which hath no need of earthly commodities, neither hath it any manner of need of worldly wealth; and yet did it bring forth the whole world, howbeit unto the use and commodity of men. But that God hath no need of those good things, hereby it is proved; that he dwelleth in the heavens, whither these things ascend not; and where they cannot grow. Neither yet did the prophet so affirm God to be settled in heaven, as he denieth him to be everywhere: for the essence and power of God is in all places. But he is peculiarly said to dwell in heaven; because his presence is there meant to be more famous, more mighty, and more effectual: as well for the splendent and ample light, for the constant motion

of the circles, and proceeding thereof in excellent order, and for the sundry and manifold influences; as also, because from the parts above we have winds, clouds, rain, hail, lightnings, thunder, &c. Neither doth the prophet utterly exclude men from heaven, as though they should never come thither: for thither they shall come, which have lived godly; but that must be at their time appointed. So as the Psalmist speaketh of the time of this life, as the state of things now stand.

But presumptuous men have sometimes abused the words of David; so that some have thought, that it should be lawful for them to do anything upon the earth, to rob and slay, to turn all upside down, as though God doth not mark these things, as he that only dwelleth in heaven, and walking about the limits of heaven, taketh no care of our doings. Again, others have so wickedly wrested these words; that seeing God hath heaven to himself, and hath given the earth unto the children of men, there is no cause why we should aspire to heaven; but rather that every man provide for himself, (as many parts of the earth as he can get. Of this mind they seem to be, which couple field to field, and house to house; so as they scarcely suffer a foot of land to be possessed by others. Further, the prophet proceedeth, and saith; The dead shall not praise the Lord, nor yet all they which go down into silence. The mind of the suppliant is, that God would spare the godly men; lest they being consumed, there should be a want of such, as would set forth the praise of God. But thou wilt say; If the senses of souls, and the life of them that be departed be taken away, will there be a want of such as should praise God? True in very deed it is, that in heaven there will be no want. But he hath appointed to receive fame and praise, not only in another world, but even here also upon the earth: which will not come to pass, if the godly be consumed by the wicked. And God hath so ordained this, as he brought

forth man for this end. Otherwise he gave also the earth unto cattle, unto lions, and also to serpents, flies, and creeping beasts: for all these things are there brought up and nourished, but yet not so as men be. For we be placed in the world, that we should publish and set forth God: this cannot the dead do here, seeing they be far from this world. And therefore it is said; The dead shall not praise the Lord; namely, upon the earth.

Indeed brute beasts, and dumb cattle, have their abiding upon the earth, and therein are fed and nourished; but they were made for the behoove of man: but unto this manner of end they are not advanced; because they are not so endued with reason, as they can give thanks, call upon and celebrate the name of God. Hereby let us gather, that the earth is given unto men: not to the intent that they should rashly abuse the same, and that they should devour the good things thereof like unto brute beasts; but celebrate and extol the name of God, even as they are continually invited by his benefits. Which being only done by the godly sort, if they be oppressed by tyrants and wicked persons; who shall remain to declare and sing out the praises of God? The wicked do blaspheme the name of God: so far is it off, that they magnify and extol it. The repetition of the word; namely [Heaven of heavens] doth betoken a certain famous and excellent region of the heavens, wherein God and Christ dwell with the saints.

72. But let us come unto Ecclesiastes, where, in the third chapter it is written; that Men and cattle have one manner of end, both the one and the other do die, and they have all one manner of spirit or breath: and who knoweth whether the spirit of the sons of Adam go upward, and the spirit of beasts go downward? He had said a little before, that the successes of the godly and of the wicked are all one; and that thereby it cometh to pass, that no man knoweth by the outward fortunes and events of men, who are

beloved of God, and who be hated. But now he compareth man with cattle, affirming that the conditions and qualities of them all are one and the same. But these must we distinguish, because some be general, and some special. As to the special, the conditions be not all one in every sort: for cattle be four-footed, but men be two-footed; the cattle are without speech, but man doth speak; cattle be not capable of vices and virtues, but men are garnished with virtues, and polluted with vices. Wherefore Solomon, in that place treateth of general qualities, as well of men, as of beasts. For as men be born and bred up, so cometh it to pass with cattle: as those be dissolved into ashes and elements, so doth it happen unto men, as touching the body: as beasts be fed with meat, and quench thirst with drink, and engender their young ones: so do men likewise.

And whereas it is said, that the spirit as well of the one as the other is one, that must not be referred to the soul: as though Solomon judged, that all men have but one soul; as Averroes, and other of the Peripatetics did think. But by the spirit he understandeth the wind or breath: for brute beasts and men do breath all in one air. Indeed the spirit of man goeth upward, and the breath of beasts downward: but who knoweth this? Who is able to prove it by strong natural reasons? It is not denied by Solomon, that these things happen; but he saith, that the knowledge and understanding of these things are scarcely, or not at all extant among men, as touching natural principles. And whereas he saith; Who knoweth? He (as Jerome interpreteth) doth show a difficulty: not an utter impossibility. For Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and some other philosophers, attained after a sort to the knowledge of immortality of souls; by what means I stand not to prove. In the same book of Ecclesiastes, the ninth chapter, it is written; In the grave that thou goest unto, there is neither work, cogitation, knowledge, not wisdom, &c. These

things (as Jerome saith) pertain unto the good works, whereby it is the part of the faithful to approve themselves unto God, while they live in this world; because in the other life they shall have no place. In this life must we believe the word of God, that we may be justified; here repentance must be taken in hand; here the sacraments must be received; here alms must be bestowed: because after death, there is no place reserved for these actions. And thus spake Christ in the Gospel of John; Now work ye while it is day, otherwise the night will come, wherein no man can work.

Gregorius Neocaesariensis referreth the places, which we have alleged out of Ecclesiastes, unto Solomon, who wrote these things of himself. Because, when he gave himself to pleasures, he in a manner felt his mind to grow beastly, and to be infected with these cogitations; namely, that the end of man and beasts should be all one; that after this life, in another world, there remaineth not either cogitation, or work, or wisdom, or knowledge. And assuredly it cometh to pass, that they, which be occupied in such beastly cogitations, do eftsoons every day burn in the lusts of delights, and do more and more grow beastly. So as this interpreter doth not think, that these things were approved by Solomon, whom he thinketh to make report of the things, which he affected of old, and of the which he repented: because this book of Ecclesiastes is accounted among the Jews; The Repentance of Solomon. Wherefore the voluptuous and delicate men, to confirm themselves in their beastliness, do say, that as well men as beasts do die, that there shall nothing remain after this life. Let us use therefore no measure in carnal and earthly delights: and (as Paul said;) Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die.

Also Olympiodorus, an interpreter of the book of Ecclesiastes saith; that First these things do belong unto the life of the body; wherein (as it hath

been said) many qualities are common, as well to men as beasts. Secondly, that they which bend themselves wholly to pleasures and delights, do rather approach to the nature of brute beasts. And therefore he will have us here to be admonished, that we should withdraw ourselves from these things, least we in our manners degenerate into brute beasts, whereas we be made unto the image of God, and ordained to become one day like unto angels. Lastly, he interpreteth them to be men, which rightly use reason; but those to be beasts, which have utterly addicted themselves to flesh and affections. But who (saith he) knoweth those men, which belong unto the one sort, or those which belong unto the other; seeing the conditions of men are secret and hidden? So as it may be, that Solomon spake these things under the person of voluptuous men; or else (as it seemed to Gregorius Neocaesariensis) he had in remembrance his own person.

73. Job, in the 14th chapter, seemeth to make men of worse condition, than either trees cut down, the rivers, and the sea. For a tree cut down, springeth again, and returneth to his former state. And rivers, although through heat they be emptied of their waters; yet are they abundantly restored unto them again. And the sea, albeit every six hours it depart from the dry land; yet covereth it the same again. But it fareth not so with man, when he is dissolved by death; because he returneth no more, neither is he restored to his former state. These things doth Job there lament, and that truly in very deed, if man should be considered in his own proper nature; namely, without the word of God, and without Christ. But if it be considered, that even he himself, that was entangled in these things, hath a bain, wherein he being washed, doth not only revive again, but returneth from death to life; we must otherwise determine of him. It is further to be noted, that a time is limited, wherein the dead return not unto life: seeing it

is there written; Until that heaven shall pass away. In which words are noted the end of the world. Job then denieth not, but that men shall rise again, after heaven is passed away.

And much more doth he seem to affirm this, when in the same place he seemeth to compare death unto sleep, and maketh mention of men that shall be wakened. For sleep is not perpetual; but hereunto is ordained, that it should be limited by watching. Yea and he added in the same place; Who shall bring to pass, that thou wilt hide me in the grave, until thy wrath be overpast? By which form of speaking he showeth, that there will be an end of God's wrath: and that death shall once have an end. And yet more plainly he saith; And to appoint a time wherein thou mayest remember me. And he afterward beareth record, that he waiteth for a renewing. And straightway he saith; Thou shalt call me, and I will answer thee; namely, I rising from the dead, thou undoubtedly shalt stretch forth thy right hand to thine own workmanship. Yea and some have expounded the same place by an interrogative point, as though it should be an argument from the less to the greater: saying; Shall a tree cut down, a river, and the sea be restored to their former state, and man not attain thereto? It is not likely, seeing man is far better than these things, and thou with no less careregardest him.

And undoubtedly Ibn-Ezra granteth, that the resurrection in that place is understood. But those things seem to be somewhat more difficult, which are spoken in the 7th chapter of the same book, where he saith; Mine eye shall not return to see good things. Howbeit, this must be understood, as concerning the good things, which pertain unto this life. For after the resurrection, the dead shall not return again to eat, to drink, to beget children, as they did before, while they lived here. Moreover, he saith; The eye shall see me no more: which seemeth to be nothing else, than that after

this world, there shall be no bargains, covenants, and intercourse between men, as there was before. To this he addeth; The cloud is gone, and returneth no more: even so, he that descendeth into the pit, ascendeth not; neither returneth to his own house, neither knoweth anymore his own place.

74. These things (as I have hitherto warned) are spoken as touching the strength of nature: and if a man be considered to be without God and Christ, as he is in his own nature corrupt and imperfect; and also, if death and hell be weighed of, according as they be indeed. For these things cannot be overcome by natural strength. Wherefore it is said; that In hell there is no redemption: because no man by the help of man, or by the power of nature, can be called back from thence. But if we embrace Christ with a perfect faith, forsomuch as he overcame sin, death, and hell; we have thereby great redemption in him. And in the book of Samuel we read, that It is God which leadeth us down unto hell, and bringeth us back again. Neither are we to pass over, that by that similitude which Job useth of the cloud, which suddenly goeth away, is noted the shortness of our life. Even as James did also in his epistle, when he said; What is your life? Even a vapor that appeareth for a little while. Afterward he saith; It shall not return to his own home. Which is nothing else, but that these conditions of this life, shall not be received again after resurrection; to wit, that any man shall again be a prince, a householder, husbandman, citizen, or in such other state. Neither did Ibn-Ezra dissemble, that by this place also the resurrection of the dead is not disproved.

There was another argument brought out of the words of Daniel; because he wrote, that many should rise again, and did not say [All,] whereby grew a suspicion, least he should make the resurrection particular, and not (as it is showed to be) universal. Howbeit, we expounded this saying of his, and

declared, that he might not say [All:] seeing many are to be found alive at the last day, who in very deed shall not die, but be changed. Nevertheless, the prophet in that place touched the resurrection, as well of the godly, as of the wicked: when he said; Some shall rise unto ignominy, and others unto glory, and that everlastingly. Neither also is that any hindrance, which is spoken in the psalm; namely, that The wicked shall not rise in judgment: because he there treateth of the cause, and not of the nature and substance of them. They shall not stand (saith he) but their cause shall be overthrown: for they shall not be quitted at the tribunal seat of God, but shall be condemned. These answers have we made to the objections, and (according to our promise) we have expounded the principal points of this treatise. And now there remaineth, that we endeavor earnestly while we live here, to have a part in the first resurrection: providing, that our faith may be excellent, our charity fervent and effectual, our hope firm and constant; and that our actions, as well inward as outward, may be Christian and well ordered, and that we subdue the wicked motions and affections of the flesh; altogether conforming our will and mind unto the law of God. In performing whereof, we shall after the former, obtain that latter and blessed resurrection.

CHAP. XVI. Of the taking up of Elias, and Enoch.

Now it seemeth good to discourse of the taking up of Elias; and what I have determined to speak of, I will divide into three principal points. First, I think it meet to be understood, whither Elias ascended, that is, what place he hath occupied by his ascending; secondly, whether he be dead, and whether he enjoy his body, or hath put off the same; thirdly, if he liveth, whether he shall return unto us, and to what end he was taken up. But forsomuch as this lot; namely, to be taken up, was common, as well unto Enoch, as unto him (as we read in the fifth chapter of Genesis) we will entreat of them both together. Howbeit, this testimony of Enoch differeth from the history of Elias; because therein is no mention of the place, whereunto Enoch was translated. But in very deed it is written of Elias; that he was taken up through a whirlwind, into heaven: albeit some man may suppose that word *Schamaijm*, to be of the genitive case, as though it were said, In a whirlwind of heaven; that is to say, that Elias was taken up in a heavenly whirlwind. But the interpretation that is received in a manner of all the expounders, is that that word should be understood, as put in the

accusative case: and noteth the place, unto the which Elias ascended. Yet have we not hereby anything certain or defined, because the name of the word heaven, is manifold, and under that name many things are signified.

Heaven (among the Hebricians) is this air, wherewith the earth and water was compassed. And sometimes it signifieth those upper spheres, which are garnished with sundry and manifold stars. Also, those high seats of the blessed, which are manifest far and wide above those visible spheres, are called heaven. Albeit many in this our time account heaven to be a certain spiritual and bodiless place of the blessed, which is wholly everywhere. But this is nothing else but to mingle together the highest with the lowest, and the lowest with the highest. We leaving this ubiquary and feigned heaven, say not that the seats of the blessed are bodiless; but are wide and largely spread, beyond the compasses of the stars, and beyond the firmament itself. Hereof also we think it cometh, that it is said that Christ ascended above all heavens; as the apostolical history teacheth, and as it is written in the epistle to the Ephesians: where it is properly understood, that he came to the lower most parts of the earth, (for he was conversant among men in this world:) so must the heaven, whither he ascended, be properly understood to be the highest, if respect be had unto the Antithesis or contrariety. And undoubted credit also must be given unto the testimony of the angel, wherein it was said; that He should come to judge from thence, whither he by ascending went. And Peter in express words affirmeth, that Heaven must contain him, until the restitution of all things. In which words the adverb [Until] hath great force: for it is even as if it were said; He shall not come out of heaven unto us, before all things shall be restored by the last judgment.

2. Neither only be the latter fathers (as Beda and Strabus) of our side, whose testimonies be recited by Peter Lombard: that they affirmed heaven

to be *Empyreum*: not so called, as though anything were burned in them with fire, but because of the fiery light, with which kind the place is perpetually lightened: and they will have it, that the angels were there placed, immediately after their creation. Yea and Ambrose and Basil, being men of great authority among the ecclesiastical fathers, were of the same mind: for they, expounding the works of the six days, demanded whether the darkness was created by God? And they answered, that darkness hath no essence and proper nature, which may be brought forth by creation; but that seeing it belongeth unto privation, it followeth of its own accord, the firmament being under put as an arch or vault to an unshapen matter. For they say, that before the world was made, God himself lived in a most splendent light, which being shut forth, remained, when the firmament had been compassed about with inferior things. So as the light being hindered, darkness did result within the world.

And of this conjecture of theirs, they bring an example of a man, who being placed in the middle-earth region, which is clear with light on every side, maketh and pitcheth himself a tent, either of course cloth, or of very thick leather. This when he hath well closed up, the light is excluded, and darkness therewithin ariseth of itself. By these things it plainly appeareth, that these fathers do affirm the outward most part of the firmament to be most bright, which is the most happy habitation of the saints: and do mean, that the innermost darkness was afterward chased away by God; when as unto the firmament he joined unto the celestial spheres, the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars. Also Augustine in his book *De civitate Dei*, against the philosophers, which thought Christians to dote, because they confessed that human bodies have a place in heaven after the resurrection. For they thought it not possible, that unto earth, and other portions of the elements,

seats should be granted in so high parts of the world. Against these (I say) doth Augustine earnestly contend: which he ought not to have done, if he had affirmed the heaven of the blessed, to be altogether without a body, and to be found in every place. For he might easily have answered; We say not, that the bodies of the saints, after the resurrection, shall have place in the high regions of the world; but in the spiritual heaven, that is, everywhere. But of this matter there hath been enough spoken already; for it is in another place treated of more at large: and I now call it to remembrance, to confirm the third signification of heaven, which noteth, that there be most bright regions beyond the starry circles, which are seen of our eyes.

