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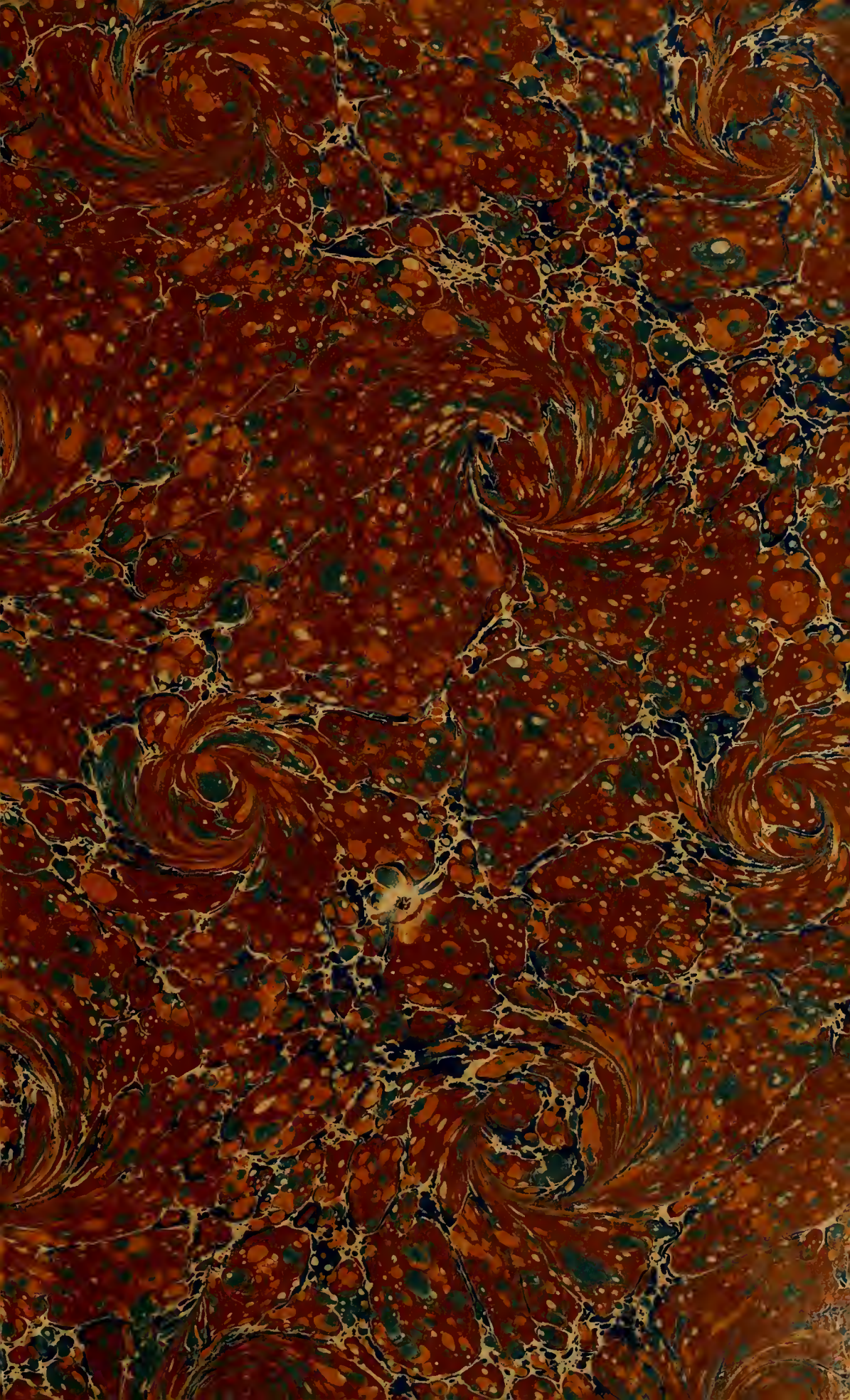


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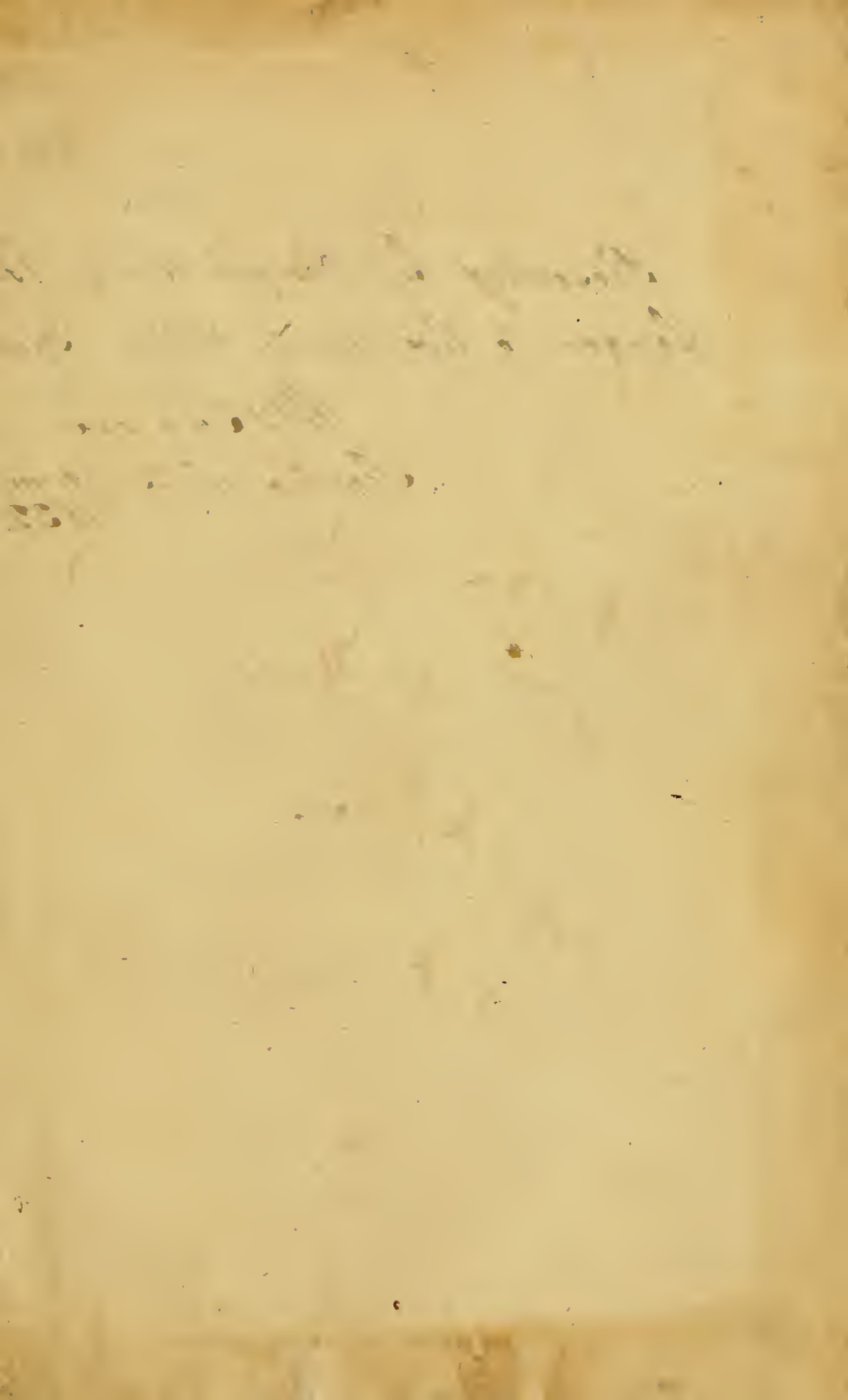
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I think that only one printed page was lost of  
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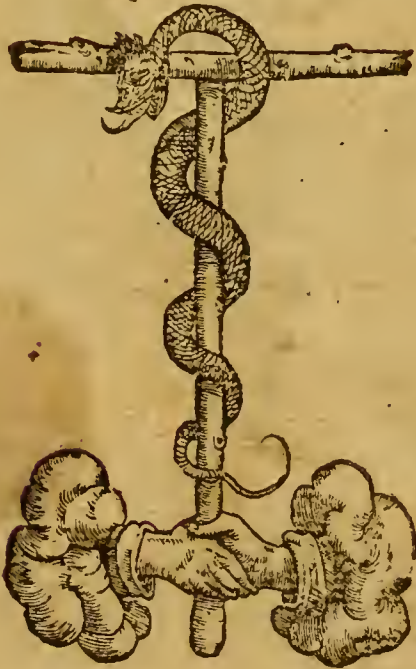




THE INSTITVTION OF  
Christian Religion, vvrytten in La-

tine by maister Ihon Caluin, and transla-  
ted into Englysh according to the au-  
thors last edition.

Seen and allowed according to the order appointed in the  
Quenes maiesties intunctions.



Imprinted at London by  
Reinolde Vvolfe & Richarde Harison.  
Anno. I 561.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

ass.

## The Printers to the Reders.



Wheras some men haue thought and reported it to be a fault and negligence in vs for that we haue so long kept backe from you this booke being so profitable a woork for you, namely sith the maister John Daves had translated it and deliuered it into our handes moze than a tweluemoneth past: you shall vnderstande for our excuse in that behalfe, that we could not wel emprinte it soner. For we haue ben by diuerse necessarie causes constrained with our earnest entreatance to procure an other frende of oures to translate it whole agayn. This translation, we trust, you shal well allow. For it hath not only ben faythfully done by the translator himself, but also hath ben wholly perused by such men, whos iugement and credit al the godly learned in Englande well knowe & esteeme. But sith it is now come forth, we pray you accept it, and vse it. If any faultes haue passed vs by ouersight, we beseeche you let vs haue your patience, as you haue had our diligence.



# Ihon Caluin to the Reader.



**A**T the first setting out of this worke, because I did not loke for that successe, which the Lord of his vnmeasurable goodnesse hath geuen, I had (as men vse to do in small workes) for the more parte lightly passed it ouer. But when I vnderstode that it was receiued with that fauor of all the godly, which I neuer durst haue desired, muche lesse haue hoped for: as I verily felt in my hart that much more was geuen to me than I had deserued, so I thought it should be a great vnthankfulnesse if I should not at the least after my slender abilitie endeuor to answer so fauorable affections towarde me, and which of themselues prouoked my diligēce. And this I attempted not only in the seconde setting fourth of it: but how oft sines that time the worke hath ben emprinted, so oft it hath ben enriched with some encrease. But although I did not then repent me of the labor that I had employed: yet I neuer helde my selfe contented til it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Now I trust I haue geuen you that which may be allowed by all your tugemētes. Truly with how great endeuor I haue applied my selfe to the doing of this seruice to the Chirche of God, I maye bring fourth for an euident witnessse, that this last winter, when I thought that the feuer Quartane had summoned me to death, how much more the sicknesse enforced vpon me, so much lesse I spared my selfe, til I mighte leaue this boke to ouerliue me, which might make some part of thankfull recompense to so gentle prouoking of the godly. I had rather in dede it had ben done soner: but it is sone enough if well enough. And I shall then thinke that it is come abroad in good season, when I shall perceiue that it hath brought yet more pleasurable frute than it hath done heretofore to the Chirch of God. This is my only desire. And truly fulfill it were with me, if I did not, holding my selfe contented with the allowance of God alone, despise the ingementes of men, whether they be the foolishhe and frowarde ingementes of the vnskilful, or the wrongfull and malicious of the wicked. For although God hath thoroughly titled my minde to the endeuor bothe of enlarging his kingdome, and of helping the common profit: and though I am clere in myne owne conscience, and haue himselfe & the Angels to witnessse with me, that sines I toke vpon me the office of a teacher in the Chirch, I haue tēded to none other purpose but that might profit the Chirch in mayntayning the pure doctrine of godlynesse: I thinke there is no man, that hath ben snatched at, bitten, & torne in soner, or with moe slaūder's thā I. Vnder my epistle was now in printing, I was certaynly informed that at Augsburgh where the assemblee of the states of the Empire was holdē, there was a rumor sprede of my reueling to the



## The Preface.

Papacie, and the same was more greedely receiued in the courtes of Princes than was mete. This forsoothe is their thankfulnessse who are not ignorant of many trialls had of mystedfastnesse, which trialls as they shake of so fowle a sclander, so they should with al indifferent and gentle iudges haue defended me from it. But the Deuell with his whole route is deceiued if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he thinke that by his vniust dealing I shalbe either the more discouraged or made the lesse diligent: because I trust that the Lorde of his vnmesurable goodnesse wil graunt me that I may with euen sifferace cõtinue in the course of his holy calling. Vwhereof I geue to the godly reders a new profe in this setting fourth of this boke. Nowe in this trauail this was my purpose so to prepare and furnish them that be studious of holy Diuinitie to the reding of the worde of God, that they may bothe haue an easy entrie into it, and goe forward in it without stombling: for I thinke that I haue in all pointes so knitt vp together the summe of religion, and disposed the same in suche order, that whosoever shal wel haue it in minde, it shal not be hard for him to determine both what he ought chiefly to seke in the Scripture, and to what marke to apply whatsoeuer is contened in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being ones made plaine, if I shal hereafter set fourth any expositiõs of Scripture, because I shal not nede to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, and to wander out into common places: I wil alway knitt them vp shortly. By this meane the Godly reder shalbe eased of great peine and tediousnesse, so that he come furnisshed aforehand with the knowlege of this present worke as with a necessarie instrumente. But because the entente of this purpose, doth clerely as in mirrors appeare in so many commentaries of mine, I had rather to declare in dede what it is, than to set it out in wordes. Fareo wel frendly Reader, and if thou receiue any frute of my labors, helpe me with thy praiers to God our Father.

At Geneua, the first day of August in the yere. 1559.

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### Augustine in his vii. Epistle.

I professe my selfe to be one of the number of them, which write in profiting, and profit in writing.

**To the moste mightie and noble Prince, Francisce**  
**the most Christian kyng the French kyng his soueraigne**  
 Lorde, John Caluine witheth peace and saluation  
 in Christ.



**W**hen I did firſte ſett my hande to thys woork, I thoughte nothyng leſſe (moſte noble Kyng) than to write any thyng that afterwarde ſhould be preſented to your maieſtie. Only my mynde was to teache certayne introductions wherby they that are touched with ſome zeale of religion myght bee inſtructed to true godlyneſſe. And this trauaple I tooke principally for my contremen the Frenchmen, of who I vnderſtode very many to hunger and thirſt for Chriſte, but I ſawe very fewe that had rightly receiued ſo much as any litle knowlege of him. And that this was my meanyng, the boke it ſelfe declarerh, beyng framed after a ſimple and playne maner of teachyng. But when I perceyued, that the furious rage of ſome wycked men hath ſo farre preuailed in your realme, that in it there is no roome for ſounde doctrine: I thought I ſhould doo a thyng worthe my trauaple, all in one woork bothe to geue an inſtruction for them, and to declare a confeſſion to you: wherby ye may learne what maner of doctrine that is, agaynſt which thoſe furious men burne in ſo great rage, who at this day trouble your realme with ſweard and ſper. For I will not feare to confeſſe, that I haue in this woork comprehended in maner the ſumme of that ſelfe ſame doctrine, agaynſt which they crie out, that it ought to be puniſhed with priſonment, baniſhement, condemnation without iudgement, and with ſper, that it ought to be chaced away by lande and ſea. I knowe in dede with how haynous informations they haue fylled your mynde and eares, to make our cauſe moſt hatefull vnto you: but this of your clemencie ought you to wepe, that there ſhalbe no innocencie, neither in wordes nor dedes, if it may be enough to accuſe. Truly if any, to byyng the ſame in hatred, ſhall allege that this Doctrine whercof I now go about to pelde accompt vnto you, hath ben long agoe condemned by conſente of all degrees, and atteynted by many iugementes allready geuen in iudicial courtes: al that he ſayth ſhall amount to no moze but that it hath partly ben violently throwen downe by the banding and potwer of the aduerſaries therof, and partly ben traitorouſly and fraudulently oppreſſed with their lyes and ſuttle practiſes and ſclaunders. Herein is violence ſhewed, that without hearyng the cauſe bloody ſentences are pronouced againſt it: here in is fraude, that it is without deſeruyng accuſed of ſedition and euil doyng. And that none may thynke that we wrongfully complayne of theſe thynges, you your ſelfe can beare vs witneſſe, moſte noble Kyng, with how lyeng ſclaunders it is dayely accuſed vnto you: as, that it tendeth to no other ende but to wrythe ſrom Kynges their ſcepters oute of their handes, to throve downe all iudges ſeates and iudgementes, to ſubuerete all orders and ciuile gouernementes, to tronble the peace and quite of the people, to abolith al lawes, to vndo all proprieties and poſſeſſions, finally to turne al thynges byſyde downe. And yet you heare the ſmalleſt portion. For horrible thynges they ſpreade abroade among the people: whiche if they were true, the whole worlde myghte worſhily iudge it with y mainteiners therof, worſhy of a thouſande ſiers and gallowes. Who can now maruell that a common hatred is kindled agaynſt it, where ſuche moſte wrongfull accuſations are beleued. And, thys is the cauſe that all degrees agree and conſpire to the condemnynge of vs and our doctrine. They that ſit to iudge, being rauſhed with this affection pronouce for ſentences their ſreconceiued determinations whyche they brought from home with them: and thake that they haue well enough diſcharged their duties if they commaunde no man: to be drawen to execution, but ſuche as are ſounde gilty epyther by theyr owne conreſſion or by ſufficient witneſſe. But of what fault: of that condened doctrine, ſay they. But by what law condenned: Herein ſhould haue ſtande the ſuccoz of deſenſe ſo their, not to denie the doctrine it ſelfe, but to mainteine it for true. But here is all wertye ones to mutter vtterly cutt of from vs.