3. But of some perhaps it may be thought a rash inquisition, that we have propounded: for the holy scriptures do not define any certainty of the three significations. This only they testify, that Elias was taken up, and that Elisha saw him a little while, and that he afterward beheld him no more. Yea and Chrysostom, in an oration which he made of Elias, wrote; that It is a point of wisdom, to stay ourselves within those terms that the scriptures teach: otherwise, it is not safe to wander out of them in our own discourses. And Cyprian saith; Unto what place he was taken up, God knoweth: as if he should say, that it extended not to the knowledge of man. But because many of the ancient and latter writers have taught somewhat of this matter, and no small number are desirous to hear somewhat of these things; therefore have I entered into this treatise: in disputing whereof, I will not incline myself to conjectures and inventions of men; but will only make relation of those things, which are brought by writers of most authority; and as touching those things, I will declare what may seem to be judged probable.

First of all we are not to doubt, but that Elias, while he was taken up, passed through the midst of this air, for even from thence fell his cloak.

Furthermore, thither had Elisha looked, when he cried; My father, my father, &c. The holy history also agreeth thereunto, which showeth, that the children of the prophets foretold Elisha, that his master should be taken away from his head: that is, Above his head, and through the regions of the air. Which out of many places of the scripture may be proved, to be called by the name of heaven: for there, in diverse places we read; The fowls of heaven, while it is manifest enough, that they fly not, but through this lowermost part of the air. And they, which after the flood built the most high tower, would have had the top thereof to have reached unto heaven, that is, unto the high air. Besides this, the spies, which at the commandment of Moses, went into the land of Canaan, to the intent they might advance the height of the fortresses that were there, declared, that they did reach unto heaven; that is to say, they were built so high into the air, as they were invincible. It is said in like manner, that Moses gave bread from heaven; because Manna rained upon the Israelites: certainly, not from the celestial spheres, but from the region of this our air. Also it is said, that Elias did shut heaven, and open it: when as under the name of heaven was signified the clouds, whereby, at the prayers of Elias, the rain was before prohibited, and afterward distilled.

4. But if thou shalt demand, whether the body of Elias remained in this airy heaven: that doth Chrysostom in the place now alleged deny, specially by this argument; For because that in this air, is the seat, not of saints, but of Satan. For Paul unto the Ephesians saith, that the devil is the prince of the air: yea, and he rather thinketh, that Satan did marvel exceedingly, when he perceived Elias to be so carried up through his regions in a chariot, and with fiery horses. Further, what should Enoch and Elias there do in that wilderness, severed from the society of the holy spirits, which lived quietly

and happily in the bosom of Abraham? Moreover, it is very likely, that God would have the men that are so dear and acceptable unto him, to be entertained in a far better mansion, than they received upon the earth: which could not have been, if they should be retained still in the air, which is turmoiled with rains, with tempests, with winds, with hail, and with sundry discommodities. But what shall we affirm, as concerning the starry spheres? Shall we think, that Enoch and Elias were received thither? No verily. What should they do there with their bodies? Undoubtedly they should be caught with the daily motion from the east to the west perpetually, and [also be carried] with other motions of those spheres: unless a man perhaps will imagine, that they abide in the poles themselves; which would be altogether ridiculous. Neither are the seats of the blessed appointed to be in those visible heavens: for Christ is said to have ascended above all heavens. And he himself testified, that where he is, there he would that his ministers also should be. Wherefore, even they also are carried up above all heavens.

I know indeed, that the Stoic philosophers judged, that the souls of all men remain alive after the bodies, for a great space of time (forsooth) but not forever: and that they did think (as Seneca testifieth in his treatise *De consolatione ad Martiam*) that they do hover, and be conversant for a time in the air, where they should be thoroughly cleansed and consumed; whatsoever fowl and impure thing they had drawn unto them, through the unclean contagion of their bodies and lusts: and that when they be thoroughly purified, they shall be lifted up, even unto those spheres, which are garnished with stars; that they may thereby receive most honest pleasure, thorough beholding of celestial things: but yet, that at the last they shall be dissolved and extinguished. Again, I am not ignorant that Cicero, in his book *De somno Scipionis*, affirmed, that The soul of that excellent man

Scipio was among the stars; from whence he should not only behold celestial things, but also should see the earth like a very little point in the center of the world; and should see, that men do so greatly busy themselves to amplify their possession or empire, in a part that is both least and lowest of all the world. But these be fables and fond devises of Ethnics. And yet do I not affirm this, as though I were of the opinion, that God cannot preserve human bodies, either in the air, or within these visible circles of the heavens. Howbeit, of that which God is able to do, cannot be concluded, that it is done: for he is able to do many things, which nevertheless he hath decreed not to do.

5. Now resteth the third signification of heaven: and there remaineth to be considered, whether these two men, when they were taken away from hence, were carried to the high seats of the blessed saints. Which seemeth not to be, because bodies enter not in thither, before they be glorified: which thing the scripture hath attributed to neither of these two. Hereunto moreover is added, that Christ being raised from the dead, immortality was first of all other attributed unto him: for he is the first fruits of the dead. But when as these things were done, the son of God had not as yet taken human flesh upon him: much less was he entered with his body into heaven. And Irenaeus himself, in his treatise against heresies, attributeth so much unto Christ in this matter, as he thinketh, that the souls of the Christians departed, do not enter into those blessed seats, before the resurrection; when they shall put on their bodies anew, because Christ also was not lifted up thither, till after the resurrection. How true his judgment was, hereof I stand not to dispute: but I easily gather, that it is no fit thing, that these two were carried unto the blessed places, before that Christ (who is the first fruits of all men) had gone thither.

The words also of the Lord seem to persuade this, who in the Gospel of John saith; No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that hath descended from heaven, even the son of man, which is in heaven. Whereby he denieth, that any ascended into heaven before himself: for by the verb of ascending in that place, he hath respect unto the preter-perfect tense. For if it should be understood in the future tense, or time to come; that saying would not be true: for we, which believe in him, shall ascend into heaven. Neither doth it weaken the testimony already brought, if any shall say, that Christ ascended into heaven by his own power and strength; but that Enoch and Elias were lifted up into heaven by the power of God, and not by their own strength; because also the body of Christ had not this power, that he might ascend up of himself, that is, of the nature of flesh, but of the divine nature. These arguments came now unto mind, as touching the three significations of heaven.

6. Now let us come to recite the sundry opinions of learned men. David Kimhi, not the meanest interpreter of the Hebrews, thinketh; that In the taking up of Elias, his garments were consumed with fire, except his mantle, which fell from him: yea and that himself was extinguished, so that everyone of the elements of his body was dissolved, and returned to the element like unto itself; but that his spirit went into heaven, unto the society of angels, and there enjoyed the high felicity. Of the very same mind Oecolampadius (a man singularly well learned) seemeth to be, when he expoundeth the end of the prophet Malachi. And as concerning Enoch, the Hebrews think, that he died, But where it is said, that he was taken up, or received by God: that cometh to pass, by reason he departed before the time of nature had appointed. For he lived only three hundred and three score years; when as his forefathers, before the flood, lived until eight hundred

and nine hundred years. And they add, that he, although he were well accepted with God; yet that he was prone unto sin; and that therefore God favoring him, would have him to depart with a sharp and untimely death. And perhaps some would wrest unto this purpose, that which is written in the book of Wisdom, the 4th chapter; He was speedily taken away, that wickedness should not alter his heart. But contrariwise, men of our religion do think, that this was appointed unto Enoch: because he was an excellent man, and that God would therefore make his end to be famous, by a wonderful taking of him away. But if the soul so separated from the body ascended to the seats of the blessed, doubtless it must needs be, that the bodies did penetrate the celestial spheres; seeing we affirm those seats to be above all the heavens. But we must understand, that the mass and greatness of bodies do indeed hinder bodies, that they cannot pass through: but spirits which be without a body, are not hindered by them.

7. Others do say, that they were brought into a very quiet state, and to a blessed condition. But if thou urge them to define the place, their mind is, that they be in earthly paradise; where Adam and his wife Eve were placed at the beginning. This opinion seemeth but little to be allowed of; because that same paradise was destroyed by the flood, neither is it anymore extant at this day. For the waters of the flood passed many cubits above the tops of the highest hills. Albeit some of the School-divines think, that by a certain privilege, the waters were forbidden, that they should not touch the garden of pleasures. And they bring a reason, that the waters of the flood were sent for the punishment of sinners; but at that time there lived none in paradise, but Enoch, together perhaps with some angels. Wherefore they conclude, that that place was not destroyed by the waters. And among others, Scotus defendeth this opinion. And it is a wonder to be said, how diverse and

sundry opinions have been written by the School-men concerning the seat of paradise of pleasures. But this also seemeth very absurd, that Elias was caught up unto the highest places, and afterward was deposed into the terrestrial garden. Further, this must be granted, that in the holy scriptures cannot easily be found, where Guen-Eden, that is, The garden of pleasures, is called heaven. Surely, I have not found the same anywhere.

Seeing then it is said, that Elias was taken up into heaven; that must not be understood of terrestrial paradise. True it is, that heaven itself seemeth sometimes to be called paradise: for the Lord said unto the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. Which saying (as Augustine affirmeth in an epistle unto Dardanus) must be referred unto the divine nature. For he thinketh, that it might not be applied to his body, which lay in the grave; nor yet unto his soul, being in the infernal places: unless by the infernal places, a man will understand the bosom of Abraham, where it is believed, that the soul of Christ was together with the fathers. Howbeit, Augustine in his treatise *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the first book and 3rd chapter, seemeth to be of this mind, where he saith; that Perhaps Elias is fed in paradise, as the first Adam was before he was cast out from thence for sin. And the occasion of erring on this wise, was the book of Ecclesiasticus: where in the 44th chapter we read; Henodi pleased or approved himself unto God, and therefore he translated him into paradise. But hereunto we answer; first, that that book is not canonical. Further, that the Latin interpreter hath not faithfully translated that place, because in the Greek there is no mention made of paradise, but only saith; He was translated.

But perhaps the Ubiquists of our times would say, that These men were taken up into their heaven, [which they affirm] to be in every place. Howbeit, this would be nothing else, but to send them into Utopia, which is

in no place. And certainly, if they retain their bodies still, they must of necessity be compassed with somebody. For that is most true, which Augustine told unto Dardanus; Take away places from bodies, and they shall be nowhere; and because they shall be nowhere, they shall not be at all. Neither doth he speak these things (as some think) after the manner of a natural philosopher; seeing he expounded a question of divinity. For Dardanus had demanded of him, whether the human nature of Christ, by reason of the Godhead joined therewith, were everywhere: and therefore might also be both in hell, and together with the thief in paradise. So then we must assure ourselves, that all things created be defined and distinguished by certain places, but yet after their own manner: for bodies are corporally in a place. But spirits be therein (as the School-men say) definitively; because they have a substance and nature limited. Wherefore, the angel that was with John in the Ile of Patmos, was not at the same time in Ephesus; and the same that was with Daniel in Babylon, was not at the same time with Jeremiah in Judea. To be everywhere, is only attributed unto God.

8. Another opinion also is of them, which do think, that they were carried into the bosom of Abraham; which they do understand to be a place of rest, wherein the spirits of the faithful are in happy state. And they say, that it is called the bosom; either because they are there brought together by the father Abraham, even as young children are carried in the bosom by their parents; or else, for that it may be thought to be a certain haven of salvation. For so are called the harbors in the sea, which be safe from tempests. And unto Abraham it is said, that he was the father of faith; not that the blessed fathers before Abraham's time are thereby excluded: but therefore doth this bosom bear the name of Abraham, because, in the holy scriptures, his faith

is more manifestly and oftener published. But this place, if it be aloft, and that it be in height above the earth, how is it said, that Christ descended into the infernal places? It should be said rather, that he ascended. Some perhaps would answer, that by reason of his burial it is said that he descended; and that the thing which concerned his body, by the figure Synecdoche, was translated to his soul. But there be others, which say, that this article is not distinguished from that which went before; but is rather put in for expounding thereof: so as the sense should be; He was buried, and therefore he is said to have descended into hell. And indeed the synods of Nice and Constantinople, and some synods of Toledo, and some that are mentioned by Hilarius in his book of synods, left out that particle. And Ruffinus testifieth, that it is not had in the Roman synod. Yea moreover, Irenaeus and Tertullian, being very ancient writers, when they recited the rules of faith, omitted this descending. Howbeit many of the other fathers made evident mention of the same: and especially Athanasius in his Symbol or Creed.

9. But some man will doubt, whether the bosom of Abraham, whereof we have begun to speak, may bear the name of infernal places; so as Christ should be said to have descended into the infernal places, because in his soul he was there together with the fathers. Augustine in his 59th epistle to Euodius, writeth, that he never read in the holy books, the name of infernal places to be written on the good part. But that the matter may the more plainly be opened, we must understand, that the fathers appointed two sorts of infernal places; that is to wit, the uppermost, and the lowermost. Which Irenaeus testifieth, in the end of his book against heresies: where he bringeth those words which are written in the 86th Psalm; Thou hast plucked my soul out of the nethermost hell. And he also noted that, which is spoken of the Lord; that The son of man should be in the heart of the earth

three days. The which in very deed cannot be spoken of the sepulcher, seeing it was upon the upper face of the earth, that is, hewn out of main stone: but it is evident, that the heart signifieth the very middle itself. And thus much spake he of the nethermost hell. But of the uppermost he saith, that doubtless the souls of the saints do go into an invisible place, appointed unto them by God: where they shall abide, until the time of the resurrection; and after that they shall come unto the sight of God.

Also Origin in his third book περί ἀρχῶν, pg. 804 saith; that The souls departing from hence, are divided either into the infernal place, or into the bosom of Abraham. And straightway after; The infernal place is called the uppermost earth, the lowermost is called Tartarus, that is, the deep bottom. But the name of Tartarus seemeth to be taken out of Plato, which useth the same in his tenth book *De Republica*. And Origin, in the foresaid book, pg. 802 attributeth unto the souls departing hence, a place upon the earth; where they may learn those things, which they knew not, while they lived here; least (forsooth) they, which be departed out of this life, should have an excuse, when they had not yet heard the preaching of the Gospel: for it would seem, that such may pretend ignorance. Wherefore, even as the Papists framed a purgatory, so hath this man, with certain latter men, framed an eruditory. But all these things are without scriptures. Augustine, interpreting the 85th Psalm, proceeded in this distinction of the higher infernal place and the lower, and he confirmeth the same, not only by the words of that psalm; but also by the evangelical story: because it is said, that the rich man, when he was in torments, lifted up his eyes, and saw Lazarus and Abraham. So as it must needs be, that those blessed souls were in the higher place. Yea and Abraham is brought in, to have affirmed, that it was

not lawful to go from them unto the other; but that there was between them a great chaos, that is, an exceeding great gulf.

Moreover, this difference there is between them, that in the lowermost there are punishments and torments, which are not in the uppermost. Whereupon it is written in the book of Wisdom; that The souls of the just be in the hand of God, neither do the torments touch them, &c. Yea and Christ, when he hung upon the cross, said; Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit. And straightway also he added; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord thou God of truth. Whereby it is concluded, that the souls of the godly are in the hands of God; and are redeemed or plucked away from the punishments and torments of the wicked. And albeit that this be chiefly spoken of Christ, yet doth it also belong unto David, and the other members of Christ. For the Lord said, that Where he himself is, there he would also have his ministers to be. It seemeth that Irenaeus meaning was, that the soul of Christ was not only among the fathers in the bosom of Abraham, but that it was also in the lower hell; but yet without punishment and offense. And this doth he write upon the 3rd chapter of Daniel, in setting forth the history of the three children, which were thrown into the fiery oven: for there did a fourth appear with them, which was called the son of God. Therein (as Jerome thinketh) Christ was shadowed, who descended into the furnace of the wicked, without any fault of his, or pain to him.

10. Augustine wrote more of this matter in his 59th epistle to Euodius, but very ambiguously and obscurely. For he saith indeed that Christ descended into the infernal places; but he saith, that what he did there, he was in a manner ignorant. But he affirmeth, that it was believed of the universal church, that the first father Adam, was delivered from thence by him. But he demandeth, that if so be the fathers in the bosom of Abraham, were not

troubled with any sorrow or torment; what did Christ for them by his coming? These things doth he there handle in that place, and disputeth at large. But in his book *De haeresibus, ad quod vult Deum*, heresy the 79th he maketh mention of them, which dare affirm, that Christ in the infernal places took out those infidels, which then believed in him. And in his book *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, in the definition 78 & 79, he declareth the matter more plainly and manifestly. First he saith, that before the coming of Christ, all the souls of the godly descended into the bosom of Abraham: but that after his ascension, all the faithful souls do go unto God. By which saying no doubt but purgatory is overthrown. Howbeit, we must not pass it over, that this book is not accounted for the lawful writings of Augustine. I know indeed that it is not reckoned among the lawful writings of Augustine: but whose soever it was, it is an ancient work, and containeth good instruction.