Wherefoze I doe not vnjustly require, most victoriens King, that it maye please you to take into your owne hande the whole hearing of the cause which heither hath bene troublefomly handled or rather carelesly telled without al order of law, moze by outragious heate than iudiciall grauitie. Neyther yet thinke, that I here goe about to make anyne owne priuate defense, whereby I may procure to my selfe a safe returne into my native contree, to which althoughe I beare such affection of naturall loue as becometh me: yet as the case nowe is, I not discontentedly want it. But I take bypon me the common cause of all the Godly, yea and the cause of Christe himselte, which at thys day hauing ben by all meanes tozme and troden downe in your kyngdome, lyeth as it were in despeired case, and that in dede rather by the tyzanny of certaine Pharisees, than by your owne knowlege. But howe that cometh to passe, it is not here needful to tell: truly it lyeth in great distresse. For thus farr haue the vngodly pꝛeuailed, that the truerthe of Christ, be not destroyed being chased away and scattered abrode, yet it lyeth hydden as buried and vnraged: as soz the silly pooze Church it is eyther waked with cruell slaughters, and so dꝛyuen away with banishmentes or dismayed with threathens and terrors that it dare not ones open her mouth. And yet still they continue with such rage and fiercenesse as they are wont, thrusting strongly against the wall alreedy bending and the ruine which themselues haue made. In the meane tyme no mā steppeth fourth, to set hymselfe in defense agaynst suche furies. And they, if there be any suche, that will mozte of all seme to fauor the truerthe, say no moze but that it were good to pardon the erroz and vnskillfulnesse of ignorant men. For thus the good natured men forsoothe do speake, calling that erroz and vnskillfulnesse which they knowe to be the most certaine truerthe of God: calling them ignorant men, whos witt they see that Christe hath not so despised but that he hath vouchsafed to communicate to them the mysterics of hys heauenly wysdome. So muche are all ashamed of the Gospell. It shalbe your office (most noble King) not to turne away your eares noz your mynd fro so iust a defense: specially when so great a mater is in question: namely how the glorie of God may be maintained safe in earth, how hys truerthe of God may kepe her honoz, how Christ may haue hys kyngdome pꝛeserued whole among vs. Thys is a mater worthy for your cares, worthy for your iugement, worthy for your royall thꝛone. For, euen this thoughte maketh a true King: to acknowledge hymselfe in the gouernance of hys kyngdome to be the minister of God. Neyther doth he now vse a kyngdome but a robbery, which reigneth not to thys ende that he may serue the glorie of God. And he is deceiued that loketh for a long prosperitie of that kyngdome, which is not ruled by the scepter of God, that is, by hys holy worde: forasmuche as the heauenly Oracle can not proue bayne, whereby it is proclaymed, that the people shalbe scattered abrode where prophetic sayleth. Neyther oughte the contempt of our basenesse to withdraue you from thys purpose. We be truly knowe right wel, howe pooze and abjecte silly men we be, namely in the sight of God miserable sinners, in the sight of men most despised persons, yea and (if you wil) certaine excrementes & outcastes of the worlde, or whatsoeuer vile thing may be named: so that there remaineth nothyng for vs to glorie bypon before God, but hys onely mercie whereby we are without any our deseruing receiued into the hope of eternall saluacion: and before men, nothyng but our weakenesse, which among them it is taken for a most great shame to confesse so much as in countenance. But our doctrine must be anaunced hꝛe about all glorie of the worlde, muste stande vnuanquishable aboue all power: because it is not oures, but the doctrine of the liuing God and of hys Christe, whome the Father hath appoynted King to beare rule euen from sea to sea, and from the riuers euen to the endes of the earth: and so to beare rule, that strepyng the whole earth with the onely rod of hys mouth, he may breake it with all the iron and brassen strength, with all the golden and syluer glistering therof, as it were potters bestells: as the Prophetes prophetic of the reualtic of his kyngdome. Our aduersaries in dede do crye out to the contrary, and say that we falsly pꝛetende the woorde of God, whereof we be most wicked cozrupters. But howe thys is not only a malicious sclander, but also a notable shamesfullnesse, you your selfe by reding our confession, may according to your wysdome iudge. Yet here it is also good to say somewhat, eyther to moue you to willingnesse and heedfulnesse, or at the least to prepare you a way to the reding of it. Paul, whē he willed al prophete to be framed to the agreablenesse of Fayth, hath set a most sure rule whereby the expounding of Scripture ought to be

2 Ro. xxiij.  
viii.

2 Cor. ii.  
viii.  
Esa. xi.  
iii.  
Psa. li. ij.

2 Ro. xxi. vi



be tryed. Now if our doctrine be examined by thys rule of ffaith, the victorie is allready in our handes. For, what doth better or more fittly agree with ffaith, than to acknowlege our felues naked of al vertue, that of God we may be clothed: empyte of all good, that of hym we may be filled: the bonde feruantes of linne, that of hym we may be made fre: blinde, that of hym we maye be enlightened: lame, that of hym we maye be made freight: feble, that of hym we may be vpholden: to take from our felues all mater of glozieng, that he alone may be glorious on hie, and in him we may glozie: Whē we say these and fuch like thinges, they interrupt vs and cry out, that by thys meane is ouerthrowen I wote not what blinde light of nature, fained preparacions, freewill, woakes meritorious of eternall faluation, together with their fupercrogacions: becaufe they can not abide that the whole praife and glozie of al goodnelle, vertue, righteoufneffe, and wifdome fhoulde remayne in God. But we reade not that they were blamed that haue drawen to much out of y fountayne of liuing water: on y contrary fyde they are fharp-ly rebuked which haue digged to themfelues pittes, broken pittes, which are not able to holde water. Againe what is moze agreeable with ffaith, than to promyfe to themfelues that God will be to them a fauourable father, where Chyft is acknowledged to be a brother and procurer of fauor: than affurdly to loke for al thinges ioyfull and prosperous at hys hande, whoes vnfpreakable loue towarde vs hath proceded fo farr, that he hath not fpared his only begotten fonne, but that he gaue hym for vs: than to reft in fure loking for faluation and eternall lyfe, where we thynke vpon Chyfte geuen of the father, in whom fuch treafures are hidden: Here they ftepp in againft vs, and crye out that thys certaintie of affiance is not without arrogance and prelumption. But as nothing of our felues, fo al thinges ought we to prefume of God: and we are for none other reafon fpoiled of hayne glozie, but that we fhould learne to glozie in the Lord. What is there moze? Confi-der (moft mightie Prince) al the partes of our caufe, and thynke that we are worfe than any kynde of wycked men, vnleffe you playnly fynde that we are in trouble and railed at: becaufe we put our truff in the liuing God: becaufe we beleue that this is the eternall lyfe, to know one true God, and hym whom he hath fent Iefus Chyfte. For thys hope fome of vs are bounde in irons, fome are whypped, fome are carped about in mockage, fome are condemned without iugement, fome are moft cruelly tormented, fome efcape away by flight: but al are diftreffed w trouble, al are moft terribly accursed, tozue with fclauenders, and handled in moft haynous wife. Now loke vpon our aduerfaries (I fpeake of the degre of Preltes, at whoes becke and will the other exerceife ennimities againft vs) and confider with me a litle while, with what zele they be carped. As for the true religion, which is taught in the Scriptures, & which ought to be holden certaine among al men, they eafily geue leaue bothe to themfelues and other to be ignozant of it, to neglect & defpife it: & they thynke that it maketh smal mater what euery man beleue or not beleue concerning God and Chyft, fo that he do with an vnexprefsed ffaith (as they call it) fubmit hys mynde to the iugement of the Chirch: neither are they much moued if it happen that the glozie of God be defiled with manifeft blafphemies, fo that no man lift vpon hys fpynger agaynft the fupremacie of the Apofolike fea, and authoritie of our holy mother the Chirch. Why therfore do they with fo great crueltie and ferecneffe fight for the Paffe, Purgatorie, Pilgrymages, and fuch trifles, fo farr fourth that they fay that without moft exprefsed ffaith (as I may fo call it) of thefe thinges, godlineffe can not ftande. wheras yet they proue not that any of thefe thynges come out of the word of God: Why fo, but becaufe their belly is their God, their kitchen is their religion: which being taken away, they thynke that they fhall not onely be no Chyftians, but alfo no men: For though fome of them do plentifully glut themfelues, and other fome lyue with gnawing of pooze cruftes: yet they liue all of one port, whiche without thefe warning helpe fhould not only ware colde, but alfo thoroughly freefe. Therfore how much moze euery of them is careful for hys belly, fo much moze earnest warrior he is for their ffaith. Finally they all endeuor themfelues to thys, to kepe ftill eyther bothe kingdome fafe, and their belly full: but of pure zele none of them fheweth any token be it neuer fo little. Neither yet fo do they ceffe to fclaunder our doctrine, and by al the colozs that they can to accufe and defame it, wherby they may byzng it into hatred or fufpicion. They cal it newe, and lately forged: they cauill that it is doutefull, and vn-certayne: they de- maunde by what miracles it is confirmed: they afke whether it be mete that it fhould pteuaile agaynft the confente of fo many holy fathers, and the moft aunci-

Iere. ii.  
iii.Rom. vi  
xxii.i. Tim  
titi. x.  
Ioh. xv  
iii.



ente custome: they presse vpon vs to confesse it to be schismaticall, whiche moueth warr  
 againste the Churche, or that the Churche hath lyen dead in many ages in whiche no  
 suche thyng hath been heard of. Last of all they saye that there neede no argumentes, for  
 (say they) it may by the frutes be iudged of what soere it is, namely which hath bredde so  
 huge a heape of sectes, so many turmoyles of seditions, so great licentiousnesse of vices:  
 Truly full easy it is, for them, to triumph vpon a forsaken cause befoze the lycht bele-  
 ning and ignorant multitude. But if we might also haue our euerne like wise allowed vs  
 to speake, verily thys sharpe heate woulde sone be cooled where with they doe so with  
 full mouth and as licentiously as vnpunishedly some agaynst vs.

Firste whereas they call it newe, they dooe greate wrong to God, whose holy  
 worde deserued not to be accused of newenesse. To them in dede I nothing dout that it  
 is newe, to whom Christ is newe, and hys Gospell is newe. But they which knewe that  
 preaching of Paule to be olde, that Iesus Christ dyed for our synnes, and rose agayne  
 for oure iustification, shall fynde nothing newe among vs. Wheras it hath long lyen  
 hidden vnknowen, and buried: that is the fault of the vngodlynesse of men. Nowe sith  
 it is by the bountifullnesse of God restored to vs, it ought at least by ryght of full restitu-  
 tion to receiue agayne the title of auncientie.

Out of the same fountayne of ignorance springeth thys, that they take it for doubtful  
 and vncertayne. Thys verily is it which the Lorde by hys Prophet complayneth, that  
 the ore knew hys owner, and the asse hys masters stall, but hys people knewe not hym.  
 But howsoeuer they mocke at the vncertaintie of it: if they were daryen to seale thys  
 owne doctrine with their owne blood and with losse of their lyfe, men mighte see howe  
 much they set by it. But farre other is our affiance, which dyedeth neyther the terrors of  
 death, nor yet the very iugement seate of God.

Wheras they require miracles of vs, they deale vnrasonably wpyth vs. For we coine  
 no new Gospell, but holde fast the selfe same Gospell for confirming of the truth wher-  
 of al the miracles do serue that euer Christ and his Apostles haue done. But thys thyng  
 they haue speciall aboue vs, that they can euen to thys day confirme their faith with co-  
 stinuall miracles. Yea but rather they allege miracles, which may weakē a minde other  
 wyse wel stablished: they are so eyther tryfling and woorthy to be laughed at, or dayne  
 and lyeng. And yet, although they were neuer so monstrous, they oughte not to haue  
 ben of any value agaynst the worde of God: forasmuche as the name of God oughte  
 both in every place and at every time to be hallowed, whether it be by miracles or by na-  
 turall order of thynges. Thys false coloz myght peradventure haue made the better  
 shew, if the Scripture did not informe vs of the lawfull ende and vse of miracles. For,  
 Marke teacheth that the sygnes which folowed the preaching of the Apostles were sett  
 fourth for the confirming of it: Like wyse Luke also sayth that the Lorde dyd beare wpyt-  
 nesse to the worde of his grace, when signes and wonders were shewed by the handes  
 of the Apostles. Wherwith wholly agreeth that sayeng of the Apostle, that when the  
 Gospell was preached, saluation was confirmed by thys that the Lorde wd beare  
 witness to it with signes, and wonders, and diuerse powers. But those thynges whiche  
 we beare to be the sealinges of the Gospell, shal we turne to the destruction of the credit  
 of the Gospell: those thynges whiche are appointed onely to stablish the truth, shal we  
 applye to confirming of lyes? Therefore it is mete that the doctrine, whiche (as the  
 Euangelist sayeth) goeth befoze miracles, be firste examined and tryed. If that be al-  
 lowed, then it maye lawfully take confirmation of miracles. But of a true doctrine  
 (as Christ teacheth) thys is the marke, if it tende not to the seeking of the glorie of men,  
 but of God. Sith Christ affirmeth thys to be the prose of doctrine, miracles are  
 wrongfully esteemed whiche are drawn to any other ende than to glorifie the name of  
 God alone. And we oughte to remember that Satā hath hys miracles, which although  
 they be iuggling deceites rather than true powers, yet are suche as may deceiue the  
 ignorant and vnskillfull. Magicians and enchaunteres haue been alwaye famous in  
 miracles: wonderfull miracles haue nourished idolatrye: whiche yet doe not proue to  
 vs that the superstition of Magicians and idolatryers is lawfull. And wpyth thys  
 batteryng ramme in olde tyme the Donatistes dyd shake the simplicitie of the com-  
 mon people, for that they excelled in miracles. Therefore we doe nowe make  
 the same answer to oure aduersaries whiche Augustine then made to the Dona-  
 tistes: that the Lorde hath made vs ware agaynstliche miracle workers, when he  
 soze.

Rom. iiii  
rb.

Esa. l.iii.

Mar. xvi.

v.

Acte. xiii.

ii.

Heb. ii.

iii.

Ioh. vi.

viii.

viii.

Iho.

ac. 13.



fozetold that there shold come false Prophetes, which with lyeng signes and diuers wonders shold, if it were possible, bryng the elect into error. And Paul hath geuen warning that the kyngdome of Antichrist shold be with all power, and signes, and lyeng wonders. But theise miracles (say they) are doon not of woles, not of sozceres, not of false prophetes, but of the Saintes. As though we knewe not that this is the craft of Satan, to transfigure hymselfe into an Angell of lyght. In olde tyme the Egyptians worshipped Jerenne which was buried among them, with sacrifices and other diuine honors. Did not they abuse the holy Prophet of God to idolatrye: And yet by suche woꝛshipping of his tombe they obtained that they thought of the healyng of the slyngyng of serpentes to be the iust rewarde therof. What shall we say: but that this hath ben and euer shall be the mosse iust vengeance of God, to sende strenght of illusion to them that haue not receiued the loue of truch, that they may beleue lieng: Therfoze we want not miracles, and those certaine and not subiecte to caullations. As for miracles whiche they bryng foorth for themselues, they are mere illusions of Satan, forasmuch as they leade awaye the people from the true woꝛshipping of their God to vanitie.

Moreouer they do sclaundersously sett the Fathers agaynst vs (I meane the auncient Fathers and the wryters of the age as yet more vncorrupted) as though they had them for maintainers of their vngodlynesse: by whose authoritie if the debate were to be ended, the better part of the victorie (to speake euen most modestly) wold bend to our side. But wheras many thynges haue ben excellently well and wisely wrytten of those Fathers, and in some thynges, that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to me: these good naturall childzen forsothe, accordyng to the rightenesse that they haue bothe of witt, iudgement and mynde, doo woꝛship onely their faultes and errors: and those thynges which are well spoken, they eyther marke not, or sayne as if they knewe them not, or do corrupt them: so as a man may say that their care was altogether to gather dong in of the golde of the Fathers. Then they expresse vs with importunate cryng out agaynst vs, as despisers and enemies of the Fathers. But wee doo so not despise them, that if it were the mater of my present purpose, I could very easily proue by their consentyng boices the greater part of these thynges that we say at this daye. But we so reade their wrytynge, that we alway remembre, that all thynges are ours, to serue vs, not to haue dominion ouer vs: and that we are Christes alone, whome we muste obeie in all thynges without exception. Who so keepeth not this choise, shall haue nothyng certaine in religion: forasmuch as those holpe men were ignorant of many thynges, doo ostentynes striue one with an other, pea and sometymes fyghte with themselues. For without cause (say they) we are warned of Salomō, that we passe not the boundes whiche our Fathers haue sett. But there is all not all one rule in the boundyng of fieldes, and the obedience of Faith, which ought to be so framed that it forger her people and the house of her Father. If they haue so great delite to vse allegories, why doo they not rather expound the Apostles, than any other, to be their Fathers, whoes appointed boundes it is not lawfull to plucke vp: for so did Hieronic expounde it, whoes woꝛdes they haue registred among their canons. But if they will haue the boundes of the same Fathers, whome they meane, to be stedfastly kept: why doo they, so oft as they list, so licentiously passe them? Of the number of the Fathers were they, of whome the one sayd, that our God eateth not, nor drinketh, and that therfore he nedeth neither cuppes nor dysches: the other sayd, that the holy thynges requyre not golde, and that those thynges please not with golde whiche are not bought with golde. Therfoze they passe the bound, which are in the holy thynges so muche delited with golde, syluer, yuoꝛy, marble, precious stones and silkes, and thynke that God is not rightly woꝛshypped, vnlesse altogether be dissolutely set out with exquisite gorgeousnesse, or rather with outragious expence. A Father was he whiche sayde, that he therfore dyd freely eat fleshe on the daye in which other abstyned, because he was a Christian. Therfoze they passe the boundes when they accurse the soule that tasteth fleshe in Lent. Fathers were they, of whom the Tripartite one sayd that a Monke whiche labourerth not with his handes, is iudged as euell as a bioient taker or (if you will) a robber: the other sayd, that it is not lawfull for monkes to lyue of other mens goodes, although they be continually busied in contemplantions, in August prayers, in studie. This bounde also they haue passed, when they placed the ydele and barrell bealies of monkes in steeles and brotelhouses to be fattred with other mennes substance. A Father was he, which said that it is a horrible abhominatiō to se any image



painted eyther of Christ or of any Saince in the temples of Christians. Neither was  
 this pronounced by the mouth of one man alone, but also decreed by an Ecclesiasticall  
 Councell, that that which is worshipped should not be painted on walles. They are farre  
 from holdyng themselves within these boundes, when they leane not one corner with-  
 out images. An other Father councelled that haunyng doone the dutie of naturall kinde-  
 nesse toward the dead in buryng them, we should let them rest. These boundes they  
 bryake when they cast into men a continuall carefulnesse of the dead. One of the Fa-  
 thers was he, which testifieth that the substance of bread and wyne in the sacramente  
 of the Supper so remaineth and ceaseth not, as in the Lord Christ remaineth the sub-  
 stance and nature of man loyned with the substance of God. Therfore they passe mea-  
 sure, whiche sayne that after the wordes of the Lord reversed, the substance of breade  
 and wyne ceaseth, that it may be transubstantiate into his body & blood. Fathers were  
 they which as they deliuered to the whole Chirche but one Sacrament of Thankesge-  
 uing, and as they debarred from it wicked and haynous cuell doers: so dyd greuously  
 condemne all those which beyng present did not communicate of it. Howe farre haue  
 they remoued those boundes, when they fill not onely Chirches, but also priuate heu-  
 ses with their masses, and admitt all men to loke vpon them, and euery man so muche  
 more gladly as he more largely payeth, howe vnicane and wicked seuer they be: but  
 allure no man to sayth in Christe and faithfull communicaryng of the Sacramentes:  
 yea rather doo boastyngly sett oute to sale their owne woorkes for the grace and merite  
 of Christe: Fathers were they, of whom the one decreed, that they should be altogether  
 debarred from the vse of the holy Supper of Christe, whiche holdyng themselves  
 contented with partakynge of the one kynde, absteyned from the other: and the other  
 Father stoutely mainteyneth, that to the Christian people the blood of the Lord ought  
 not to be denied, for the confession wherof they are commaunded to shedde their owne  
 blood. These boundes also they haue taken away, when they haue by an inuolable law  
 commaunded the selfe same thyng which the one of these Fathers punished with excom-  
 munication, and the other reprovod with a strong reason. A Father was he, whiche as-  
 firmid it to be rashnesse to determine any thyng of a doutefull mater on the one side  
 or the other without cleere and euident witnessyngs of the Scripture. This bound they  
 forgot, when they stablished so many constitutions, so many canons, so many masterly  
 determinations without any woord of God. A Father was he, whiche among other he  
 restes reproched Montanus with this that he was the firste that had charged men with  
 lawes of fastynges. This bounde also they haue farre passed, when they commaun-  
 ded fastyng with mosse streyght lawes. A Father was he whych denied that marriage  
 ought to be forbidden to ministers of the Chirch, and pronounced a mans lyeng with  
 his owne wyfe to be chastitie: and fathers were they, whiche agreed to his authoritie.  
 Beyond these boundes haue they gone, when they seuerely enioyned vnmarrid life to  
 theyr sacrificers. A Father was he which iudged that onely Christe ought to be heard,  
 of whō it is sayd, Heare him: & y<sup>e</sup> we ought not to haue regard, what other mē which we  
 befoze vs haue sayd or done, but what Christ (whiche y<sup>e</sup> first of all) hath commaunded. This  
 bounde neither doo they appoynt to themselves, nor doo suffer other to haue it appoin-  
 ted them, when they set bothe ouer themselves and other any masters whatsoeuer they  
 be rather than Christe. A Father was he, whiche affirmed that the Chirche ought not  
 to sett it self befoze Christe: because he alway iudgeth truely: but the iudges of the chir-  
 che, as men, are commonly deceaued. They bryakynge through this bounde also, sticke  
 not to affirme that the whole authoritie of the Scripture hangeth vpon the awarde-  
 ment of the Chirch. All the Fathers haue with one harte accursed, and with one mouth  
 pronounced it abhominable, that the holy woorde of God should be entangled with the  
 subtleties of Sophisters, and brawlynges of Logicians. Doo they holde themselves  
 within these boundes, when they goe about nothyng els in their whole lyfe, but with  
 endless striues and more then Sophisticall brawlynges to wrappe and encombre the  
 simplicite of the Scripture: so that if the Fathers were nowe rapyd to lyfe agayn,  
 and shoulde heare suche an arte of brawlyng whiche these men call Speculatiue Dui-  
 nitie, they woulde belene y<sup>e</sup> nothyng lesse is doone than any disputation had of God.  
 But my talke shoulde spryde it selfe beyond due boundes, yf I woulde reckon by  
 howe boldely these menne shake of the yoke of the fathers, whose obdientie chyl-  
 dzen they woulde seme to be. Truly bothe moneths and yeeres woulde be to lytle for: me.