And certainly, as touching either part of the definition, Jerome assenteth, who upon the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, interpreting the words of Solomon; That the end of man and beasts is all one; saith; These things are not spoken, as though Solomon thought, that the soul of man was dissolved in such sort as is the life of a beast: nor yet as though it should go to the self-same place: but that before the coming of Christ all men were carried into the lower places. Which he proveth by the words of Jacob, who said; He would go down morning for his son. [Joseph] even to the infernal place. Also he bringeth the testimony of Job, which saith in the 21st chapter, that As well the just as unjust are detained in the infernal place. And albeit (as he saith) it is not all one to be dissolved and preserved; yet is there but small difference between the being dissolved as the life of a beast, and to be kept still in darkness. And in the ninth chapter of the same work, the same

author interpreting these words; In hell, whither thou goest, there is neither work, nor cogitation, nor knowledge, nor wisdom: All the spirits of godly men, yea and Samuel himself, before the coming of the Lord, were in the infernal place. Howbeit, I think that there was particular mention made of Samuel; because he by a woman-witch was brought unto Saul.

But he added, that after Christ it doth not so come to pass: and he allegeth the place of Paul, which he wrote unto the Philippians; I desire to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. But they (saith he) which be with Christ, live not in the infernal place. We may also add, that to the thief it was said by Christ, when he was upon the cross; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. And this opinion is confirmed by Nazianzen, in a funeral oration which he made for his brother Caesarius, where by a conversion unto him he saith; Thou hast ascended into heaven, and there thou art at rest in the bosom of Abraham, if any such place be now extant. Where he seemeth to doubt, whether the bosom of Abraham be yet remaining after the ascension of Christ. And in the same oration he saith, that it is the saying of the wise; that The souls of the godly, when they be loosed from the body, are brought unto the sight of God. The very which thing did Cyrillus write, in the ninth book upon the gospel of John, the 36th chapter, where he saith; that The souls of them that be dead, dwell not upon the earth, neither yet are thrust forth to torments, as are the souls of sinners: but do escape into the hands of the heavenly father, the beginning being made by Christ. Howbeit, the more ancient fathers thought, that the souls of the godly should be detained in the bosom of Abraham, until the blessed resurrection; as we have already declared out of Irenaeus.

11. Hilarius likewise was of the same mind, whose judgment I will declare in few words; not alonely as touching this opinion, but also of the

infernal place. First upon the second psalm he affirmeth; that The spirits of the wicked after death do not wander upon the earth; but that they come either to pain or reward immediately after. And this he proveth by the history of Lazarus, and the rich man; because he was already tormented in the fire, while his brethren yet lived: unto whom he desired that Lazarus might be sent. Further, he maketh mention of the place of rewards, the which he calleth The bosom of Abraham: and also of the place of punishments, the which he affirmeth to be in the earth; inclining to the place in the Apocalypse, where it is written, that None might open the book of them which be in heaven, or which be upon the earth, and which be within the earth. Whereby he noted, that even the places, which be within the earth, have their inhabitants. That also might be brought, which is written to the Philippians; that In the name of Jesus every knee must bow, of things I say in heaven, of things upon the earth, and of things under the earth. Moreover, the same author upon the 120th Psalm; God keepeth the spirits of the godly in the bosom of Abraham, even from the time of departing out of their bodies, until the time that the kingdom of heaven be come.

And Tertullian, as touching either point, seemeth not to have disagreed. For against Marcion, in the fourth book, and 274th pg. writeth, that he doth think, that the infernal places are one thing, and the bosom of Abraham another: because the bosom of Abraham is higher than the infernal place. Which he confirmeth by this, that the rich man is said to have lifted up his eyes in his torments, when he saw Abraham and Lazarus. Whereby it appeareth, that Augustine borrowed his argument out of Tertullian. Furthermore, in the 275th pg. he writeth of the bosom of Abraham; The same I say is a region, although not heavenly, yet higher than the infernal place. And he addeth, that the same shall be given for a place of solace, for

the souls of the just, until the resurrection. Afterward he defineth the bosom of Abraham, that it is a temporal place, to receive the souls of the faithful, wherein is described the image of that, which is to come. Which (as I suppose) he therefore speaketh; because the perfect and absolute blessedness (which shall happen in our country after the resurrection) is there begun. But in his book *De anima*, pg. 685 he saith, that The infernal place and the bosom of Abraham are underneath the earth. So as he seemeth not to agree well with himself; unless a man will say, that his book *De anima*, together with other books last found out, are none of his works; albeit they may seem in the style to imitate him. Finally, he concludeth, that The kingdom of heaven shall be opened, together with the finishing of the world: that is to say; The entrance into heaven shall not be opened, until the world be at an end.

By these things it appeareth, that the most ancient fathers did not judge, that the souls of the godly do ascend unto heaven, till the resurrection be past: and that the latter writers believed, that after departing from the body, the blessed souls do immediately attain unto God. Verily the scriptures, which are set forth by the spirit of God, incline unto the latter writers. For Paul said; I desire to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. The Lord said unto the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. Unto which purpose there might also be other divine testimonies heaped together. Yet nevertheless, John the twentieth Bishop of Rome, followed the opinion of the elder fathers; and thought, that the souls of the blessed do not behold the presence of God, until the last day of resurrection: and he was so obstinate in his opinion, as he would not change the same, until he was compelled. For the Divines of Paris (using the help of Philip the king, surnamed Pulcher) made him to recant. For this king withdrew himself, with his

whole kingdom, from his obedience: whereupon the Pope recanted, perhaps not from his heart, but through fear; least his popedom should be pulled from him. Wherefore he openly recanted, and that not without sound of trumpet; as Gerson testified in his sermon of the Passover. But the bosom of Abraham, I mean the seats of the blessed souls, and the infernal place of the wicked spirits, come to the knowledge even of the poets. For they described Orcus, or hell, to be that, wherein the wicked are tormented. And they also made mention of fields of pleasure, wherein they placed the souls of just men, who should delight themselves therein, with songs, with doctrines, and with philosophical contemplations.

12. Now it seemeth also good to examine, what opinion the Hebrews be of. In the holy scriptures, there be many names of infernal places, whereof I will recite some that be the more notable. [It is called in the Hebrew] *Scheol*, of the verb *Schaal*, which is, To seek, or To ask; because hell seemeth evermore to crave, and never to be satisfied. In the 16th Psalm it is written; Thou shalt not leave my soul in Scheol, In hell. It is also called *Abaddon*, which is, Perdition. In the eighty-eight Psalm we read; Who shall declare thy mercy and thy faith, or thy truth, *Baabaddon*, that is to say, In perdition? [Further, it is named] *Beer Schachath*: of the which we read in the 55th Psalm; Thou hast made them to go down into the pit, or into the place of consuming. Also hell is called *Tsalmaueth*, that is, The shadow of death: whereof it is son in the 107th Psalm; They that dwell or sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death. Also there is another name, whereby it is called, which is much more frequented by the latter Jews; to wit, *Gehinnon*. But why the same is so called, it shall be good to understand. It is compounded of three words; Gue, that is, A valley; Ben, A son; and Hinnon, The proper name of a man. So as it was a valley possessed in old

time by the son of Hinnon, near unto the city of Jerusalem: there the Hebrews in ancient time had built a notable high place, for the worshipping of Moloch, whom they think was Saturn; unto whom they sacrificed men, burning their sons and their daughters.

This place was also called Topheth, that is, A timbrel, or bell: because in those horrible ceremonies they rung their bells exceeding loud; least the crying and lamentation of their infants, which were burned, should be heard of them that stood by, and of their parents. Against this high place did the prophet Jeremiah, in the 19th chapter prophesy, that it would one day come to pass, that it should be cut down, and that the place should become shameful and detestable: so that there the dead bodies should be buried. Which seeing it came afterward to pass, the place of punishment of wicked men, (by a fit metaphor) was called *Gehinnom*. First, because a valley (I mean a low and vile place) doth represent hell, which is thought to be under the earth. Secondly, because of the fire wherewith the wicked are tormented, as in that place children were burned. Lastly, because the place was unclean and detestable, wherein were cast not only dead carcasses, but also all the filth and uncleanness which was thrown out of the city of Jerusalem; even as impure and wicked souls are thrust forth of the kingdom of heaven into hell. Also, our Savior called hell, The uttermost darkness: that is, the chiefest and extreme darkness. For even as the spirits of the blessed do enjoy an incredible light, so the souls of the damned do live in extreme darkness. But he often used the word Gehenna, and said, that Gehenna, is a fire; to the intent he might exaggerate the vehemency of the grief and torment. Isaiah in the 30th chapter called that place Topheth, An unquenchable fire, whose fuel should be much wood and brimstone. He also saith there, that it is a breath, wherewith the fire is blown, that it may

be a great deal the more kindled. But Ezekiel in the 32nd chapter, calleth it The nether parts of the earth, and the lake. And Christ in the 9th of Mark, described this place very manifestly, saying; It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven, lame, and with one eye, than having two eyes, or two feet, to be sent into hell. And by exposition he addeth; Into fire unquenchable: for their worm doth not die, and the fire never goeth out. And thus much of the name of hell.

13. But the Rabbins appointing two infernal places, do allege these reasons. First, that it is written in the book of Genesis, the 15th chapter, how it was said to Abraham; Thou shalt be put to thy fathers. What (say they) were not his parents and forefather's idolaters? Yes truly, they were, as the book of Joshua, the 24th chapter, doth testify. But it agreeth not with the justice of God, that he would have Abraham to be in a place of pains, wherein idolaters were punished. Wherefore they conclude, that there were two infernal places, in the one whereof Abraham was placed, and in the other his ancestors. Into which place also they think that Jacob supposed his son Joseph to have gone; and whither he himself also should depart, by reason of sorrow: for he said; Mourning will I descend into the infernal place to my son. But we are not to believe, that he thought together with his son, to be cast into hell. Albeit Rabbi Selomoh, minding to infringe this place, saith; that The particle [*Al*] signifieth not To, but For: as though it stood in the place of Aal: that is; For this misfortune of my son I will go down to the infernal place: that is, (as this man thinketh) unto the grave. As though there were here no mention made of the infernal places, or of the spirit of Joseph now placed there. But the Chaldean paraphrasis is against him, wherein is written, *Luth-bari*. And the particle *Luth*, signifieth, To, Near, or Toward: wherefore he saith; I will go to, near, unto, or toward my

son. Nor can this be understood of the grave; because Jacob did not think, that Joseph was buried in a grave; seeing he thought him to be torn in pieces, and devoured by a cruel wild beast.

The same also do they gather by the history of Samuel, who is said to have risen again, being raised up by the witch, who was not likely to have been in torments with the wicked. And they endeavor to prove much more plainly this distinction of the infernal places, by his words, wherein he foretold, that the day after, Saul should be with him, that is, in the infernal place: and yet not in the same part, because Saul, who would ask counsel of a witch, and killed himself, is thought to be sent among the damned spirits. But Samuel is reckoned to be among the number of the godly and blessed. They proceed yet further, and weigh the words of the most prudent woman Abigail, who thus spake unto David; Thy soul shall be bound in the bundle of life: where, by The bundle of life, or of the living, they understand the congregation of saints, resting with Abraham. After that, she added; But the souls of thine enemies [shall God cast out,] even as out of the middle of a sling: because the ungodly are cast one from another, among the lower infernal places, that is, unto diverse kinds of torments. And to this purpose also some draw a testimony of David, wherein he saith; Lift up your heads O ye gates, and the king of glory shall enter in: as though that these things were spoken by the angels, when the Lord should enter in unto the fathers, into the bosom of Abraham, for the spoiling of principalities and powers: as it is taught in the epistle to the Ephesians.

By others also is brought the 4th book of Esdras, albeit it is apocryphal, and is not found in the Hebrew. Yet is it alleged by Ambrose, in his book *De bono mortis*: for there, in the seventh chapter, it is said, that It shall come to pass at the last day of judgment, that the dust and the graves shall restore

the bodies of the dead, and that the store-houses or receptacles of souls shall render them up: and so the resurrection shall be made. But those store-houses or receptacles, wherein souls are kept, Ambrose doth interpret to be the many mansions, which be in the house of the father, according to the saying of Christ: and also to be those places, which Christ said that he went to prepare for his apostles, when he ascended up out of this world unto the father. And when as Ambrose had there disputed against the philosophers, which affirmed, that the souls of just and wise men, when they depart from hence, do pass into the bodies, either of bees, or of nightingales; that there they might delight themselves, either with sweet exercise, or pleasant music: he saith, that they should rather have taught, that they went unto ὀδίκην, that is, Unto an invisible place, prepared for the dead. Whereby it appeareth, that the name [of infernal place] is general, as well unto the place of torments, as unto the place of rest, whereas the name of that hell belongeth only unto the wicked.

14. But what is the cause that led the ancient fathers into error, (to think that the souls of the faithful do abide in the bosom of Abraham, until the last resurrection) it is uncertain. Howbeit, they seem to have taken hold of certain places of the scripture, which they did not rightly understand. For it is said in the Apocalypse, that The souls of the slain are under the altar, and cry unto God, that he would once at the last revenge the blood of them that be slain. But they should have considered, that the altar is not the infernal place; seeing in the eighth chapter of the same book it is said to be in heaven, and in the sight of God: neither doth the altar betoken any other thing, but Christ himself. And we are taught by that vision, that the spirits of the godly, even after this life, do remain in the kingdom of God, under the protection of Christ. Further, whereas they heard in the holy scriptures, that

Those which depart are called sleepers; that also have they referred unto the soul, when as it rather belongeth unto the body. For that resteth like them that be asleep: neither can it truly and properly be said to be dead, seeing it shall return unto life, and that there is no way to return from very death indeed. So as it is rightly compared to sleepers, who being detained with heavy sleep, yet are wont at the length to be wakened again.

Neither must we pass it over, that whereas it is said of the infernal place; that All men, even unto the coming of Christ, should be brought thither; and that afterward the spirits, at the least-wise of the damned, shall there be kept still. Some there be, which deny, that there can be any space found so large, as may hold so many spirits or souls. And they seem, that even as they appoint heaven to be in every place, so they would appoint the infernal places to be everywhere. Neither do they consider, that men's souls be spirits, and therefore do not occupy a place as bodies do. Indeed they be in a place, but yet definitely (as I have already said before:) not that they fill a place with their greatness or quantities of measure; but after the resurrection, when they shall be endued with bodies, God will not want places, wherein they shall be punished for their ill deeds, either under the earth, or above the earth, or in the waters, or in the air. These things had I to say, as touching the diverse opinions of infernal places. And by the testimony of the most ancient fathers, and also of the latter poets, and likewise of the Hebrews, I have proved, that there be two kinds of them: whom I affirm to have spoken probably, yet do I not say, that they have rightly and soundly used the places of the scriptures.

15. But now, if I should be asked unto what place Enoch and Elias were translated? I will say, that absolutely I know not; because it is not showed us in the holy scripture. Yet, to follow the reason most likely to be true, I

would say, that they were brought to the place of the fathers, or bosom of Abraham: that there waiting for the resurrection of Christ, they might live together with the blessed fathers; so that afterward, with him being risen again, they might be lifted up above the heavens. Howbeit, it may be said, that this privilege they had before others; to wit, that whereas the souls of the faithful were in the bosom of Abraham without bodies, they being yet alive, had place there. But as for their bodies, whether they were glorified, that is a thing hard to be determined: yet may it be said, that in the very taking up, they were changed; with that kind of changing I mean, which is described in the first epistle to the Corinthians; namely, that Corruptible did put on incorruption, and mortal immortality. The very which shall come to pass in our taking up, whereof it is written to the Thessalonians, even that we shall go to meet with Christ in the air: for it is written to the Corinthians; that Indeed we shall not all die, but we shall be all changed. But we said, that Christ is the first fruits, and therefore it ought to be affirmed, that he first of all other attained unto rest with his body.

Unto this may be answered, that this must be understood of the highest seat of the blessed, whereunto he being raised from the dead, was the first that came: but we speak here of the bosom of Abraham, and not of the highest region of the living. Further we might say, that the holy fathers in the bosom of Abraham, in that they were at rest, that they were well, that they rejoiced, that they were exempted from the punishments of the damned; they had all this by Christ. For the virtue of his death was not only profitable to us, but also to the fathers, which were before his coming. Wherefore in the Apocalypse the 13th chapter it is rightly said; The lamb was slain from the beginning of the world. Neither must he be heard, which in our age hath not interpreted, but perverted that place. For he translated;

That they were fallen, that they worshipped the beast, whose names were not written in the beginning of the world, in the book of life of the lamb which is slain. To what end hath he inverted the particles of this speech? What necessity constrained him? Seeing the words in the Greek are "ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου", that is; Whose names be not written in the book of life of the lamb, which was slain from the beginning of the world.

16. Neither doth that let, which is written in the gospel of John; No man ascended into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, even the son of man which is in heaven. For here is no speech of ascending up above all heavens, whither Christ was first of all carried; but of the taking up unto the bosom of Abraham. For, so far as concerneth that highest ascending, we grant, that none attained unto that before Christ. Wherefore Enoch and Elias went unto the fathers: and there, together with them, attended for Christ; who being come, they accompanied him into heaven, together with the rest. Neither did the body hinder their taking up unto the bosom of the fathers. For, that men may be taken up, together with him, Paul sheweth, saying; that He was wrapped into paradise, and whither (saith he) in the body, or out of the body, I know not. By which words is gathered, that both might be done. Albeit a certain Hebrew, the schoolmaster of Jerome, understood it far otherwise: who (as the same father in the prologue upon Daniel reporteth) when he mocked the apocryphal histories, which are not found in the Hebrew; yet are they feigned to be of that prophets writing, and especially the translating of Habakkuk out of Judea into Babylon, to bring meat unto Daniel, that was in the den of lions, said: Where is there any to be found in the ancient histories, that was translated with the body unto places of such distance?

And when as a certain man that had no great skill, answered, that Ezekiel was carried out of Babylon into Jury: the Hebrew confuted him, and showed, out of the words of the prophet, that that translation was done in spirit, not in body. And he saith; Even Paul, that apostle of yours, being exercised in the law, durst not say that he was rapted into heaven with the body: but he warily saith; Whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not. But he, in speaking after this manner, did not rightly wrest the words of the apostle, according to his own meaning. For if Paul had thought, that rapturing with the body had been impossible, certainly he would not have used a disjunctive proposition, but a simple proposition. Howbeit, thus he wrote, because he thought that both might be. But this I marvel at, that that Hebrew remembered not the taking up of Enoch and Elias: unless perhaps he thought, as many other did, that they died in the taking up. But there be two things, that seem to withstand the saying, which I have affirmed. The first is, that it is declared by express words in the holy history, that Elias was taken up into heaven by a whirlwind: therefore it seemeth not that he went unto the bosom of Abraham. It may be said; Perhaps by heaven in that place is meant the air, through which there is no doubt but he passed: for so did Elias see him pass away, and from thence did his mantle fall upon the ground. Or else, the scripture speaketh not there of the first going unto the fathers, but of the latter, wherein he ascended together with Christ above all the heavens. But the first exposition is more probable.

That moreover, which seemeth to let, is this; namely, that if now these two men be conversant with their bodies in heaven, now are they perfect, neither do they expect any other thing, as touching felicity. But in the epistle to the Hebrews, the 11th chapter it is written; that the fathers, whom the apostle reckoned up, although they had the testimony of faith, Yet

attained they not the promise, God providing something better for us, that they should not be made perfect without us. Wherein the promise is not generally to be understood, because even the fathers, while they lived, did obtain diverse things, which God promised them. Wherefore the said apostle somewhat before saith; that They overcame kingdoms, and attained the promise. Wherefore, in the place now alleged, he speaketh of a certain and special kind of promise, which some refer to the resurrection of the dead: because they shall not be raised from the dead, before that we be risen again. But this seemeth to disagree with the words of the apostle, because then God had provided nothing better for us. For, according to this sentence, the resurrection shall be alike, and at one time, both unto them and us. Wherefore I think that this must rather be referred to the benefit that we have, in comparison of them. For we are born after the coming of Christ, when the promise is fulfilled, concerning his incarnation, death, calling of the Gentiles, and preaching of the Gospel; and we live in a far greater light than they lived. Wherefore it is meet, that we should be also endued with a greater faith than they had. And thus much shall suffice touching the first part of the question; which things I having expounded somewhat at large, it may be easily known by them, what answer must be made to the other two parts.

17. Moreover, it was demanded, whether those two men were dead? Howbeit, it appeareth already, that I do not think them to be dead. For confirmation whereof are brought the words of Paul, which he wrote in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews; Enoch pleased God, or he approved himself unto him, and he was translated, that he should not see death. But they which be of the contrary mind, say, that he did not see death after a usual way and manner, as other men do, which being at the point of death

are perceived to have pangs, or else are slain while they live upon the earth. But these men were taken away being alive, and even in the very taking up were extinct by a new kind of death. Neither do there want such as affirm, that the translation of them belongeth unto the soul, which died not with eternal damnation. And they cite that which is written in the 8th chapter of John; If any man shall keep my saying, he shall not see death. And on the other side, in the third chapter of John it is said; He that believeth not the son, shall not see life. We read also in the 89th Psalm; What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? But certain it is, that they which be justified, do believe in the son of God, and do keep his sayings, so far forth as the state of this life will give leave; who nevertheless, as we all see, do die a bodily death. But if we should understand translating and death after this manner, what preeminence had Enoch and Elias above other men? All the elect and faithful of Christ, as touching the soul, are translated from hence unto God; and are not condemned with everlasting death.

Indeed I am not ignorant, that sometimes; Not to see death, is referred to the soul, even as the testimonies, which we have already brought, do declare: but sometimes on the other side, it is referred to the death of the body, as it is manifest by Simeon, unto whom it was revealed, that He should not see death, till he had first seen the Lord Christ. Yea and the son of God himself saith; There be of them which stand here present, who shall not taste of death, until they see the kingdom of God; that is, the preaching of the Gospel spread over the face of the earth: or (as others will) until they shall see the transfiguration of Christ upon mount Thabor. Neither is there any doubt, but that the death of the body is betokened in both these places. Further, those words of Paul to the Hebrews alleged a little above, are so significant, as they seem wholly to testify, that Enoch is not dead. But they

that be of another mind, do urge that which is written in the same epistle of the Hebrews; namely, that It is decreed, that all men shall once die. But we answer, that these general propositions must not always be understood without any exception. True indeed it is, which is now affirmed as touching the ordinary and common manner: but yet it is not brought to pass thereby, but that God, by his special prerogative, and certain peculiar will, may exempt some from the law of death. For what shall become, either of us, or of others, which shall be found alive at the last day? Undoubtedly, They shall be caught up to meet with Christ in the air. And Paul unto the Corinthians said; We shall not all die, but we shall be all changed. Besides this, if the words of that saying be urged with extremity; how will it be true, that men once die, seeing Lazarus the son of the widow, and also the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, whom the Lord raised up from the dead, died not once, but twice? And it is thought by Augustine, and diverse others, that those many bodies of the saints, which rose after the death of Christ, and appeared unto many in the city of Jerusalem, when they had performed that which they were appointed to do, settled in their graves as they did before.

18. They also say, that it is written unto the Romans; that Death by one man entered in upon all men: and that in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, it is said; As in Adam all men are dead, so in Christ all shall be made alive: that it may be taught, that the life lost in Adam, is recovered again in Christ. Unto these sayings we answer many ways. First (even as I said before) that these general propositions must not be understood without privilege and exception. Secondly, I will confess, that Enoch and Elias, in their own nature, were subject unto death: and in that they are not dead, but do enjoy eternal life, that they obtain by Christ.

Howbeit, another answer there is, much more perfect; namely, to say, that the same changing, whereby we affirm that the bodies of those saints were glorified in taking up, was a certain kind of death. Wherefore Justinus Martyr in his dialogue with Triphon saith, that the world in the last time shall perish, and not perish. It shall not perish, seeing it shall not be reduced to nothing. But it shall perish, because it shall be changed to better: for the light of the sun and moon shall both be purer and greater than now it is. For we shall have a new heaven, and a new earth; for because all things shall then be made new.

Others say, that the death of Enoch and Elias is not altogether taken away, but rather deferred: because they shall come in the last time, and shall die in fighting against Antichrist: of which opinion was Tertullian, who in his book *De anima*, pg. 682 saith; Elias and Enoch were translated, and their death is deferred. For they are reserved to die hereafter, that with their blood they may extinguish Antichrist. Again, in the same book, in the 672th pg.; Elias shall come, not from the departure of life, but from the translation [thereof:] he shall not be restored to his body, from which he was not exempted; but he shall be restored to the world. The same father against the Jews called Enoch an Inceptor, or one ready appareled for eternity. And in his book *De trinitate*, pg. 603 he saith, that God translated Enoch into the society of his own friendship. And seeing a friend doth benefit him, whom he loveth, and wisheth well unto; it is not likely, that God translated Enoch for to kill him. But Irenaeus, in his fourth book, and thirty chapter, is of the opinion, that Enoch hath exercised a message against the angels, who were thought in old time to be fallen, through a naughty desire towards women: and he saith, that he is even as yet preserved alive, for a testimony of God's

judgment. And these things may suffice, as touching the second point, whereby is proved, by probable reason, that they seem not to be dead.

19. It remaineth, that we seek to what end they were so taken up. Some say, that it was done, to the intent we might have before our eyes a certain figure and show of our resurrection: as if so be that the taking up of these, were a lively example thereof; to teach us, that we are not to measure our felicity by or with the term of this life. But (in my judgment) examples ought to be clear and manifest, for that otherwise they are but weak proofs. Certainly, in this place there is no mention made of resurrection, either ours or theirs. The sign of Jonah the prophet doth manifestly shadow the resurrection, who was cast up alive out of the belly of the whale. But Paul to the Romans did plainly show the resurrection, after another sort; If ye have (saith he) his spirit, which raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, the same shall quicken your mortal bodies. As if he had said; Seeing the spirit is one, it will bring forth the same effects. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter he saith; If Christ be risen from the dead, we also shall rise again. Which he therefore speaketh, because it is not meet that Christ, which is the head, should live; and we that be his members should remain in death. And in the first chapter to the Ephesians he writeth; According to the greatness of his power, and according to the strength of his mighty power, which he wrought, by raising up of Christ from the dead. Again, in the second chapter, he joineth us unto him, saying; When we were dead in our sins, he quickened us with him, and together with him raised us up from the dead, and made us to sit at the right hand in heavenly places. These be the arguments, whereby the apostle of the Lord doth confirm resurrection: neither did he send us to the rapturing either of Enoch or Elias.

There be some, which say; These things did therefore happen, to leave us an example doubtless, not of our resurrection, but of our last taking up, whereof there is mention made in the Thessalonians. Of this opinion was Tertullian, in his book *De resurrection carnis*, 87th pg.; They are not yet dead, but they be documents of our perfectness to come. And Irenaeus in his fifth book writeth, that they be an example of our assumption to come. And I have showed, that by the example of their taking up, the bodies, which are now a burden unto us, shall be no hindrance to the assumption. For that hand of God, which fashioned man of the slime of the earth, put him afterward into paradise. And he addeth, that a certain elder, which was after the apostles, taught; that not only Enoch and Elias were rapted into that place, but also Paul the apostle: as we read in the second epistle to the Corinthians. Indeed I grant, that in the words of Paul there is mention made of paradise: but that the same was in the garden of Eden, wherein Adam first was, it is not proved thereby. For the apostle added, that he was taken up to the third heaven; that is, to the highest and most perfect.

And indeed Johannes Damascenus affirmeth, that there be three heavens; namely, the air, wherein the birds do fly; the second heaven he accounteth to be the region of the celestial spheres; and the third to be the highest seats of the blessed saints, which by a certain elegant metaphor is called paradise. The similitude whereof is derived from the garden of pleasures, wherein Adam was placed: even as the region of torments by a metaphor before declared, is called *Gebenna*. For these places are more fitly expressed by metaphors, than by proper names. Also, that same elder asketh the question of himself; by what means they could continue there so long without meat? And in answering he retireth himself to the strength of God's power, whereby Jonah was also preserved three days in the belly of the whale: and

whereby the companions of Daniel remained safe in the furnace, when it burned vehemently. We might also add the fasting of Elias, and of Moses, by the space of 40 days: but these things are from the purpose. Others say, that Enoch was therefore taken up, that his preaching by that means might become the more fruitful.

The world in that age was degenerate, and the Cainites prevailed in number and power above the children of God. Their idolatry did Enoch, either by his preaching, or prophesying reprove. Wherefore, by a very evident seal of taking him up, God would seal his sound and profitable doctrine. Now then in the 44th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, he is said to be translated, for an example of repentance unto the generations: because a form and example of repentance was given unto the generations, that is, unto men. Neither are these meant to be the last generations, but rather the generations of those men, which lived at that time. For if he had died after the manner of other men, he should not have been thought to be beloved of God, or of him to have been assisted and sent to preach. But seeing God as it were by his stretched-out hand from heaven, caught him up unto him, men could not choose but have in admiration an act or thing so unusual. Others there be, that attribute all this to his own honesty and righteousness: for it is said in Genesis, that he walked before God. And in the book of Ecclesiasticus, and also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we read, that he pleased God, or he approved himself unto God. And by faith (as the apostle saith) he pleased or approved himself unto him: which undoubtedly was no vain faith, but was adorned with good works. Briefly, he was taken up, for because of edifying. And what is spoken concerning him, must also be transferred unto Elias.

20. Now there resteth, that we examine the opinions of them, which think, that these men were taken up, to the intent that about the latter time they should return, and should take upon them a dangerous fight against antichrist. And albeit that this were the opinion of most ancient fathers; yet it is embraced, without testimony of the holy scriptures. And indeed as touching the return of Enoch, there is no word extant in the divine oracles. And those things, which are spoken in the 44th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, that he was an example of repentance unto the generations, must rather be understood of the men of his own time, than of them which shall live in the last time. But I see, that the occasion of error came, because it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, the eleventh chapter; that two men with singular praise are extolled, which in the last age of the world shall fight against antichrist. And we are taught, that they shall be the witnesses of God against the beast; and they shall preach 1,260 days. Of these is described the manner of their apparel; namely, that they shall be covered with sackcloth. And they are commended as two olive trees, and two candlesticks in the sight of God: and it is said, that there is power given them to close heaven, that it shall not rain: which perhaps doth somewhat seem to prove for Elias.

And they shall be able (as it is there said) to turn water into blood. It is also added, that they shall be slain of the beast, but that after three days they shall be raised up by the spirit of God. Upon this occasion were the ancient fathers led to think, that Enoch and Elias shall return again at the last. But these are the imaginations of men, neither are they taught by the holy scriptures; seeing in that place is no mention either of Enoch or of Elias. We must grant indeed, that certain men were to be sent unto the church in these last times, being endued with the spirit of Enoch and Elias, who should sharply fight against the Roman antichrist, and idolatry of the beast, and

with diverse torments be slain: but the return of these men is not there in very deed set forth. But they are said to be two, because they shall be many, and not one only; and yet of no large number, if they be compared with the wicked and idolaters. Neither is it any rare thing in the scriptures, that a number certain is put for an indefinite number. The very which thing is done there also, seeing the certain and definite number of days of their preaching is appointed.

21. But there is a place objected as touching Elias, having in outward show some likeness of truth. For on this wise it is written in the book of Malachi, in the end of the last chapter; Behold I send unto you the prophet Elias, before that great and terrible day of Jehovah shall come; and he shall convert the heart of the fathers unto their children, and the heart of the children unto their fathers, least perhaps I should come and smite the earth with a curse. These words persuaded the Hebrews, that Elias should come, before that Messias should be given. But we interpret this Elias to be John Baptist; having learned the same of Christ, who made mention of this thing in the 11th and 17th chapters of Matthew. He verily in the eleventh chapter, in praising of John, saith; This is that Elias. And in the 17th chapter, after his transforming upon mount Thabor, when the disciples had said unto him; Whie do the Scribes and Pharisees say, Elias must first come? As if they should say; For this cause they receive not thee as Messias sent from God, because Elias is not yet come. Christ answered them; Elias indeed shall come (according as they judge by the words of the prophet Malachi:) but I say unto you, that he is already come; howbeit they knew him not, and have done unto him whatsoever they would. Then his disciples understood that he spake those things of John Baptist. Seeing therefore that we have Christ to be the interpreter of the prophetical sentence, we must rest upon him.

Neither is that, which is spoken by Malachi; to wit, that The father's hearts shall be converted unto the children, and again the children's hearts unto the fathers, to be referred (as many do) unto the conversion of the Hebrews, in the end of the world: whereof it seemeth that Paul in his epistle to the Romans hath written. But we must rather say, that these things have respect unto John Baptist; seeing the angel did so interpret them. When he had foreshowed unto Zechariah many things of John Baptist, as we read in the first chapter of Luke; He shall (saith he) convert many of the Israelites unto the Lord his God, and shall convert the hearts of fathers to the children, and the disobedient unto the wisdom of the just, that he may make ready a perfect people unto the Lord. Now by these things we understand, after what manner both Christ and the angel have referred the words of Malachi unto John. Yea and Tertullian, in his treatise of the resurrection of the flesh, saith; This undoubtedly is done in such sort, as the spirit and virtue of the one is communicated unto the other: for of Moses spirit was given unto seventy elders, and of the spirit of Elias, there befell a double portion unto Elisha. Howbeit, it cometh not to pass, that the person, substance, and flesh of one should be communicated with another, and be poured through into him.