And



And yet they are of so extreme and desperate shamelesnesse, that they dare blame vs for that we sticke not to passe the auncient boundes.

But nowe wher as they call vs to Custome, they nothyng ppenayle. For we shoulde be mosse vniuersally dealt with, if we should be dzyuen to yelde to Custome. Cruely if the iudgementes of men were right, Custome shuld be taken of the good. But it often tymes happeneth that men doo otherwise. For, that whiche is sene to be done of many, by and by obtayneth the right of a Custome. But the state of men hath scarcely at any time ben in so good case, that the better thynges pleased the greater numbze. Therefore for the most parte of the priuate vices of many hath been made a publike error, or rather a comon consent of vices, which now these good men would haue to stand for a law. Who so haue eyes doo see that not onely one sea of euels hath ouerflowed, many popsonous pestilences haue Inuaded the worlde, that all thynges runne hedlong to ruine: so that either the maters of men must be bitterly dispeired, or we must lay hand vnto, or rather vse violence vpon so great euells. And remedy is by no other reason dzyuen awaye, but because we haue nowe long tyne accustomed vs to euells. But be it that publike error haue place in matters of common weale: yet in the kyngdome of God his enelye truthe is to be heard and regarded, to which by no succeeding course of yeares, by no custome, by no conspired agreement, may any prescription be limited. So in olde tyme Clai taught the electe of God, that they should not say, Conspiryng, to all thynges in whiche the people sayd Conspiryng: that is to say, that they shuld not conspire together to the wicked agreement of the people, nor should feare and dread the peoples feare: but rather that they should sanctifie the Lorde of hostes, and he shou'd bee their feare and drede. Howe therfoze lett them as muche as they list object against vs bothe passed and present ages, if we sanctifie the Lorde of hostes, we will not be muche afrayde. For wher ther it be that many ages haue consented to like vngodlienesse, he is wrong to take vengeance to the thirde and fowrth generation: or if the whole worlde together conspire into one selfe same wickednesse, he hath by experience taughte what is the ende of them that offende with the multitude, when he did with a generall ouerflowyng destroy the whole kynde of men, preservyng Noe with a small household, which should by his faith be yng but one man condemne the whole worlde. Fynally an euyl custome, is none other than a common pestilence, in which they doo neuerthelesse dye that dye with company of a multitude. Howeouer they ought to haue considered that which Cyprian saith selues from al fault, yet may seme after some maner excusable: but who so obstinately refuse the truthe offred by the grace of God, they haue nothyng to pretend for their excuse.

As for their dooble horned argumente, they doo not dzyue vs to so harde a stryght with it, to compell vs to confesse, that either the Chirch hath lyen dead a certaine tyme, or that we haue controuersie against the Chirche. Cruely the Chirche of Chryste hath lyued and shall lyue, so long as Chryst shall reigne at the right hande of the Father: by whoes hande she is vpholden, by whose succor she is defended, by whose power she keepeth her safetic. For he will vndoubtedly performe that which he hath ones promised, that he will be present with his euen vntill the endyng of the worlde. Agaynst it nowe we haue no warre at all. For we doo with one consent together with all the people of the faithfull honoz and worshyp the one God and Chryst the Lorde, in like sorte as he hath alway ben worshipped of all the godly. But they themselues not a little way erre from the truthe, when they acknowledge no Chirche, but which they see with present eye, and go about to compasse it about with those boundes in whiche it is not enclosed. Vpon these poyntes hangeth our controuersie: firste that they asfirme that the forme of the Chirche is alway apparyng and to be seen: then, that they set the same forme in the see of the Chirch of Rome, and in the order of their prelates. And on the contrary side affirme, bothe that the Chirche may consist of no apparyng forme, and that the forme it selfe is not contained in that outward shynyng shewe, whiche they scoldishly haue in admiration, but hath a farre other marke, namely the pure preaching of the worde of God, and the righte ministracion of Sacramentes. They are in a rage, vnlesse the Chirche may be alwayes pointed out with a finger. But howe ofte happened it in the people of the Jewes to be so desozmed, that there appeared no forme at all? What forme thinke we to haue shined, when Helias bewailed that he alone was left? How long sins the comyng of Chryste hath it lyen hidden without forme? How syns that tyme

Decret.  
d. 8. c.  
Sijert  
consuet

Esai. vii.  
vii.

Gen. vi.  
i.

Heb. xi.  
vii.

Epist. 3.  
lib. 2. &

epist. ad  
Iulian.

de here.  
baptizā.

Mathe.  
xxviii. xx.

1. Kin. vi.  
vii.



# The Preface.

hath it ben so oppressed with warres, seditions, and heresies, that it shined out on no side: If they had liued at that time, wold they haue beleued that there was any Chirche: But it was sayd to Helias, that there were preserved seuen thousand men, whiche had not boowed their knee befoze Baal. Neither ought it to be doutfull to vs but that Christ hath alway reigned in earth sins he ascended into heauen. But if the godly hadde their sought any discernable foyme with their eyes, shoud they not by and by haue ben discouraged: And verily Hylarie accompted it euen alreedy in his tyme for a most great fault, that beyng occupied with the foolish admiration of the dignitie of Bishops, they marked not a deadly pestilence lurking vnder that viso. For thus he saythe: One thyng I warne you, beware of Antichrist: for you are yll taken with the loue of walles: ye do yll wo: shyp the Chirche of God in houses and buyldynges: vnder them ye doo yll thurst in the name of Peace. It is doutefull that in those Antichrist shall sitte: Mountayns and woods, and lakes, and prisons, and caues are safer for me. For in these the Prophetes when they were either abydyng or throlwen into them, did prophete. But what doothe y wo:ld at this day hono: in his ho:ned Bishops, but that it thinketh them to be holy prelates of religion, whom it seeth to be heads ouer great cities: Away therfore with such foolish estimation. But rather let vs leaue this to the Lorde, forasmuch as he alone knoweth who be his, and sometyme also taketh away from the syght of men the outward knowledge of his Chirch. That is (I graunt) a horrible vengeance of God vpon the earth. But if the wickednesse of men so deserue, why doo we seke to withstande the iust vengeance of God: In suche wise the Lorde hath in times past taken vengeance of the vnrthankfulnesse of men. For because they wold not receiue his truthe, and had quenched his light, he suffred them beyng blynded in sense, bothe to be mocked with lies full of absurditie, & to be drownd in depe darknesse, so that there was no face of the true Chirch to be seen. Yet in the meane tyme he saued his bothe beyng scatterd abroade and lyeng hydden, in the myddest of errors and darknesse, from destruction. And no maruell. For he can skill to saue bothe in the very confusion of Babylon, and in the flanic of the burning ouen. But wheras they wold haue the foyme of the Chirche to be iudged by I wote not what vaine pompous shewe: howe perillous that is, I wyll rather poynt vnto than declare, leass I should draw out my tale into infinite length. The Pope (say they) whiche holdeth the Apostolike see, and the Bishops that are annoynted and consecrate by hym, so that they be trimmed with fillets and miters, doo represent the Chirche, and ought to be taken for the Chirche: and therfore they can not erre. How so: because they are pastors of the Chirche, and consecrate to the Lorde. And were not Aaron and the other rulers of Israel also Pastors: But Aaron & his sonnes after that they were made prestes, byd yet erre when they made the calfe. After this reason, why shoulde not the sower hundred Prophetes whiche lyed to Achab, haue represented the Chirche. But the Chirche was on Michas syde, beyng in dede but one man alone, and vnrregarded, but out of whoes mouthe came truthe. Did not the false prophetes in resemblance beare bothe the name and face of the Chirch, when they did with one violent assaulte rise by agaynst Jeremie, and with threathyng boasted that it was not possible that the lawe shoud perishe from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, the woord from the Prophet: Jeremie alone was sente agaynst the whole companie of the Prophetes, to declare from the Lord, that it shoulde come to passe, that the lawe shoud perishe from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, and the woode from the Prophet. Did not suche a glistering shewe shyne in that Councell which the Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees assembled, to take aduises together for the killing of Christ. Howe let them go and sticke faste in the outward viso, that they may make Christ and al the Prophetes of God. schismatikes: and on the other syde make the ministers of Satan, the instrumentes of the holy ghost. If they speake as they thynke, let them faithfully answer me, in what nation & place they thinke that the Chirch remained sins the tyme that by the decree of the Councell at Basile Eugenius was thruste downe and deprived from the estate of Pope, and Aymee set in his place. They can not, though they would burst for it, denye that the Councell. for so much as concerneth outward solemnities, was lawfull, and summoned not onely of one Pope. but of two. Eugenius was there condemned of schisme, rebellion, and obstinacie, with the whole flocke of Cardnals and bishops, whiche had with hym practised the dissolution of the Councell. Yet afterward beyng bozne by by the sauo: of princes, he recovered his papacie safe againe. That election of Aymee, which had been orderly

intra  
u. c. i. u.

intra  
ii.

by car  
chob ab

rod.  
ii. iiii.

intra  
xv.

er. r. b. i. i.  
vii.

Uy  
p. i. o. s.  
A. y. m. e.  
i. o. i. i. k.



orderly made by the auzhoritie of a generall & holy Synode, banished away in a smoke: saying that he hymselfe was appealed with a cardinals hatte, as it were a barking dog with a pece of bread cast vnto hym. Out of the bosome of these heretikes, rebelles, and obstinates, are proceeded all the Popes, Cardinalls, Bishops, abbotts, and Bishops that haue ben sins. Here they are taken and can goe no further. For, to whether side will they geue the name of the Chirche? Will they denye that the Councell was generall, whiche wanted nothyng to the outwarde maiestie: namely, whiche beyng solemnely summoned by two bulles, and well framed in the order of all thynges, continued in the same dignitie to the laste ende? Will they confesse Eugenius with all his companie a schismatike, by whome they are all sanctified? Therefore eyther let them otherwyse define the forme of the Chirche, or they all as many as are of them shalbe of vs accompted schismatikes whiche wittingly and willingly haue ben ordered of heretikes. If it had neuer befoze ben knowen, that the Chirch is not bound to outwarde pompes, they themselues may be to vs a large profe, which vnder that gloriose title of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch haue so long so proudly boasted themselues, wheras yet they were the deadly pestilences of the Chirche. I speake not of their maners, and those tragicall dooynges wherewith theyz whole life swar meth full: because they say that they be the Pharisees whiche are to bee heard, not to be folowed. But if ye will spare some of your leysure to reade our writtinges, you shall playnly know that the very doctrine, the doctrine it selfe, for the whiche they say that they be the Chirche, is a deadly butcherie of soules, the firebrande, ruine, and destruction of the Chirche.

Finally they doo not vprightly enough, when they doo spitefully reherse how great troubles, byzores, and contentions the preaching of our doctrine hath drawn with it, & what fruites it now beareth in many. For the blame of these euells is vnworthily layde vpon it, which ought rather to haue ben imputed to the malice of Satan. This is as it were a certayne naturall propetic of the worde of God, that whensoever it yspech by, Satan is neuer quiet or sleapyng. This is the moste sure and moste trusty marke, wherby it is discerned from lyeng doctrines, which doo easly shew foorth themselues when they are receiued with fauorable eares of all men, and are heard of the world reioysing at them. So in certayn ages past, when all thynges were drownded in depe darknesse, the Worde of this worlde made a sport and a play in maner of all men, and lay ydle and toke his pleasure like a certayne Sardanapalus in sounde peace. For, what should he els doo but laugh and playe beyng in quiet and peasible possession of his kyngdome? But when the lyght shynyng from aboue somewhat scattered abroad his darknesse, when that stragg man troubled & assailed his kyngdome, then he began to shake of his wonted drowsinesse, & hastily to arme himself. And first he stirred by the force of mē, wherby he might violently oppresse the truth beginnyng to shine. By whiche when he nothyng preuailed, he turned to subtle entrappynge. He stirred by dissentions and disagreementes of doctrines by his Catabaptistes, and other monstrous lewde men, wherby he might darken it and at lengthe vterly quenche it. And now he continueth to assaile it with bothe engines. For he trauaileth bothe by the force and power of men to plucke vp that scede, and with his darnell (as much as in him lieth) to choke it, that it may not grow and beare fruite. But all this he dothe in vayne, if we heare the warnyng of God, which both hath long befoze opened his craftes vnto vs, that he shold not take vs vnware, and hath armed vs with sufficient defences agaynst al his engins. But how great maliciousnesse is it to lay vpon the worde of God the hatred either of the seditious, which noughty and rebellious men do stirre vp, or of the sectes which deceiuers do raise agaynst it? Yet it is no new example. Elias was asked whether it were not he that troubled Israel. Christe was esteemed of the Jewes a seditious man. The Apostles were accused of making a commotion among the people. What other thyng doo they which at this day do farther vpon vs all the troubles, byzores and contentions that boyle vp agaynst vs? But what is to be answered to suche, Elias hath taughte vs: namely that it is not wee that scatter erroz or stirre vp byzores: but it is they themselues that wrastle against the power of God. But as that one thyng alone is sufficient to beate backe their rashnesse, so agayne we ought to mete with the weakenesse of other, who oftentymes happen to be moued with suche offences, and in their dismayeng to wauer. But let them, to the ende that they may not saynt with this dismayeng and be discouraged, know that the Apostles in their tyme felte by experience the same thynges that now happen vnto vs. There were



## The Preface

Pet. iii.  
 vbi.  
 Rom. vi.  
 i. et. xv.  
 Philip. i.  
 xv.
 
 were vberned & buffedfast men, which wrested to their owne destruction, those things which Paul had writte by the inspiration of God, as Peter saith. There were despisers of God, which when they herd that sinne abounded to the end y grace might more abound, by & by objected, We will then abide in sinne, that grace may abound. When they heard that y faithful are not vnder the law, they by & by, answered, We will then sinne, because we are not vnder the law, but vnder grace. There were that accused him as an exhorter to euell. There entered pryncially many false Apostles to destroy the Churches which he had builded. Some by enuie & contention, & not purely, yea & maliciously preached y gospel thinking to adde more affliction to his bandes. Somewhere the Gospell not muche profited. All sought their owne, and not the thynges of Iesus Christe. Some wente backwarde; dogges to their bonite, and swyne to their wallowynge in the myze. The moste parte did d;aw the libertie of the Spirit to y licentiousnesse of y flesh. Many b;reth;e crept in, by whome there came afterwarde great dangers to the godly. Among the b;rethren themselves were many struiues raised by. What should the Apostles haue doone in this case? Should they not e;ther haue dissembled for a tyme, or rather altogether haue geuen o;uer and so;faken the Gospell which they saue to be the sedeploitt of so many contentions, the mater of so many dangers, the occasion of so many offences? No. But for helpe in suche distresses this came in their mynde that Christ is the stone of stemblyng and rocke of offence, set vnto the ruine and risynge agayne of many, and for a signe that should be spoken against. With whiche assiance they beyng armed went forward boldly throughe all dangers of typpres and offences. With the same thought we also ought to be vpholden, so;asmuch as Paule testifieth that this is the perpetuall proprietie of the Gospell, to be the sauo; of death vnto death to them that perishe, althoughe it were ordeyned to this vse that it should be the sauo; of life vnto lyfe, and the power of God vnto the saluation of the faithfull: whiche verily we should also seele, if we did not with our vnrhankfulnesse corrupt this so singular a benefite of God, and turne that to our owne destruction which ought to haue ben to vs the onely defence of our safetie.

Luke. ii.  
 rrrviii.  
 ii. Co;:iz.  
 ii. xv.
 
 But nowe I returne to you, my soueraigne Lord. Let those false reportes nothing moue you, by which our aduersaries trauail to cast you in feare of vs, with sayeng that by thys new Gospell (for so they call it) nothing is hunted for and sought but fitt occasion of seditions, and vnpunished libertie of vices. For our God is not the authoz of diuision, but of peace: & the sonne of God is not the minister of synne, which came to destroy all the wo;kes of the Deuill. And we are vnworthily accused of such desires, wherof we neuer gatic any suspicion were it neuer so imall. It is likely that we so;sothe do practisic the ouerthrowynge of kyngdomes. of whō there hath neuer ben heard any one seditions worde, whōes lyfe hath euer ben knowen quiet and simple, when we lyued br;der you, & which now being chased from home yet cesse not to pray for all thynges prosperous to you & your kyngdom. It is likely so;sothe y we hunt for licentiousnesse of vices, in whōes behauiour although many thynges may be founde faulty, yet there is nothing worthy of so great reprochyng: neither haue we with so y! successe (by the grace of God) profited in the Gospell, but that our lyfe may be to these backb;eters an examplar of chastitie, liberalitie, mercy, temperance, patience, modestie, and what soeuer other vertue. Verily it is by the prooffe it selfe euident that we doo vnfaynedly feare and we;thyppie God, for asmuch as we desire that his name be halowed bothe by our life and our deathe, and eny it selfe is compelled to beare of some of vs a witnesse of innocence & cluile vprightnesse, in v hō thys only thyng was punished with death which ought to haue ben accō;ped for a singular praise. But if any vnder pretence of the Gospell do stirre vp tumultes (as hether to it hath not ben founde that there haue ben any such in your Realme) if any pretende the libertie of the grace of God to defende the licentiousnesse of their vices (of which sort I haue knowen many) there be lawes and penalties of lawes, by which they may accō;pyng to their desertynge be sharply punished: yet so that in the meane tyme the Gospell of God be not euell spoken of for the wickednesse of naughty mē. Thus haue you (O Kyng) the venimous vniustice of the sleaunders largely enough declared, that you may not w an eare of to easy belefe be lide to their reportes, I feare me also least it be to largely set out, so;asmuch as thys p;eface is in a maner come to the quantitie of a whole boke of defence, wherby I entended not to make a defense in dede. but only to moulyp your mind a;o;ehand to geue audiee to y disclosing of our cause: which your mind, though it be nowe turned away and estranged from vs, yea and enflamed agaynst vs, yet



## to the French King.

yet we trust that we shall be able to recouer the fauor therof, if you shall ones haue without displeasure and troublous affection red ouer this our confession, which we will to be in stede of a defence for vs to your maiestie. But if the whisperynges of the malicious do so possesse your eares, y there is no place for accused men to speake for themselues: and if those outragious furies doo still with your winkyng at them, exercise crueltie with prisonning, tormenting, cutting, and burning: we shal in dede, as theye appoynted to the slaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet so that in our patience we shall possesse our soules, and wayte for the strong hande of the Lord: which shal without doubt be present in tyme, and stretche forth it selfe armed, bothe to deliuer the pooze oute of affliction, & to take vengeance on the despisers, which now triumph with so great assurednesse.