But yet not to dissemble anything, I will show how Justin Martyr hath interpreted the words of Christ. In his dialogue with Triphon, he saith, that Christ in the 17th chapter of Matthew answered the apostles, that Elias indeed shall come, as the Scribes and Pharisees say, at the last time; that is, at my latter coming. But in the meantime, so soon as I was now come, I am not without mine Elias; for even John is Elias, whom I have now in the spirit and power of Elias: but in my second coming, I will have Elias himself present in his own person. These things doth Justin wrest out of the

words of Christ, and he seemeth to ground upon that word ἐλεύσεται, that is, He shall come; as though Christ by his saying affirmed, that Elias shall yet come, seeing he said; He will come, in the same manner of speech, which the Scribes and Pharisees used.

22. Also, by the words of Malachi himself it is understood, that those things, which be spoken, belong to the first, and not unto the latter coming: for it is said; Least perhaps I strike the earth with a curse. For at the last time, albeit that the Jews be converted, yet shall the earth be smitten with a curse; seeing all things shall be burned. But it seemeth to be somewhat against the interpretation of Christ, and the angel, in that John being demanded whether he were Elias, he in plain words denied it, saying; I am not: as we read in the first chapter of the Gospel of John. But it must be considered, that he answered according to the mind of them which demanded of him: for they inquired as touching the person and substance of Elias, as they which thought that his soul should return into another body. This dotage of theirs, John confuted: yet did he not deny, but that he came in the spirit and power of Elias. This also seemeth to be a let, because he denied himself to be a prophet, when as yet the Lord said in Malachi; Behold, I send unto you my prophet Elias. To this I answer two ways. First, that John had not respect unto every prophet; but unto that excellent prophet, which was expected of all men, namely unto Messias: that prophet he denied himself to be. Also we may say; that he did not deny the very thing indeed, but only took from himself the name of being called so; and was content with the title of a forerunner, and of a voice of a crier in the wilderness. And this he did, that the people should not follow him as the prophet of God, but should follow Christ the true and only Messias. He avoided schism, or drawing the people [into sundry opinions:] he

endeavored to set forward all men unto Christ, and to revive authority unto him.

23. But that which Malachi said; Before that great and terrible day of Jehovah shall come: it seemeth not to agree with the first coming of Christ, for then he came altogether merciful, peaceable, and benign. It is true indeed, that Christ came benign and merciful: but because those words are spoken unto the obstinate and hard-hearted; therefore are they severely and sharply uttered. We might also say, that although it were said of Christ, that he should not break a shaken reed, nor yet put out a smoking log; because he came to save, and not to destroy: yet doubtless is even he called a stone to stumble at, and a rock to be offended at for their sakes, which with blind and damnable fury ran upon him. That day also was horrible unto the Jews, because of the blindness that was cast upon them. Unto which thou mayest add, that the land was smitten with a curse; I mean the land of the Jews, the which (by reason of their incredulity) was destroyed and laid waste by Titus and Vespasian. It is said, that Elias, that is, John should turn the hearts of the fathers unto their children, and the hearts of the children unto their fathers. By which words there seemeth to be attributed unto a prophet or minister, more than is fit. For it is the part of God, and not of a prophet, or of any man, to change the mind and hearts.

But unto this we answer, that when we happen upon the like speeches, we must not understand an outward ministry apart from the spirit, strength and power of God: but that someone certain ministry must be (as I may say) conglutinated and wrought together of them. Which if it be understood by the figure Synecdoche, there is nothing to let, but that the same which is proper unto the one, should be attributed unto the other. So Paul saith, that he begat the Corinthians by the Gospel. And Christ said unto his apostles;

Whose sins ye forgive, they shall be forgiven. Howbeit, these and such like speeches the ecclesiastical prelates have abused, and have wrested them to confirm and enlarge their own tyranny; as though it might for this cause be lawful unto them, to challenge unto themselves armies, provinces, kingdoms, and empires; when as nevertheless they have their own outward ministry specially joined unto them by the spirit. The holy scripture useth these forms of speaking, to stir up and inflame men the more to the study of the word of God, and to the love of the holy ministry.

But now, if these things should be severally considered, and set apart by themselves, we be taught far otherwise. For God saith in Isaiah; I, even I it is, that do forgive sins. And by John it is said of Christ; Behold the lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. And concerning the ministry, Paul saith; Neither he that planteth, neither he that watereth is anything, but it is God that giveth the increase. And again, when the same apostle had said, that he labored more than the rest; Yet not I (saith he) but the grace of God that is in me. And when it is said, that The hearts of the fathers shall be turned unto the children, and the children's hearts unto the fathers: it must be thus understood; namely, that it should come to pass, by the preaching and ministry of John, that the faith and charity of the first fathers, that is, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, shall be derived unto their children. So as the children shall be like to those parents, which in times past were beloved of God, and were habitations of the holy Ghost. Wherefore, between them shall be renewed the unity, which by reason of the sin of the posterity had been discontinued. Yet nevertheless, John by his ministry, did not wholly perform it, but delivered it (as it were by hands) unto Christ to be finished.

24. These things have I argued concerning the place of Malachi, according to the interpretation of Christ and the angel: from which interpretation the Jews do very much vary. Triphon disputing with Justin Martyr, is bold to say, that he knoweth not whether Messias be born, or not born. But this he affirmeth, that he shall not have that power, unless that Elias come, who should anoint him and declare him unto the people. And this he not only once speaketh, but he also repeateth it twice: whereby it appeareth, that this opinion of the return of Elias, sprang not up first among the fathers of our church, but that it was derived from the Jews, whose fables and imaginations should not so much have hindered the ancient fathers. But the occasion of the error (may some say) that God himself hath seemed to give, who absolutely said in Malachi; Behold, I send unto you Elias the prophet: but he said not, I will send a certain man unto you in the spirit and power of Elias. As who should say that God doth not use such kind of speeches in other places. In the 30th chapter of Jeremiah, it is written of the Israelites; Strangers shall not have dominion over them, but they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their own king. Also in the prophet Ezekiel the 34th chapter, and else-where, such promise is oftentimes repeated, namely, that David himself should govern the people of God.

And if so be that by David are understood the godly and holy princes, or rather Messias himself, that was the principal pattern of all these, and that the return of David as touching his person and substance [of his body] was not looked for: even in like manner should they, and especially the Scribes and Pharisees have understood those words which were spoken by Malachi concerning Elias. But they not only used not a just endeavor in the interpreting of the scriptures, but rather for the hatred against Jesus our Lord did perversely abuse that testimony. But yet there resteth a doubt; by

what reason it is said, that John came in the spirit and power of Elias, seeing Elias showed many signs, but John showed no miracle? We must say, that the likeness between John and Elias is understood of some, to be as touching the zeal, boldness of rebuking, conflict with kings, and such other like: or that there was a knot of true conjunction in the ministry; because either of them having found right religion fallen away and consumed, was thereunto ordained, that he should restore the same. Which thing both of them; namely, Elias and John performed with a mighty spirit. John Chrysostom, upon the latter epistle to the Thessalonians, entreating of Antichrist; saith; that both of them were alike in office: for John was the forerunner of the first coming, and Elias of the latter.

25. Further, we must not pass it over, that Elias came in very deed; namely, when Christ was transformed upon the mount Thabor. He was present together with Moses, even as it should seem in his own proper body. He shall come again at the last time, howbeit to judgment, with other saints which shall be raised from the dead, but not to fight or to be slain of Antichrist. Some man perhaps will say, it is a wonder that these raptings did happen in the Old Testament, and are not written of in the New. Yes verily, they are had also in the new. For Christ (of whom the old raptings were shadows) was taken up into heaven in the sight of his apostles. And Paul said, that he was rapt into the third heaven, whether it were in the body, or out of the body, &c. And Philip the Deacon (as we read in the Acts) when he had baptized the Eunuch of Queen Candaces; he was caught away by the angel out of his sight: and found himself to be at Azotus. Wherefore there be notable examples extant, as well in the Old Testament, as in the New; whereby we are warned, that we should at the least wise ascend into heaven

with our mind, and there be conversant before God and Christ Jesus. Our conversation (as Paul hath taught) ought to be in heaven.

Neither let us be forgetful that we, so long as we live here, do wander and stray from the Lord: happy no doubt are such raptings. Damnable on the other side are the raptings of Dathan and Abiram, who were caught quick into hell. And fowl and shameful were those which the Poets extol; namely, of Ganymedes, Proserpina, and of others; whose examples must even as much be avoided of all men, as the former examples must be expressed with as much imitation as we can. And thus have we spoken sufficiently of the question proposed, whereof I meant to have said but a little. But in traveling therein, I met with a number of by-turnings and points, which I might not pass over, that I was constrained to speak or write more at large, than I was determined. And as touching those things which I have defined, my mind was not to teach them as things firm and certain, or as perfectly tried out by the holy scriptures; but as likelihoods of truth, the which we may guess of without breach of faith. And if any man can allege better proofs, I am ready to hear him. Neither have I minded to contend earnestly about those things which I have affirmed: and this do I also persuade and counsel others to do.

CHAP. XVII. Of the End of the World, of the Last Judgment, of Eternal Life, of the Equality of Rewards, and of the Restoring of the Whole World.

As for the time of continuance of the world, we have no certainty in the holy scriptures. Augustine in his first book upon Genesis, against the Manichees, reckoned six ages of the world. The first, from Adam unto Noah; the second, from Noah unto Abraham; the third, from thence unto David; the fourth, from that time to the transmigration into Babylon; the fifth, from that time unto Christ; the sixth, from Christ until the last judgment. Wherefore that age, wherein we now live, being the last, may be called the decrepit or very old age; and of John it is called the last hour: but how long it shall continue, we know not. Augustine unto Hesychius, who had somewhat curiously questioned of the end of the world, answered; that He durst not either measure or reckon the spaces of times, unto the end of the world; because it is written, that Of that day knoweth no man, neither the angels, nor yet the son of God himself. Which place Epiphanius interpreteth, in the book which he calleth Anchoratus; affirming a double knowledge, one of the execution or work, and another of the inward science. And then (saith he) God the father hath both ways the knowledge

of the last judgment: of the inward science doubtless, in that he hath known the time thereof: secondly of the work; because he hath already executed judgment. He hath given all judgment to the son, and as touching himself, he hath sufficiently judged. And the son hath knowledge of that day, as touching knowledge: but as touching execution, he hath not; because he is not yet come to judge. But the angels in neither sort know of that day. First, in very deed, the hour and time of judgment is hidden to them: further, the work or execution God hath not yet committed to them, that they should go forth and take away all offenses.

Howbeit, this exposition seemeth to be very subtle and wrested. Augustine hath more plainly interpreted it; that The son knoweth not of that day, not as touching himself, but concerning others, whom he causeth not to know that day; neither hath he revealed the same by his doctrine. But if thou wilt say, that after this manner, the father also doth not know it; because he hath not showed the same day, or instructed any man as touching it: he answereth; Yes verily, he hath revealed it to the son. Howbeit I would yet more simply understand that sentence, as touching the human nature of Christ, which by the ordinary and natural condition, knew nothing more, than was declared unto him by the divine nature.

2. Some have had a mind to cavil, that albeit the day and the hour is not known: yet that by conjectures we may attain to the knowledge of the time, because that Christ did specially speak of that day, but not of the time. But this subtle point nothing helpeth them, because it is written in the first chapter of the acts; It is not for you to know the times and moments: which in Greek is written. χρόνους ἢ καιρούς. And that, which we read in Matthew; When the Gospel shall be preached over all the world, then shall the end be: Augustine expoundeth; The Lord shall not come, before the

Gospel shall be preached over all the world. But by this it is not known, how soon, after such preaching, he will come. In the epistle to the Colossians, the first chapter, the apostle writeth, that Even at that time, the Gospel was already preached over all the world: and yet we see that judgment is still deferred. The Lord, in the Gospel of Matthew, showed of many signs of the last times: but when we see them, we understand not whether as yet they be thoroughly come to the just measure, so as they should be reckoned even for the very same things, which the Lord hath foreshowed. But it is sufficient for us to know, that (as Paul said) This our age is the last; so as another age after this is not to be looked for. And touching this time of ours Christ said; I will be with you, until the end of the world: wherein he showeth, that the end of our age is the consummation of the world. And when he instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist, he said; Ye shall show the Lord's death until he come: by which saying he declareth, that our sacraments shall endure, until the end of the world.

3. Many are led by conjectures, which are but weak (I will not say vain) to appoint the time of the last judgment. They bring forth an oracle from the tradition of the Hebrews, which they attribute to Elias, and his School; namely, that the world should endure six thousand years. And those years they distribute after this manner; to wit, that two thousand years were spent before the law, two thousand years under the law, and two thousand years they appoint to be under the kingdom of Messias. And others have feigned (which cometh all to one purpose) that the world shall endure six days, even as it was made in six days; but as touching the lasting thereof they appoint for every day a thousand years; as though this had been the mind of David, when he said; And a thousand years before thee are as yesterday that is past. Also there be others, which think, that the mystical body of Christ, that is,

the church, shall live upon the earth 33 years: which number Christ lived in the world, as touching his body, which he took of the virgin: but to every year they distribute fifty usual years, that they may make a year of Jubilee. All these things are inventions of men. And it is a miserable thing, that whereas we have so many clear and manifest things in the holy scriptures, concerning faith, hope, charity, and the bonds of other virtues, wherein there is nothing obscure; we will leave those utterly neglected, and with so great superstition follow other things, which are uncertain, and serve less unto salvation. This doth the devil endeavor, that we should earnestly occupy ourselves in questions, which be infinite and unprofitable; laying aside other things, which should be necessarily kept.

But when we hear mention to be made of the last judgment, let us rather prepare ourselves to watch and pray, lest we be found negligent. True certainly it is, that Augustine said, that Prophetesies are sooner fulfilled than understood. Wherefore, when we see some of those signs, which Christ set forth unto us, as tokens of the judgment to come, let us say with our own selves; Perhaps the wrath of the Lord is now to be poured out, let us fervently desire of God by prayers and most earnest faith, that he will be merciful, and reconciled unto us, for Christ his sake. Concerning the ages and spaces of times, the heretics Marcion, Cerdo, Praxeas, and Valentinus have shamefully doted; as may be seen in Tertullian and Irenaeus.

4. The deferring of punishments, which God useth of his own nature, seemeth to invite men to return unto God; although it have not the like strength of working in all men. Wherefore, when we see some punished, and we ourselves in the meantime spared, it is meet that we should weigh this goodness of God, whereby he beareth with us, to the intent we should correct ourselves. Of which thing Christ admonished us, when he said (at

what time that word was brought him of some that were slain with the fall of the tower of Siloa;) Do ye think that they alone have sinned? As though he should have said; Not only they have deserved that punishment, but many others ought to have suffered the like. But God will show forth certain particular examples of his judgment, which one day shall be general. Indeed the punishment of the ungodly is deferred, but yet it shall most certainly come at the time appointed. The parable of the fig-tree, which the good man of the household commanded to be cut down, seeing it bare no fruit, admonisheth us of the self-same thing. For the husband-man obtained, that the cutting down thereof should be a little while deferred, for that he would dung it, and husband it, if perhaps it would bring forth fruit: which if it did not, then it should not only be dug up by the roots; but be also thrown into the fire. Here are we taught, not straightway to forsake our brethren, when they offend; but patiently for a time to expect: and that even as God himself doth, so should we by benefits provoke them to repentance, not omitting in the meantime brotherly admonitions.

But it is worthy to be noted, that the very same men, whom Paul said were punished, (when they were delivered up to the lusts of their own heart, and unto shameful affections, and also unto a reprobate mind) shall again be punished: which therefore is done, because that first kind of punishment drew them unto pleasures and delights: for he declareth, that it shall one day come to pass, that they shall have sore and grievous punishment laid upon them. But how doth this agree with that which the prophet Nahum writeth in his first chapter; namely, that judgment and punishment are not used twice for one thing. Seeing these men were punished once, why are they punished again? Certainly, that sentence so commonly frequented, that God punisheth not twice, is not so written in the prophet; although it be so read

in the seventy interpreters. The words are after this sort; Whie do ye devise against the Lord? He will make an end, neither shall tribulation arise the second time. Which words some of the Hebrews (as Jerome reporteth) do interpret of the Assyrians, who seeing they had gotten the victory at the first time against the kingdom of the ten tribes, thought that they had been able, in like manner, to have prevailed against the kingdom of Judah, which the prophet said should not come to pass; and saith, that after the first tribulation, a second should not follow. Indeed this exposition may be borne withal.