The Lorde the King of Kinges stablysh your thzone with ryghteousnesse, and your seate with equitie, mosse noble King.

At Warie the fyfth daye of August, in the yeare. 1536.

the pride that is naturally planted in vs) we alwaye thinke oure selues righteous, innocente, wise & holy, buttill that wyth manifest proues we be conuincied of oure bntyrghtheousnes, filthynes, follye and vncleannes. But we are not conuincied thereof, if we looke vpon oure selues onely, and not vpon God also, who is the onely rule whereby this iudgemente oughte to be tried. For because we are naturally inclined to hypocritic, therefore a certayne vaine resemblaunce of ryghteousnes doeth aboundantly contente vs in steade of righteousnes in dede. And because there appeareth nothing among vs, noz aboute vs, that is not defyled wyth much filthines, therefore that whiche is somewhat lesse filthy pleaseth vs as though it were moste pure, so longe as we holde oure selues within the boundes of mans vncleannes. Lyke as the eye that is bled to see nothing but blacke, thinketh that to be pure white, whiche yet is but darketh white, oz brown. Yea, we may yet moze plainli discern by our bodely sense how much we are blinded in cōsidering þ powers of the soule. For if at mid day we either loke down vpon the ground, oz behold those things that round about lye open befoze our eyes, then we thinke our selues to haue a very assured and pearcing force of sighte: but when we loke vp to the sonne, and behold it wth fixed eyes, then þ same sharpnes that was of great force vpon þ ground is wth so great brightnes by & by daseled & confounded, þ we ar compelled to confesse that the same sharpe sight which we had in consydering earthly thyngs, whē it cometh to the sonne is but mere dullnes. Euen so cometh it to passe in weying our spyrtyual good thyngs. For while we loke no further than the earth, so long wel contented wth our own righteousnes, wisdom and strength, we do swetely flatter our selues and thynke vs in maner halfe gods. But if we once begin to raise by our thought vnto God, and to weie what a one he is, and how exacte is the perfeccion of hys ryghteousnesse, wisdom and power, after the rule whereof we oughte to bee framed: then that which befoze did please vs in our selues with false pretēce of righteousness, shal become lothsome to vs as greateste wyckednesse: then that which did maruellously deceiue vs vnder colour of wisdom, shal stinke befoze vs as extream follye: then that whiche did beare the face of strength shalbe proued to be most miserable weaknesse. So slenderly doth that which in vs semeth euen most perfect, answer in propoztion to the purenes of god.

3 Hereof proceded that trembling and amasednesse, wherewith the Scripture in many places reciteth that the holy men wer stricken and astonished so ofte as they perceiued the presence of God. For when we se that they whiche in his absence did stande assured and bnmoued, so sone as he discloseth hys glozpe, beginne so to quake and are so dismayed, that they fall downe, yea are swallowed vp and in manner as destroyed with feare of death: it is to be gathered thereby that manne is neuer sufficiently touched and inwardly moued wyth knowledge of his owne basenesse vntill he haue compared himselfe to the maiestie of God. But of suche dismayng we haue often examples bothe in the Judges and in the Prophetes: so that this was a common saying among the people of god: We shal die, because þ Lord hath appeared vnto vs. And therefore the histozy of Job, to throw men down wth knowledge of their owne follye, weakenesse, and vncleannesse, byngeth allwaye his princypal prouise



profe from describing Gods wisdom, strength and cleannes. And that not without cause. For we see how Abraham, the nerer that he came to beholde the glozy of God, the better acknowledged hymselfe to be earth and dust. We see how Elias could not abide to tary his comyng to him with vncouered face: so terryble is the beholdyng of hym. And what may man do that is but cozruption and a worme, when euē the Cherubins for very feare must hyde their faces: Euen thys is it that the Prophete Esay speaketh of: The sunne shall blushe and the moone shall be ashamed, when the Lord of hostes shall reigne, that is to saye, when he displayeth his bygghtnes and byngeth it nerer to sight, thē in comparison therof the bygghtest thyng of all shall be darkened. But howesoever the knowledge of God & of our selues, ar w mutuall knot lynked together, yet y order of right teaching requireth that first we entreate of the knowledge of God, and after come down to speake of the knowledge of our selues.

Gen. xvi  
i. b. t.  
i. xiii. xii.  
Esa. xlii  
xxiii.  
Esay. li.  
and. xix

## The.ii. Chapter.

What it is to knowe God, and to what ende tendeth the knowledge of hym.



Meane by the knowledge of God, not onely that knowledge whereby we conceyue that there is somme God, but also that, wherby we learne so muche as behoueth vs to know of him, and is profitable for his glozy, finally so much as is expedient. For, to speake properly, we cannot say that God is known where there is no religión nor godlynesse. But here I dooe not yet touche that speciall kynde of knowledge whereby those menne that are in theymselues reprobate and accursed dooe conceyue God the redemer in Chryste the mediature: but I speake onely of that firste and symple manner of knowledge, wherunto the very order of nature woulde haue ledde vs, yf Adam hadde continued in state of innocencye. For althoughe no manne, sythe mankinde is in this ruine, can perceiue God to be either a father, or authour of saluacion, or in any wise fauourable, vnlesse Chyrist come as a meane to pacifie him towarde vs: yet it is one thing to fele that God our maker doth by his power sustein vs, by his prouidēce gouerne vs, by his goodnes nourish vs, and endue vs with al kindes of blessinges: and an other thing to embrace the grace of reconciliaciō offered vs in Chyrist. Wheras therfore the Lord fyrst simply appeareth as well by the makinge of the world, as by y general doctrine of the Scripture, to be the Creatour, and then in the face of Chyriste to be the redemer: here vpon arise two sortes of knowing him, of which the former is now to be entreated of, and then the other shall orderly folow in y place fit for it. For although our minde cannot conceiue the knowledge of God, but that it muste geue to hym some kinde of worshop, yet shall it not be sufficient simply to knowe that it is he onely that oughte to bee honoured and worshipped of all menne, vnlesse we be also perswaded that he is the fountaine of al good things, to the ende that we shoulde seke for nothing els where but in him. I



meane hereby, not onely for that as he hath once created this worlde, so by his infinite power he susteineth it, by his wisdom he gouerneth it, by his goodnes he preseruethe it, and specialllye mankinde he ruleth by his righteousnes and iudgement, suffreth by his mercye, and sauegardeth by his defense: but also because there can no where be founde any one droppe either of wisdom, or of lycht, or of rightousnes, or of power, or of byrighnesse, or of sincere tructh, whiche floweth not from him or wherof he is not the cause: to this ende verely, that we shoulde learne to looke for and craue all these thinges at his hande, and wyth thankesgeuing accompt them receiued of him. For this felinge of the powers of God is to vs a mete scholemaster of godlynes, out of which springeth religion. Godlines I cal a reuerence of God ioined with loue of him, which is procured by knowlledge of hys benefytes. For men wyll neuer with willing obediēce submit themselues to God, vntil they perceiue that they owe all thinges to him, that they are nourished by his fatherly care, that he is to them the authoz of al good thinges, so y<sup>t</sup> nothyng is to be sought els where than in hym. Yea they will neuer yeilde themselues truly and with all their hart wholly to hym, vnlesse they assuredly beleue that in hym is perfect felicitye reposed for them.

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 Therefore they doe but tryfle with vaine speculations, which in entreating of this question, do make it their purpose to discusse, what thyng God is, where it rather behoueth vs to knowe what maner one he is, and what agreeth with his nature. For to what ende serueth it to confesse as Epicure doeth, that there is a God, whych doth only delyte him self wyth ydlenesse, hauing no care of the worlde: finally, what profiteth it to knowe such a God wyth whom we may haue nothyng to doo? But rather the knowlledge of hym ought to serue to thys ende, fyrst to frame vs to feare and reuerence, then that by it guydyng and teachyng vs, we may learne to craue all good thynges at hys hande, and to accompt them receiued of hym. For how can any thought of God enter into thy mind, but that thou must therwithal by and by thinck, that forasmuch as thou art his creature, therfore thou art of right subiect and bonde to his authozite, that thou owest him thy life, that whatsoeuer thou enterprisest whatsoeuer thou doest, ought to be directed to him? If this be trew, then trewly it foloweth, that thy life is peruersly corrupted if it be not framed to obeyng of him, for asmuche as his will ought to be our law to liue by. A game, thou canst not clerely se him, but that thou must nedes knowe y<sup>t</sup> he is the fountayn & original of al good thyngs, wherbyon shoulde grow both a desire to cleaue vnto him, and an assured trust in him, if mannes own corruptnes did not draw his mind from the right serching of hym. For first of all, the godly minde doth not as by a dreame ymagine to her selfe any god at aduenture, but stedfastly beholdeth y<sup>t</sup> only one and trew God: and doth not falsely forge of him whatsoeuer her selfe lyketh, but is content to beleue him to be such a one as he discloseth him self, and doth allway with great diligence beware that with presumptuous rashnes she passe not beyond his wyll, and so wander out of the way. And when she so knoweth him, bicause she vnderstandeth that he gouerneth al thinges, she assuredlye trusteth that he is her safekeeper and defendour, and therfore wholly comitteth her selfe to his fayth: Because she vnderstandeth y<sup>t</sup> he is the authoz of al good thinges, therfore if any thing trouble her, or  
 if