But there is another, which is more plain; namely, to say, that these things are spoken against Sennacherib, which besieged Jerusalem, unto whom God threatened an absolute and perfect destruction; I will (saith he) so blot thee out, as I shall not need to rise the second time against thee. One plague shall be sufficient, thou shalt be so vehemently afflicted therewith. Neither did the prophet dream, as many do imagine, that there is a measure of punishments prescribed unto God; as though it were not lawful for him to punish one and the self-same man more than once. If this should be granted, we must say, that the Egyptians, for so much as they were punished in the red sea, are now free from hell fire; and they, which were destroyed in Sodom, and in the flood, now at length be at rest. Which sayings undoubtedly are most absurd: for as some in this life do receive the holy Ghost, and grace, as an earnest penny of the happiness to come, being those, which both in this life, and in the life to come shall have reward: so on the other side it may be, that the punishments of some begin in this life, which shall be augmented in another life. As it is to be thought, that Nero, Herod, and Saul, do now feel punishments far more grievous, than those which they here tasted of. Yet in the mean while I deny not, but that God as

touching his elect, is content with those griefs and punishments wherewith he punished them in this life.

As Paul said to the Corinthians, that One among them should be delivered up unto Satan, to the end his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. And again he saith; that Some are here corrected of the Lord, least they should not be condemned with this world.

5. But when God will deal after this sort, or use this severity, to punish both here and afterward, that is not put under our knowledge. Wherefore, according to the commandment of Christ, he is always to be feared; forsomuch as He hath power both to kill the body, and also to cast the soul into hell fire. Howbeit, this we may affirm, that they which perish in affliction and trouble, and repent not, shall be more grievously tormented again: and they on the other side, which being warned by afflictions, do return unto Christ, shall (after sufficient chastising with the punishments of this life) obtain everlasting salvation. Wherefore, according to that which we have said, Paul admonisheth wicked men, that howsoever they have been punished; yet, unless they shall repent, greater punishments remain against the day of judgment. And his meaning is, that the patience of God, whereby he suffereth them, doth not foretoken impunity; but giveth them an occasion of beginning true repentance. God is declared to be both merciful and good, but yet so, as his forbearing and clemency hath ends and limits. And by reason of this deferring of punishments, which happen in this life, the apostle is compelled to make mention of the last judgment. Otherwise, seeing many are spared in this life from punishment, and others are very severely handled, God might be thought to deal unjustly. Wherefore he urgeth them with the fear of the last judgment, and affirmeth, that the deferring of vengeance bringeth the greater punishments. Which thing

Valerius Maximus an Ethnic writer speaketh of; namely, that God by the grievousness of punishments, recompenseth the long delay of punishing. Whereby it is plain, that Paul disputing against the Ethnics, which knew not the holy scriptures, reproved them by those things, which might be known by the light of nature. So then there is a certain natural knowledge grafted in the hearts of men, concerning the judgment of God, which is to come after this life. And this do even the fables of the Poets declare, which have placed Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus as judges in hell. Wherefore they shall be the more grievously punished, which have been the longer borne withal; because the contemning of God, addeth no small weight unto their sins: which contempt seemeth to have crept upon them, while they in such sort neglected a long time his gentleness and patience.

Paul addeth; But thou according to thy hardness and unrepentant heart, heapest to thyself wrath, in the day of wrath. It is a hard heart, that is not mollified by the benefits of God, nor yet is broken by his threatening's, or fear of punishments. And this rebellion against God we draw unto us, partly by original sin; and partly by a custom of sinning: so that we are now in a manner without any feeling. To believe well, seeing it belongeth unto virtue, it hath two extremities. On the one side there is so great facility, that some will believe anything, whether it be an invention of man, or a superstition; or else the word of God, that thou set forth unto them: this undoubtedly is a fault. On the other side, there is so great difficulty to believe, as they will not admit, no not that which is manifestly appointed by the word of God, unless their own reason be satisfied therein. Between these two dangerous extremities, there is a certain mean; to wit, that we should easily believe those things which are to be believed, when they are sincerely offered unto us, making a godly trial of them by the holy

scriptures: for by that rule all things must be examined. Paul useth this Greek word *θησαυρίζειν*, which signifieth, To lay aside, or to lay up in store: for we commonly use to lay up in our treasures, those things which we will not presently use; but will afterward occupy them at some other time. And this accordeth just with those ungodly persons: for they did not then feel the wrath of God, which afterward they shall feel; and that so much the more abundantly, as riches are greater, which are every day heaped together. He prudently saith; that These men heaped unto themselves wrath, because they should not impute these punishments unto the cruelty of God. By this kind of speech he teacheth, that it was their own selves which brought this mischief upon themselves. And this word of [Heaping up treasure;] is oftentimes used in the holy scriptures. In Deuteronomy the 32nd chapter, God saith of the transgressions of the Israelites, that they were sealed up in his treasures. Jeremiah also in the 50th chapter threateneth, that God would pour out the treasure of his wrath and of his indignation.

6. And whereas Paul to the Romans added; Against the day of wrath, it doth sometimes happen in this life, when God seemeth that he will not suffer any longer, and sheweth forth some tokens of his severity. Which thing we perceive did happen in the captivity of Babylon, in the destruction of Sodom, and the overthrow of the Egyptians. And the prophets everywhere describe the most bitter punishments of God, under this title, that they be laid up in store against the day of wrath. And wrath is here taken for vengeance, by that kind of figure, whereby that which followeth is expressed by that which goeth before. But the meetest way is, to refer those things, which are here described, unto the last day of judgment. Which he noteth out by three marks; first, by wrath; secondly, by revelation; and

lastly, by justice. Vengeance he ascribeth unto God, least it should be thought to be a thing of small weight. He addeth also, Revelation, because here things be hidden; but there all things shall be made manifest. He added also this word δικαιοκρίσιαν, that is, Justice, least (as Chrysostom noteth) some should persuade themselves, that the judgment of God should proceed from an angry mind. Undoubtedly, there shall be showed a most grievous vengeance but yet such vengeance, as shall have justice joined therewith. Wherefore we ought to have that judgment continually before our eyes, neither at any time to take any enterprises or actions upon us, but that we have the eye of our mind bent thereunto. And this is to walk before God, which thing Abraham was commanded to do: and is very often required of us. And to walk before God, is nothing else, but to think that he doth most inventively behold what things so ever we do.

But alas, it is a wonder to see, how continually this meditation of the judgment to come, is taken away from the sight of the ungodly. But he shall render to everyone according to his works. But when he saith, that to everyone shall be rendered, it plainly signifieth, that none shall escape this judgment. In the judgments of men it oftentimes cometh to pass, that one is punished, and another is not so much as accused. He addeth; According to their works: to let us understand, that there shall be no accepting of persons. There shall be only had a consideration of the causes, and not of the men: they shall be judged according to their works and deeds, of what state and condition so ever they be. Indeed the mercy of God is now very ample, but yet so, as the severity of [his] justice is not wanting. Albeit that Moses perceived many properties of God, which served to express his goodness and clemency; to wit, that He is gentle, merciful, slow unto wrath, rich in mercy and truth, which would keep in store his pity or mercy for a thousand

generations: yet he perceived it to be added in the end, that God will not declare the wicked man to be an innocent. And that he visiteth the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation.

7. But whereas it is here and there said, that all die, and that all shall be made alive; some have thought, that in the end all men shall be saved: that the benefit of Christ may extend as far as did the fault of Adam. Of this mind did Origin seem to be. Howbeit, in the holy scriptures, as touching the punishments of the damned it is said, that Their worm shall not be extinguished. And Christ is said, that At the last judgment he will throw the damned into eternal fire. But if thou wilt cavil, that this word [Eternal] is sometime in the holy scriptures applied unto things, which endure a long time; and that it is not always required, that they should be without end: we answer, that this cannot be applied unto this question. For those things, which by reason of long continuance, are sometimes by a figure called eternal; whereas otherwise they shall have their end, are proved, even by the holy scriptures to have an end, and at the length to break off. But if this be not manifest, let us always understand [Eternal] in his own proper signification. And seeing in the holy scripture there is no mention made of a change to come, after the sentence given by the high judge, touching the state and condition of things; we will absolutely understand his words. For whatsoever shall be presumed, shall be but feigned.

Neither is that necessary, which they endeavor to prove; namely, that the benefit of Christ should as largely extend, as did the damage and loss procured by Adam. Albeit I know, that there be some, which for their readier answer, and that they may seem to defend, that so many be partakers of the benefit of Christ, as were hurt by the fall of Adam, are wont to say; that Even as death came upon all men by Adam, so the resurrection shall be

spread upon all men by Christ: although that this benefit in the wicked, doth tend to destruction through their own fault. But unto this opinion I do not willingly agree: for it is here meant of that kind of resurrection, which Christ shall perform, by abolishing of sin. Which, seeing we cannot appoint to be in the wicked (as they which will remain in their sins) they cannot be partakers of this resurrection: and the resurrection of them doth belong to the severity of judgment, and not to the bountifulness of mercy. For if the Lord truly pronounced of Judas, that It had been better for him if he had not been born: the same may we affirm of these men, that it should be much better for them, if they rise not again. And further, if these men may seem to have found a shift concerning resurrection, as though [the particle] By Christ, should respect so many as they be, which be perished by the death that came in by Adam: what (I beseech you) would they say, if so be I should use the same kind of argument as touching sin and righteousness? For so all men would say, that they be justified by Christ, as sin was derived upon all men by Adam. Certainly here they have no shift: for a far less number do obtain righteousness by Christ, than are contaminated in their birth by original sin. Wherefore, that is firm, which we said at the beginning; namely, that the gift of Christ is not so largely extended, as was the loss that came by the fall of Adam. Yet must we not judge that gift to be of the less strength, as well because there wanted nothing in Christ, as touching desert and worthiness, but that whole mankind might be justified by him; saving that the large scope of his grace and benefit is drawn within the limits of divine predestination: as also, for that it is a greater power to blot out a multitude, yea an innumerable sort of sins by justification, than it was to spread one sin over all men. And this reason did Paul touch in the fifth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. Wherefore, when it is said, [All]

as well on the one part as on the other, the speech must be referred unto such a generality, as is not one and the same, but which is proper to both of them. For even as Adam hath his body of all the posterity, which is derived from him; so doubtless Christ hath his body of all believers and justified persons. And very well doth the exposition, which Augustine useth, agree with this place; namely, that By Christ all shall be made alive, even as many as come to the blessed resurrection, which they shall attain by the grace of Christ.

That all men's glory in heaven shall be alike.

8. The fathers, when they interpret the place of Paul, wherein it is said; There is another glory of the sun, and another of the moon: they expound the same, as though it should concern the diversity of rewards; so that after the blessed resurrection, some should become more excellent than others. Howbeit, if a man in this place weigh well the matter, this is not meant: which thing the conclusion brought in, doth manifestly declare. For thus Paul inferreth; It is sown in corruption, it riseth again in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it riseth again in glory; it is sown in infirmity, it riseth again in power; it is sown a natural body, it riseth again a spiritual body. Where it appeareth, that this diversity is only to be understood between the body, which we shall put off at our death, and that body which shall be restored in the resurrection: neither is there anything concluded, of a difference to be between the bodies of the blessed. The effect of that which is to be considered in this comparison, is between the body put off, and the body restored. Christ spake no otherwise than generally, concerning this matter; to wit, that in the everlasting habitation, we should be like unto angels: wherein, neither men shall marry wives, nor yet women be given in marriage. These things are not spoken of me, to the intent I would prove,

that there is altogether equality in that place; but I affirm, that neither of both can be confirmed out of the holy scriptures. Both opinions are probable; neither do I think it of necessity to salvation, which of these two be true. Probable perchance it is, that there is some difference among the saints, but I do not think that this can be showed by the scriptures. The which thing that it may appear, let us see what places they bring in.

First they say; Unto every man shall be given, according to his works, and everyone shall have a reward according to his labor. In Daniel it is written; They which teach others, shall be as the light of the firmament; and they which instruct others unto righteousness, shall shine as the stars. They reason also by contraries; Seeing there is a diversity in punishments, the same must be granted as touching rewards. And that punishments are not alike, they prove by the words of Christ, wherein he said, that It shall be easier for the men of Tyre and Sidon, than for Corasim and Bethsaida; and also for the men of Sodom, than for Capernaum. Further it is written; In the house of my Father there be many mansions. And besides this; if We shall be like unto the angels, they have sundry orders among them. Moreover, the seed being cast into the earth, bringeth forth fruit, thirty-fold, sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold. And in the parable of the talents, according as there be more or fewer restored unto the Lord by his servants, the diversity of the gain is recompensed with sundry rewards. And in the Apocalypse; Some do follow the Lamb wheresoever he shall go; which seemeth not to be granted unto others. He that shall observe and teach [the commandments,] that man shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. Again he saith; He that desireth to be the greater among you, let him be made the lest of all. And in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly; and he that soweth in blessings, shall also reap of blessings. All the Fathers

agree unto this opinion. And it seemeth, that by this means is stirred up the study and endeavor of living well. These and such other things they be, which are wont to be brought for this part.

9. Now on the other side, let us hear them, which affirm rather an equality in the rewards of eternal life. First, unto them which labored not alike in the vineyard, a penny is given indifferently; and the good man of the house withstandeth the murmurers, and showeth that he doth justly; neither doth he excuse himself by a distinction of reward substantial, and accidental, which the adversaries have devised. Further, out of the apostle Paul, in another place, we hear; that God shall be all in all. And Christ speaking of the reward of just men; The just (saith he) shall shine as the sun in the sight of God. But no greater light there is, than that wherewith the sun is endued. And no man, except he be just, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. Wherefore all shall have the light of the sun; that is, the high glory alike. And again Christ disputing with the Sadducees as touching the resurrection, said, that we shall be like to the angels: neither doth he proceed any further, to appoint sundry diversities. Furthermore, whereas there be sundry differences of the saints in this life, that happeneth by reason of the flesh, which they carry about with them: whereunto, according as some be more or less addicted, they profit more or less in regeneration. But in the kingdom of heaven, when all blemishes of the flesh shall be excluded, we shall be perfect: neither will there because why one man should be let more than another from perception of the present good thing.

Also Christ promised to his apostles, that they should sit upon 12 seats, as judges of Israel. But hath not Paul obtained the same reward, although he be accounted the thirteenth in the same fellowship; whereas nevertheless he labored more than the rest? Yea rather, he hath also made the Corinthians

partakers of the same reward, and with them all believers, when he saith; But do you not know, that we shall judge the world and the angels? And in the last chapter to the Romans it is written, that The passions of this life are not to be compared to the glory to come, which shall be revealed unto us. But if so be that God, in giving of eternal life, hath not respect to the worthiness of our works, how shall we prove these degrees of rewards? We shall obtain felicity by the mere liberality of God: wherefore we should seek for a diversity of rewards at his mercy, and not of our own works. But we see that those men, which defend the contrary opinion, do chiefly cleave unto this ground: as if so be we should deserve everlasting life by our works, and that (as they speak) of condignity. Which thing if we should affirm, undoubtedly God might seem to be unjust, if he would not assign greater rewards to them which have deserved them above others.

10. But now let us come to the weighing of those arguments, whereby they endeavor to show that this difference of rewards is necessary. First, they objected, that There shall be given to every man according to his works. Which we say must be generally understood, as touching glory and damnation. And this interpretation we have out of the scripture, in the epistle to the Romans, the 2nd chapter. And Christ, by the last sentence of judgment, that To everyone shall be given his own proper reward, thus expoundeth it; to wit, when he calleth those that be on the right hand into the kingdom, and casteth those on the left hand into destruction. Briefly, he whose labors have been godly and just, shall be saved; but he that hath labored ill, shall fall to ruin. Those very words, which Daniel hath in the 12th chapter, to wit; that Many which slept in the dust shall be raised up, some doubtless unto glory, but others unto shame; and that they which have taught others shall be like the firmament; and they which have instructed

others to righteousness, shall be as the stars, do prove nothing necessarily: because the self-same things, which had been spoken before (as it is often used in the scripture) are repeated in the clause in the second place. The difference which seemeth to be assigned, is of the firmament and of the stars.

But whereas they, which teach, and those which instruct others unto righteousness, be even thoroughly all one, and are contained in one and the self-same degree, there shall not, even according to our adversaries judgment, be due unto them sundry rewards, seeing they labored all alike. Wherefore it appeareth, that the same thing is spoken afterward, which was affirmed before: howbeit, more evidently. But if thou shalt ask, why Daniel rather made mention of them which teach, than of others? The answer is ready; to wit, that these men were rather to be confirmed, because they were more abandoned unto persecutions than others were. Therefore had they need of consolation: for it behooveth them to be of a good courage. Yet thereby is not proved, that the self-same promises should not be made unto the rest, seeing Christ plainly said; The righteous shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of God. Furthermore, Jerome in expounding of this place, when he had plainly treated of that sentence, added; that Some did demand, whether the godly unlearned man, and godly learned man should have all one glory? And he saith, that we may answer according to the translation of Theodosius, that one shall be as the firmament, another as the stars. Howbeit I have already showed, that it is all one thing that is spoken on both parts.

11. As touching the argument which they do bring in of contraries, we should not much pass. For we grant it to be a probable reason, but yet not necessary: for this manner of argument oftentimes faileth; as if so be a man

will say, that he can kill himself, therefore he can quicken himself: and many other instances might be brought, but for brevity sake I omit them. Wherefore I grant, that in punishments there is some diversity, which nevertheless followeth not to be in rewards: for by our works we deserve punishment; but on the other side, we deserve not felicity by them. So that the argument or reason in these contraries are differing or unlike. It is true that Christ said; In my father's house there be many mansions: but he saith not, Sundry mansions. As if so be I should say; In Oxford there be many Inns, but if the guests be entertained in them all after one manner, the Inns shall not be altogether diverse, but of equality, if so be that in every one of them the self-same dinners, and the same suppers, and wholly the same commodities be set before the guests.

As touching angels, we say, that the scripture granteth, that they have among them sundry orders and jurisdictions; because God useth the ministry of them for the governing of the world: but at the end, all principalities and powers (as we have said) shall be abolished. Neither do we know, whether there shall be anymore a diversity of orders or degrees, as touching felicity. Further, they that affirm sundry orders to be in angels, their mind is, that they differ in special kind, and perhaps in the next general kind: which cannot be affirmed, as touching blessed men, or our spirits. Wherefore the similitude between us and angels agreeth not as touching all things. For then should we take all angels to be of one form, or one order, whether they have all a like or equal happiness or no. But these matters no man can define by testimonies of the holy scriptures, seeing very few things are taught us concerning the affairs of angels, because they were not necessary unto our salvation to be known. He that shall observe and teach [the commandments] shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. We

answer, that under the name of the kingdom of heaven is understood the church, wherein they are greatly to be esteemed, which teach rightly, and do those things, which they shall teach: and in the elections of the churches, they must be preferred before others. And those are to be less esteemed, who break the lest of God's commandments, and teach others to break them. Except perhaps thou wilt say, that they which break, and teach others to break the commandments of God, shall be in eternal felicity: which thing is most absurd. Neither is it any difficult thing to perceive what meaneth the parable of the seed, whereof a part falleth on good ground, and giveth fruit, thirty-fold; when as of other parts there is had even sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold. There is none but understandeth, that these things belong to the state of this present life: because God's word fructifieth not in all the godly after one sort. Neither doth the parable of the talents respect anything else; for he that useth God's gifts well, is made worthy to be placed over many things: graces are increased in him, and he daily made more capable of spiritual gifts.

12. Also they cited that saying unto the Corinthians; He that soweth sparingly, shall also reap sparingly. Which saying also may appertain to the receiving of spiritual fruits in this life; for they that be liberal in alms, do abound in spiritual good things: and it oftentimes cometh to pass, that God more abundantly imparteth riches unto them, to the intent they may have the more plenty, whereof to be merciful. So then, as touching all these things we may understand, that a sparing harvest shall be, if we sow sparingly. Wherefore there is nothing necessarily proved, as touching rewards of eternal life. And whereas the Lord said unto the apostles; He that will be greater, let him become the least of all: it is nothing against us, seeing it may be understood as touching the church, where those should be

acknowledged for chief, which do behave themselves lowly. But the testimony out of the Apocalypse; that They which be virgins, do follow the lamb wheresoever he shall go: and, that those hundred fifty four thousand, son a song, which might not be son by others: and those things besides, which are alleged out of the same book, are obscure; since it is said to be sealed up, and that it is not easily, yea rather of very few understood. And it appeareth not unto us, whether the things showed, do belong unto the life present, or unto the life to come. We grant, that they which be of the purer life, be more apt to penetrate the secrets of God. And on the other side we are taught, that where-soever Christ is, there also shall his ministers be. Wherefore it is promised, not only unto some, but also unto all, which serve Christ, that they shall follow the lamb.

13. Concerning the fathers, we freely grant, that they affirmed a difference of rewards. But in this place it is only called into question, whether this opinion may be proved by the testimony of the holy scriptures. Further, they do not also always speak with one consent. Jerome in his epistles, when he had commended a widow, and that he seemed to compare her unto a virgin, saith; that He liked not to put this difference between the saints: whereas yet he himself seemeth to be an earnest defender of these differences. Neither do we make any great account that it was said, that men are made sluggish, who otherwise by this diversity of rewards would be encouraged to live godly. For they, which be not moved through the love and faith of the word of God, and through a hope of excellent felicity; neither also will they be easily stirred up to do well, in respect of these differences. But if they should do otherwise, they might rather be counted hirelings, than sons of God. Neither (as I said before) are these things spoken by me; to the intent I would utterly deny such a difference of rewards: but this only I meant to

say, that they cannot be proved by the scriptures. Otherwise, among those that shall be raised from the dead, we put a difference: because the habit of the damned souls shall be one, and of the blessed souls shall be another. Moreover, we deny not, but it may well be, that when the saints consider in their mind, that God by himself did many acts, and those very excellent; they will perhaps conceive thereby more delight and joy, than others, which cannot remember with themselves, that so many and so great acts were done by him: which nevertheless is uncertain, but is brought as a thing probable. But this chiefly I think to be frivolous, which the School-men devise, I know not what, as touching crowns of laurel, and substantial and accidental reward.

14. The same men also reason many things, as touching the state of felicity; and they demand among other things, whether the knowledge which is gotten here shall so be lost: as when we shall come into the heavenly habitation, there shall be no difference between the learned and unlearned? This is a curious search, seeing it hath small or no profit at all. First it were good to come thither, and it should behoove us to be careful of the means how we should attain thither, rather than with a superfluous endeavor to dispute now of the condition, quality, and form of the blessed. The holy scriptures call us not to this endeavor: and perhaps there is nothing concerning this matter determined by them. But as touching the difference of the elect in the everlasting habitation, the place serveth not to dispute anymore: hereof we have spoken sufficiently, when we entreated of the conditions of them that shall rise again. But that gifts and free graces shall at that time be abolished, it is no marvel; seeing they be given for the advancement of faith, which then shall continue no longer. Yea, we have experience at this day, when as the gospel is in a manner everywhere

preached, that those gifts, which we spake of before, are either taken away, or else they be very rare.

As touching languages, whether they shall be then abolished, some man perhaps will demand; Shall not the saints in heaven speak? Speech to this purpose is given, that either we may communicate with others, those things which we know; or else to demand of others those things which we want. But among the saints, in the kingdom of God, it seemeth, that neither of both shall be necessary: because both in God and in ourselves, all things shall abundantly enough be known, and be had. But if perhaps such a familiar custom shall be granted unto us, it is very likely, that all shall use one manner of language, seeing we shall be one people, and shall have one and the self-same country. But unto such as shall be importunate to demand, what tongue that shall be, which the saints shall then use; I grant freely, that I know it not. Whereas notwithstanding I remember there be some who affirm, that the Hebrew tongue shall then be in use: but upon what certainty they affirm it, let themselves take heed.

Of the change of all things.

15. These things being declared, the place itself seemeth to require, that I should speak somewhat of the change of things that shall be in the end of the world. First I think it good to rehearse those things, which the Master of the sentences writeth, as touching this matter, in the fourth book, distinct. 48. When the Lord shall come to judge, the sun and moon shall be darkened: not (saith he) because the light shall be taken from them, but through the presence of a more plentiful light. For Christ, the most splendent sun shall be present; therefore the stars of heaven shall be darkened, as are candles at the rising of the sun. The virtues of heaven shall be moved: which may be understood as touching the powers, or (as some

speak) of the influences whereby the celestial bodies govern inferior things, which then shall forsake their right and accustomed order. Or else, by these virtues we may understand the angels, which by a continual turning, turn about the spheres of the heavens. Perhaps they shall then either cease from the accustomed work, or else they shall execute it after some new manner. After he had gathered these things out of Matthew and Luke he addeth out of Joel; that there shall be eclipses of the sun, and of the moon; The sun (saith he) shall be darkened, and the moon shall be turned into blood, before that great and horrible day of the Lord come. And out of the 65th chapter of Isaiah; Behold I create a new heaven, and a new earth. And straightway; The moon shall shine as the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven-fold, that is, of seven days. And out of the Apocalypse; There shall be a new heaven, and a new earth. Albeit no mention is there made of amplifying the light, either of the sun or of the moon.

Jerome interpreteth that place; that such shall be the light of the sun, as it was in those first seven days, wherein the world was created. For by the sin of our first parents, the light (saith he) both of the sun and of the moon was diminished. Which saying some of the Schoolmen understand, not as touching the very substance of the light, but that as well the world as men, receive less fruit of those lights, after the fall, than they had before. Howbeit, all these things are obscure and uncertain. Whereunto I add, that some of the Rabbin's think these to be figurative speeches; for that in the stars there shall be no change: but they say, that unto men being in heaviness, and bewailing the unhappy state of their things, shall come so small fruit by the light of the sun and moon, as unto them these stars may seem to be darkened, and altogether out of sight. But contrarywise, when they begin to be in happier state, and to live according to their own heart's

desire; then at the last, the light of the sun and of the moon shall seem to be doubled unto them, and to be lighter by many degrees than it seemed before. Which exposition as I deny not; so I confess, that at the end of the world shall be a great change of these things. Wherefore I grant both to be true, either that in this life there happen things oftentimes so sorrowful, as the days, which otherwise be most clear, seem most dark unto us: and also, that when all things shall have an end, the state of creatures shall be disturbed. Yea also it happeneth, that sometimes, while we live here, those lights of heaven are removed from their natural order: as we read that it came to pass, when Joshua fought, and when Christ suffered.

16. Jerome, in the interpretation of that place, addeth; that the sun shall then receive the reward of his labor, to wit, such great augmentations of his light. Zechariah also testifieth, that Then there shall be one perpetual day: for that the light shall be so great, as there shall be no difference between day and night. If these things be true, we may perceive in what state the glorious bodies of the saints shall be after the resurrection: of whom Christ said; The just shall shine like the sun. They shall then have a light seven-fold greater than this sun, which we now enjoy. Neither is it any marvel (saith Chrysostom) if the creatures at that time shall be beautified with so great light. For kings, on that day wherein they will have their sons to be established unto the kingdom, are wont to provide not only that they may be set forth with excellent apparel and solemn show, but also, that their servants may be very comely and orderly appareled. Wherefore when Christ shall then sit manifestly in his throne, and the just which be the sons of God shall come into the kingdom and inheritance of their father, God will bring to pass, that all creatures shall be beautified with wonderful ornaments, and excellent brightness. Albeit Isaiah saith, that It shall come to pass, that the

sun and moon shall give no more light, but that the Lord himself shall be an everlasting light. By which words he meaneth not, that those stars shall perish, but only that their light shall not be necessary unto the saints: for those things peradventure shall no more rise and go down as they do now. But if thou ask of him, what use they shall have after the judgment, he plainly confesseth that he knoweth not; for that he in this matter is destitute of the scriptures. All these things in a manner we have out of the Master of the sentences.

17. Now (as I think) there be four things for me to examine. First, what use we shall have of the creatures, when we shall be adorned with that glory. Secondly, whether their labors shall continue. Afterward, whether the nature and substance of creatures shall be preserved, and what manner of substance the same shall be. Lastly, whether all the parts of the world, or only some shall be repaired. As concerning the first, they which would diligently search out what commodity shall come unto the saints in the other life, by the creatures renewed, have taught us, that while we live here, we are by them holpen two manner of ways. For first, the nature of the body and the life, which we presently lead, is by them nourished and sustained. Secondly also, the mind is holpen, that by these visible creatures, it may arise to the contemplation of God: as Paul teacheth in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans. But when we shall be once in the blessed state, we shall have no more need of the helps of creatures; for we shall then enjoy immortality: neither shall we be anymore vexed with hunger, or thirst, or cold; or such other discommodities. And as touching the knowledge of God, we shall see him face to face. But (say they) seeing the corporal eye cannot attain to the essence of God, (as Augustine very well teacheth in his book *De videndo Deo*;) therefore, least the eye should be destitute of a fit

delectation, unto it shall be offered then a wonderful adorning of the heavens, and beauty of things now renewed; that it may have, not only wherewith to delight and rejoice itself, but also an occasion to wonder at the power and infinite wisdom of God. These things I grant indeed are probable, but they are not confirmed by the holy scriptures. Neither doth it sufficiently appear, that seeing the body of Christ, and infinite bodies of just men, more brighter than the sun itself, shall be looked upon by the eyes of the blessed, what delectation the beholding of the creatures restored, can bring over and besides. Wherefore the plainness and simplicity of the Master of the sentences liketh me well, when he saith; he knoweth not that, which he remembereth not that he had read in the holy scriptures. I would to God, that in defining of other things, he would have used the like modesty and faithfulness!

18. But as touching the actions of creatures, whether they shall be perpetual or no; we cannot define anything for a certainty. The angel indeed in the Apocalypse sweareth by him that liveth world without end, there shall be no more time. Whereupon some do gather, that the motion of the celestial spheres shall then cease; because time is the number of motion. But this reason is not firm: for it may be, that the heavens shall move; but yet, by reason of that great light of the body of Christ, and of the bodies of all the blessed, and of the sun and moon, it cannot be well observed. So that motion may endure, although there be no time: for time is not, but by observing and numbering of motion. But they add also another reason; that heaven shall therefore cease from motion, because the continual courses do further unto the preserving of generation and corruption of inferior things. Wherefore, seeing there shall be no more generation or corruption, there shall be no need then of the motion of heaven. The reason in very deed is

probable, but not necessary: for that celestial motion, although it serve not to generation and corruption, yet may it serve unto some other purpose, which we are ignorant of. Howbeit, this seemeth to me most certain, and which ought in any wise to be affirmed; that these natures of things shall not remain at the last day, unless they shall have some use. For it is both against nature and common reason, to appoint anything, which is altogether idle: but what works God will appoint unto these things, we willingly grant ourselves to be ignorant.

19. Now let us see, as touching the substance and nature of things, whether the same shall be preserved after the day of judgment. This doth Peter, in his latter epistle, seem to deny: for he saith; that The heavens shall suddenly perish, and like a shower, and that the elements with great heat shall melt away. But Augustine, in the twentieth book *De civitate Dei*, the 16th and 24th chapters saith, that Peter maketh a comparison with those heavens, which perished in the time of the flood: which cannot otherwise be understood, then of the regions of the air, wherein rain and tempests are commonly engendered. These heavens were after the flood put again in their places, and restored by the word of God, and are now reserved unto fire. Yea and Peter addeth afterward, that We, according to the promise, shall have a new heaven and a new earth. That promise was made in the 65th chapter of Isaiah, and repeated in the 21st chapter of the Apocalypse: although it be there written of the sea, that it shall have no more being. But Augustine, in the 16th chapter, which we now cited, doubteth; whether those words must be so understood, as though the sea should utterly cease to be, as being now sucked and dried up with the burnings: or whether indeed it shall remain, but yet renewed and changed. Augustine in the same

place saith, that No man, so far as he can tell, knoweth what burning fire that same shall be, or from whence it shall come.

Nevertheless, at this day, the School-men have not doubted at all to fancy and fable infinite things, as touching that matter. For some say, that that fire shall be elementary fire, which shall come down by the commandment of God, and burn all things. Others dream, that the beams of the sun shall by reverberation be multiplied, that by them all things may be kindled: even as we see it come to pass, when the sun beams do strike upon a glass of steel, if a little flax be put thereunto, it will be burned. Augustine addeth, that the elements shall then put off those qualities, which were before agreeable to our corrupt bodies: but shall put on other bodies, which may be fit for our immortal and glorified bodies; that the world being renewed, may be aptly applied unto men being made new by immortality. But here I would gladly demand of Augustine, whether he will appoint, that the bodies of saints, after judgment, shall live in the world? Which thing if he affirm, he shall seem to make with the sect called *Millenarije* but if he deny this, and do hold (which we believe) that our bodies shall be caught up into heaven, what manner of application of the qualities of the elements shall this be unto our immortal bodies? Unless perhaps he will say, that although these things shall nothing further our immortality, yet there shall be a certain analogy and proportion between them, being now made immortal, and our bodies glorified. For if those things were (as Chrysostom saith) for our sins made subject to corruption; it is meet that we being delivered from death, they also should be delivered from the burden of corruption.

20. Neither doubtless is that, which is written in the book of Genesis, any let unto this renewing, where God said unto Noah; that All the days of the earth shall be sowing and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day

and night; for these things, he saith, shall come to pass in the days of the earth: but those days shall be the days of heaven, and (as Isaiah saith) A sabbath of sabbaths. Also Jeremiah, in the 33rd chapter saith; Can the covenant be made void, which I have made with day and night? As though he would say; It cannot be made void. So (saith he) shall the covenant be established which I have made with the house of Judah, and with the house of David. The covenant whereof the prophet now speaketh, as touching the sending of Messias in his time appointed, must not be drawn beyond the time of the present state. But Christ, when he saith in the Gospel; that Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away, meaneth not [Passing away] for [destruction;] but foretelleth, that a certain change shall one day come. Which yet shall never happen unto his words, for they shall always abide immovable, and the truth of them shall never be perverted. Of this interpretation David is author, in the 102nd Psalm; The heavens (saith he) are the works of thy hands, they shall perish, but thou shalt endure; as a garment shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed.

Hereunto also agreeth Peter: for when he had said; that The heavens shall perish, and the elements shall melt away with heat, he added; that We, according to the promise, shall have a new heaven and a new earth. And Jerome expounding the 65th chapter of Isaiah, unto this sense alledgeth a sentence of Paul out of the first epistle to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter. For he saith; that The figure of this world passeth away: as though he would not say, that the nature of things, or the world itself shall perish; but only the figure, that is, the state and form of this time. And that the same renewing, which we affirm, signifieth not a destroying of nature, he proveth it by a similitude taken of the degrees of our age. For when of children, we

are made young men; and of young men, men; and of men, old men: we are not as touching the nature of man destroyed; but by those changes we are transferred from a lower estate, unto that which is more excellent. Wherefore, when that last burning shall come, which the scriptures plainly teach shall come, the whole world shall be set on fire. And as gold and silver, when they are melted in the fire, perish not, but are made more pure; so the world shall not by that fire be destroyed, but be renewed. Of this mind also were some of the Ethnic writers, as Heraclitus Ephesius, and Empedocles Siculus, and others; who peradventure had received these things of their elders, but had corrupted them with wicked opinions.

21. There have been also many of the Christians in ancient time, which thought, that the creatures shall remain after the coming of the Lord, and that they shall serve unto some use for the elect. For they thought, that when Christ shall return, there shall be then only the resurrection of the godly, which also they called the first resurrection; between which and the latter, wherein the wicked shall be raised up, there shall be the space of a thousand years: and during this time shall Christ wholly reign in this world, together with the saints: and all this space the devil shall be bound, as it is described in the book of the Apocalypse. And they seem to have taken an occasion of their opinion, not only out of the Revelation of John; but also out of the prophets. For they, when they prophesy of the kingdom of Christ, make mention of many things, which seem to pertain to the kingdoms of this world, and unto pleasures and delights.

And they, which were in this error, were of the Grecians called χιλιασταί, of the Latins *Millenarij*. Neither doubtless were there only of the common sort patrons of this opinion; but even the principal and most ancient men in the church, as Papias, Irenaeus, Justinus Martyr, Victorinus, Lactantius,

Tertullian, and many other famous Ecclesiastical writers. Whom I join not with Cerynthus, for he sowed many other errors as touching our Savior: for unto that, which we said that these fathers held, he added a double impiety. First, that the saints shall so reign in this life with Christ, as they shall abundantly enjoy all the pleasures of the body: which is nothing else, but again with lusts, drunkenness, gluttony, and such other filthiness to contaminate nature being renewed by the resurrection. Another error of his was, that in that kingdom of Christ, the ceremonies of the law and sacrifices of Moses should be revoked: which errors none of those fathers, whom we spake of, did follow.

22. Neither should it be any hard matter, to confute that madness by the scriptures: but because we have done this else-where at large, we will now cease to speak thereof. Only this I will add, that Augustine, in the twentieth book *De civitate Dei*, the seventh chapter writeth; If these men had said, that Christ, in that space of a thousand years, will bestow upon his saints some celestial graces, their saying should have been the more tolerable. In which place he signifieth, that he also was sometime of the same mind. Howbeit, afterward weighing things better, he judged that place of the Apocalypse, from whence all that suspicion seemed to flow, must be otherwise expounded; namely, by these thousand years, to understand all the time, which passeth from the ascension of Christ, unto his last judgment. Neither ought the number of a thousand years anything to offend us: for it is common to the holy scriptures, by a number certain and definite, to signify another number uncertain and not definite. Which thing, although it may by many other places be proved, yet here it shall be sufficient to note only two. Christ said unto his apostles; He that forsaketh his house, or father, or mother, or children, or wife, or brethren, &c. shall receive a

hundred-fold: where, by A hundred-fold, we understand a certain great, and in a manner infinite recompense. So God promiseth in the law, that He would do good to them that serve him, unto a thousand generations: which signifieth nothing else, but to their posterity for a very long time. Wherefore Christ (as thinketh Augustine) reigneth with his saints all this time, which is signified by the number of a thousand years.

But how it may be said, that Satan is bound in this time, it cannot be so easily answered: for even now also the church is grievously vexed by him. But Augustine thinketh, that he is therefore bound; because his strength is broken, and Christ hath overcome the strong-armed man, so as he cannot now in such sort rage as he would: but especially because he cannot turn the elect, and those that be predestinate unto everlasting life, from their appointed salvation. Albeit, as touching this, even before Christ ascended up into heaven, Satan was no less hindered than he is now; that he might not be able to disturb the elect from eternal life. But here it might be answered, that they which so lived, were few in number before Christ: for the devil ranged and spoiled in a manner everywhere, throughout the world, except some of the Israelites, and a few others. But now, after that the Gospel was spread abroad throughout the world, the power and strength of Satan is much more restrained. And this may sufficiently appear by the ceasing of oracles, and by the overthrow of idolatry in a manner everywhere. Wherefore I think with Augustine, that this renewing of creatures shall not serve to this use; that the saints should use them living with Christ in any temporal kingdom in this world.

And as for the propheties of the prophets, which are everywhere set forth touching the kingdom of Messias, and which make mention of certain things carnal, and that belong to an earthly kingdom, they are so to be

taken, as we understand them, to describe by such metaphors (as are commonly thought agreeable to the greatness and majesty of our kingdoms) the kingdom of Christ, which he now exerciseth in the church, and which in the day of judgment he will show forth with great power. And this the prophets themselves have sufficiently signified, seeing they have interlaced many things, which far exceeded belief, and went beyond the course of human things. For therein they plainly show, that they speak metaphorically. But to return to our purpose: we think, that the world, as touching the nature and substance thereof, shall not utterly perish, but rather (as writeth Isaiah, Peter, and the book of the Apocalypse, and also Paul in the same place) that it shall be renewed. And of this renovation, there are set forth two principal conditions; the one is immortality; and the other is light. The School-men have noted, that that light shall not be such as can cause heat: for if it should so do, all things should soon be dried up and burned. And it is no difficult thing to find light, which engendereth not heat: for there be found many precious stones most bright, which give no heat at all.

23. Now that these things are thus declared, let us consider of the other parts of the world, whether they also shall be preserved: as plants, precious stones, metals, brute beasts, and such like things. The School-men think, that man, being renewed, which is the principal part of the world, other creatures shall be restored also. Which saying is most true; for it is gathered by the words of Paul. But as touching the parts, they think that only heaven, and the elements, and the bodies of men shall remain. Yet (in my judgment) the reason that they bring is weak: for they affirm, that only those things shall have immortality, which after some sort were made fit for it. Such is a celestial body, which is altogether simple, and is not changed by contrary

qualities. The elements also, which as touching parts are engendered and corrupted; yet as touching the whole, do always abide. So say they also of man, who although he have a transitory body, yet he hath an immortal soul. Yea rather, the body itself was so made at the beginning, as it had possibility not to die: wherefore it shall not be absurd, if immortality be also communicated with it. Howbeit this reason is weak for two causes; first, for that without any authority of the word of God, it taketh away renovation from many parts of the world; secondly, because that which it affirmeth, is even as doubtful as is that which is concluded, namely, that those things only shall be renewed with immortality, which by their constitution seem fit for the same. For seeing this immortality is the liberal and mere gift of God, it cannot depend of any means or power of nature. For that power of God, whereby both the heavens and the elements shall be restored unto immortality, can preserve also the other parts of the world.

And as the elements remain whole, although their parts be engendered and corrupted; even so also do general natures of brute beasts and plants perpetually endure, although their particulars are renewed and perish. If thou demand what utility these things shall have, if they remain still? I answer: they shall have the self-same that thou canst attribute unto the elements. For even as then we shall have no need of the elements, no more shall we have need of brute beasts, or plants, or other parts of the world. In my judgment, it had been a better reason for them to have said, that therefore they think that other things shall not endure, because the scripture maketh no mention of their preservation. Albeit I see also that this reason is not of necessity: for though the scripture hath not made mention of these creatures apart by themselves, and expressedly; yet it is sufficient, that it hath generally signified, that creatures shall be renewed; neither did they

ever except anything. Further, if we should contend by reasons, that the sun (as they say) shall therefore be adorned with greater abundance of light, because it is meet that after a sort it should receive a reward of his labors: so may the rest of the creatures also say, that they have with no less labor and fidelity done service unto men, than the sun hath. Add moreover, that there is no less inclination and natural desire in other creatures to preserve themselves, than is in the sun, moon, heaven, and earth; wherefore if the one ought not to be frustrated of their desire, no more ought the other.

24. These things might probably be said on both sides. And Paul unto the Ephesians and Colossians saith; that All things shall be restored by Christ, whether they be things in heaven, or things in earth. But this also in very deed maketh not an argument of necessity: for things universally pronounced in the holy scriptures, do always admit an exception or restraint. All (saith Christ) as many as have come before me, were thieves and robbers. All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient. Here may be understood the figure Synecdoche, so as it may be meant, that in the same [All] are comprehended some parts. And, when as S. Paul saith, that The creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, it might be generally understood as touching the world; because he is not to be anymore constrained to renew creatures by a new generation: yet it followeth not thereby, that all creatures, as touching the particular kinds, shall be preserved. I think it therefore the part of a godly mind, to affirm neither part obstinately: for we have nothing on either part that is certainly defined. But yet this I dare boldly say, that of those creatures, which have died, only men shall be raised from death.

But as concerning the preservation of other creatures, after the day of judgment, except heaven and earth, whereof the scripture hath made

mention, I think nothing is to be said. For seeing we lack scriptures, we must not over curiously search out anything. It is enough, if we do understand this, that for our sakes was brought in the corruption of things; and again, that when we shall be renewed, all things, which shall remain, shall be better than they were before. But we must in such sort bend the strength of our knowledge, that we let not those things escape us, which be necessary unto salvation: such as are the doctrines concerning God, justification, worshipping, good works, and the use of the sacraments. Which use shall never be sincere and pure, unless the nature of them be well perceived and known; for if we attribute unto them more or less than it behooveth, we shall perpetually err. The scriptures are chiefly occupied about these principal points; namely, that The man of God may be perfect, and instructed to every good work. But these things, that the scriptures make no mention of, let us not think them to be necessary to salvation: for the holy Ghost is so good, as if they were necessary, he doubtless would have taught them in the scriptures.

As touching eternal life, look in the confession of the faith, at the end of the second part: and of felicitis, look the 14th chapter of the first part, and all the whole commentaries upon Aristotle's Ethics.

The end of the third 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 1:27, 31; 2:7, 8; 6:3; 8:9; 15:13, 16; 25:21; 45:7; **Ex** 4:21; 9:16; 12:10; 13:17; 19:13; 23:31; 32:21; 33:19; **Dt** 4:37; 30:6; 32:8; **Jos** 6:16; 10:12; **1 Sa** 2:22, 25; 9:21; 16:7; 19:24; **2 Sa** 11:4; 12:10; **1 Ki** 11:4; 12:2; 17:1; 21:27, 29; 22:22; **2 Ki** 20:1, 5, 6; **Job** 1:21; **Ps** 14:1, 3; 51:10; 104:28; 106:33; 115:3; 135:6; 145:14; **Pr** 1:26; 8:17; 16:4; **Ec** 12:3; **Is** 6:9, 10; 8:14; 10:7; 14:24; 28:21; **Is** 29; 38:1; 42:16; 46:9; 49:15; 65:1; 66:23; **Je** 1:5; 12:1; 25:8, 11, 12; 29:11; 31:33, 34; **La** 2:8; **Eze** 11:19; 14:9; 16:3; 33:11;

Da 3:21; **Joe** 2:28; **Am** 3:7; **Jon** 3:4, 10; **Hab** 1:13; **Mal** 1:2; **Mt** 5:45; 6:9, 12, 28, 32; 7:15, 18; 9:9; 10:29, 30, 32; 11:21, 22, 25, 27; 12:31; 13:9, 11, 13, 37; 16:17; 20:15, 16, 19; 22:14; 24:24; 25:34; 26:21, 24, 53, 74; **Mk** 1:15; **Lk** 1:48; 2:49; 3:6; 7:37; 10:20; 22:37; 23:43; **Jn** 1:1, 9, 12, 44; 2:4; 3:32; 5:15; 6:44, 45, 53, 70; 7:42; 10:11, 20, 28, 29, 35; 12:32; 13:18, 21; 14:1; 15:16; 19:11; **Ac** 1:16, 23; 2:23; 4:27, 28; 7:15; 8:23; 13:48; 16:14; 17:28; **Ro** 1:20, 24, 26, 28; 2:6, 11; 3:8, 29; 5:5, 8, 12; 7:15, 18, 23; 8:1, 8, 24, 27, 28, 29; 9:7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27; 10:21; 11:5, 8, 33, 34; 12:3; **1 Co** 1:23, 26, 30; 2:9; 3:6; 4:7; 6:11; 7:25; 9:27; 11:19; 12:11; 15:10, 22; **2 Co** 3:5; **Ga** 1:15; 5:17; **Eph** 1:4, 5, 6, 9, 11; 2:8, 10, 12; 6:23; **Php** 1:6, 29; 2:12, 13, 21; **2 Th** 2:13; **1 Ti** 2:4, 6; 3:1; 4:10; **2 Ti** 1:9; 2:19, 20, 21, 25, 26; **Tt** 3:4; **Heb** 6:4; **Jas** 1:17; **1 Pe** 2:24; **1 Jn** 4:10; **Re** 3:20

CHAP. II.

Ge 12:1; **Dt** 6:5; **Jdg** 9:23; **1 Sa** 10:1; **Ps** 32:2; 51:11; 59:11; 62:12; 143:2; **Pr** 3:12; 20:9; **Is** 22:12; **Eze** 11:19; **Mt** 6:12; 7:16; 10:8; 11:28; 20:1, 16; 22:14; 25:29; **Jn** 1:16; 6:46, 70; 10:29; **Ac** 9:3, 5; 16:15; 18:10; **Ro** 1:21; 2:5; 3:3; 4:4; 6:17, 23; 8:16, 18, 30; 9:16; 10:14; 11:5, 6, 29; 12:3; **1 Co** 1:8, 9; 2:14; 3:5; 4:7; 15:10; **2 Co** 5:10; **Ga** 5:17; **Eph** 1:4, 6; 2:8; **Php** 2:13; 3:8; **2 Ti** 1:9; 3:17; 4:7; **Jas** 1:17; 2:13; **1 Pe** 1:13; **1 Jn** 1:8

CHAP. III.

Ge 2:23; 4:14; 15:6; 17:1, 7; 18:12; 22:3; 25:1; 48:5; **Ex** 3:8; 5:6; 14:31; **Dt** 25:5; **Jdg** 6:17; **1 Sa** 16:12; **2 Sa** 11:4; **2 Ki** 20:8; **Job** 1:1; **Ps** 9:11; 32:1; 33:18; 53:6; 56:5; 116:10; 119:101; **Ec** 2:1; **Is** 4:4; **Je** 3:1; 17:5; **Hab** 2:4; **Mt** 3:16; 4:1; 5:4; 6:8; 7:7; 8:26; 12:14; 13:19, 21, 25; 14:31; 19:6, 11, 18; 23:4; 25:13, 34, 35; 26:5, 41, 70, 75; 27:5, 38, 43; 28:10, 20; **Lk** 1:18, 37; 12:5; **Jn** 1:12; 2:24; 3:5, 27, 31, 36; 5:24, 44; 6:40, 45, 54, 67; 8:38; 10:4, 5;

11:48; 12:42; 14:17, 23; 15:5, 22; 16:13; 17:3, 21; **Ac** 10:20; 20:35; 26:24; **Ro** 1:4, 20; 3:22; 4:6, 16, 19, 20; 5:1, 10, 19; 6:15; 8:14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, 37; 9:4, 8, 30; 10:3, 14, 17; 11:20, 22, 29; 12:3, 12; 14:1, 23; 15:4; **1 Co** 1:30; 2:13, 16; 3:1; 6:15; 10:1, 13; 12:12; 13:3, 6, 8, 12, 13; 15:1; **2 Co** 1:24; 5:10; 13:5; **Ga** 2:12; 3:15, 26, 27; 4:4; 5:6; **Eph** 1:5, 6, 13; 2:5, 8; 3:17; 4:22; 5:23, 28, 30; 6:13; **Php** 1:23; 2:5, 12; 3:9; **Col** 3:1, 3; **1 Th** 5:21; **1 Ti** 1:5; **2 Ti** 1:7, 8, 12; 4:16; **Tt** 1:16; 3:5; **Heb** 2:14; 5:12; 6:19; 11:1, 33; **Jas** 1:6, 20; 2:19, 22; **1 Pe** 1:10; **2 Pe** 1:4; **1 Jn** 3:2, 9, 14; 4:8, 18; 5:4

CHAP. IV.

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