if she want any thing by and by she flieth to him for succoure, loking for helpe at his hande. Because she is perswaded that he is good and mercifull, therfore with assured confidence she resteth on him, and douteth not in al her euils to fynde ready remedy in his mercifull kindnes. Because she knoweth him to be her Lorde and father, therfore she determineth that he is worthy that she shoulde in all thynges haue regard to his authoritie, reuerence his maiestie, procure the aduancement of his glozy, and obey his commandementes. Because she seeth y he is a righteous iudge and armed with his seueritie to punish sinnes, therfore she alway setteth his iudgement seate befoze her eies, and with feare of him withdraweth and restraineth her selfe from prouoking his wrath. Yet is she not so afrayed with the felyng of his iudgement, that she would conuey her self from it, although there were a way open to escape it: but rather she doeth no lesse loue him, while he extendeth vengeaunce vpon the wicked, than while he is beneficiall to the godly, for asmuche as she vnderstandeth that it doth no lesse belong to his glozy that he hath in store punishment for the wycked and euyl doers, thā that he hath reward of eternal life for the righteous. Moreover she doeth not for only feare of punishment refraine her self from synning: but because she loueth and reuerenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoureth him as her lorde, therfore although there were no hel at al, yet she dreadeth his onely displeasure. Now behold what is the pure and trew religion, eue faith ioynd with an earnest feare of god: so that feare may conteine in it a wollving reuerence, and drawe with it a ryghte forme of worshipping such as is appointed in the lawe. And this is the moze hedefully to be noted, because al men generally do worship God, but fewe do reuerence hym, while eche where is great pompous shewe in ceremonies, but the purenesse of heart is rare to be founde.

Truly, they that iudge rightlye, will alwaye holde this for certayne, that there is grauen in the mindes of men a certaine feling of the Godhead, which neuer can be blotted out. Yea that this perswasion, y there is a god, is euen from their generacion naturally plāted in them and deeply roted within their bones, the very obstinacy of the wicked is a substantiall witnesse, which with their furious struiuing yet can neuer winde themselves out of the feare of God. Although Diagoras and suche other doe iest and laugh at al that hath in al ages ben beleued concerning religion: although Dionisius do scoffe at the heavenly iudgement: yet that is but a laughter from the teeth forward, because inwardly the worime of conscience gnaweth them much moze charpely thā al whote searyng prongs. I alledge not this that Cicero sayth, y errors by continuance of tyme grow out of vse, and religion daily moze and moze encreaseth and waxeth better. For the world (as a little hereafter we shall haue occasion to shew) trauaileth as much as in it lieth to shake of all knowledge of God, and by al meanes to corrupt the worshipping of him. But this onely I say, that when the dul hardnes, which the wicked do desirously labor to get to despise God withal, doth lie piningly in their hartes, yet the same feling of God, whyche they woulde moste of al desire to haue vterly destroyed, liueth still, and sometyme doeth vtter it self: whereby we gather that it is no suche doctrine as is first to be learned in scholes, but suche a one whereof euery man is a teacher to himselfe euen from his mothers



## Of the Knowledge of

wombe, and suche a one as nature suffreth none to forgette, although many bend all their endenoure to shake it out of their mind. Now, if almen be bozne and do liue to this end, to know God, and the knowledg of God is but fickle, and lyghtely vanissheth away, vnlesse it procede thus farre: it is euident, that they all swarue out of kinde from the law of their creation that do not direct to this marke al the whole thoughtes and dooynges of their lyfe. Of whiche the Philosophers themselues were not ignozāt. For Plato meant nothyng els, when he ostentymes taught, that the soueraign good of the soule is the likenes of God, whē the soule hauing thzoughly conceiued the knowledge of hym is wholly transfzormed into him. Therfoze very aptly doth Crillus reason in Plutarche, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once takē from their lyfe, are not onely nothyng better than bzute beastes, but also many waies muche moze miserable, for that being subiect to so many sortes of euils they continually draw fourth a troublesome and vnquiet life: and that therfoze the worshipping of God is the only thyng that maketh thē better than bzute beastes, by which alone they aspire to immoztalite.

In phas  
drone &  
thzetero

### The.iii. Chapter.

That the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the myndes of men.



W<sup>h</sup>olde it oufe of controuersie, that there is in the mynde of man, euen by naturall instinccion, a certaine feling of the godhead. For to the end that no man should flee to the pretense of ignozauce, God himselfe hath planted in all men a certaine vnderstanding of his diuine maiestie: the remembraunce wherof, with pouring in nowe and then as it were new droppes, he continually reneweth: y when al, not one excepted, do know that there is a God, and that he is their maker, they may all bee condemned by their owne testimonie, for that they haue not bothe worshipped him, and dedicate their life to his will. But truely if the not knowyng of God be any where to be founde, it is likely that there can no where els be any example of it moze than amonge the grossest sortes of peoples and furthest from ciuile order of humanitie. But (as the heathen man saith) there is no nation so barbarous, no kind of people so sauage, in whom resteth not this perswasion that there is a God. And euen they that in other parts of their lyfe, seme very litle to differ from bzute beastes, yet do continually kepe a certain sede of religion. So thzoughly hath thys common principle possessed all mennes mindes, and so fast it sticketh with in all mens bowels. Sith then from the beginning of y world there hath ben no cōtrei, no citie, yea no house that could be without religion, in this is emplied a certaine secrete confession that a feling of the godhead is written in the heartes of all men. Yea and ydolatrie it selfe is a substanciall profe of this perswasion. For we know how vnwillingly man abaseth himself to honour other creatures aboue hymselfe. Therfoze when he had rather worshyp a blocke and a stone, than he would be thought to haue no god: it appeareth that  
this

Cicerode  
nat. Deo  
rum.



imprynted perswasio<sup>n</sup> of God is of most great force, which is so impossible to be rased out of the minde of mā, that it is much more easie to haue the affection of nature broken: as in deede it is broken, when man from his own natural swellng pride of his own wyl stoupeth down euen to the basest creatures, to honour God.

Wherefore it is most baine which some doe saye, that religion was deuised by the sutteltie and craft of a few, by this policie to kepe the simple people in awe, whereas they themselues that procured other to worshop God beleued nothing lesse than that there was any God at al. I graunt in dede y<sup>e</sup> suttle men haue inuented many thinges in religion, whereby to bring the people to a reuerence, and cast them in a feare, to make their mindes the more pliable to obedience: but this they coulde neuer haue brought to passe vnlesse the mindes of mē had been already befozehand perswaded that there was a God, out of which perswasion as out of sede springeth that ready inclinacion to religion. Neither is it likely that eue<sup>n</sup> they which suttelly deceiued the simple sort with coloz of religion, were themselues altogether without knowledg of God. For though in times past there haue been some, and at this day there arise by many that deny that there is any God, yet whether they wil oz no they oftentimes feele that which they are desierous not to know. We reade of none that euer did breake forth into more presumptuous and vnbridled despising of God, than Caius Caligula: yet none more miserably trembled when any token of Gods w<sup>r</sup>ath appeared. And so against his wil he quaked for feare of him whom of wilful purpose he endeouored to despise. And y<sup>e</sup> same may a man commo<sup>n</sup>ly see to happen to such as he was. For the bolder despiser of god, that any man is, the more is he troubled at the very noise of y<sup>e</sup> falling of a leafe. And whense commeth that, but from the reuengement of Gods maiestie, which doeth so much the more vehemently strike their consciences as they more laboz to fly away from it? They do in dede loke about for al the starting holes that maie be, to hide themselues from the presence of the Lord, but whether they wil oz no, they are stil holdē faste tied. For howsoeuer sometime it semeth to vanish away for a momente, yet it ofte returneth againe, and with newe assaulte doeth runne vpon them: so that the reste whiche they haue, if they haue any at all, from torment of conscience, is much like to the slepe of drunkardes oz phrenetike men, which euen while they slepe do not quietlyeste, because they are at euery momente vexed with horrible and dzedfull dreames. Therefore the very vngodly themselues serue for an example to proue y<sup>e</sup> there alway liueth in al mens mindes some knowledg of God.

### The.iiii. Chapter.

That the same knowledg is either choked, oz corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

**B**Ut as experience teacheth y<sup>e</sup> God hath sown y<sup>e</sup> sede of religion in al mē, so scarcely may be found y<sup>e</sup> hundzeth mā y<sup>e</sup> hauing it conceiued in his hart doth cherish it, but no mā in whō it ripeneth, so farre is it of that any frute appereth in due tyme. Therefore whether it be that some become baine in their obone superstitions, oz that some doe of sette purpose maliciously reuolte from God, yet all doe

A.iiii.      runne



runne out of kynde from the true knowledge of hym. So cometh it to passe that there remaineth no true godlynes in the worlde. But where as I saide that some by errour fall into superstition, I meane not thereby as though their simplicitie myght excuse them from blame, bycause the blindenes that they haue, is commonly alway myngled bothe with proude vanitie, and with stubburnes. Vanitie and the same ioyned with pride appereth in this, that they myserable men bothe in the seeking of God doo not clymbe about them selues as they ought to haue done, but measure hym accor dyng to the propoztion of their owne fleshy dulnes, and also neglecting the perfect maner of searching for hym, do curiously flye to baine speculations. And so they conceiue hym not suche a one as he offreth hym selfe, but doo imagine hym suche a one as of their owne rather presumption they haue forged hym. Whyche gulfe beeyng ones opened, what waie soeuer they stirre their fete, they muste nedes alway runne headlonge into destruction. For what soeuer afterwarde they go about towarde the worshipping or seruice of god, they can not accompt it doone to hym, bycause they worshyp not hym, but rather the deuise of their owne heart, and their owne dreame in stede of hym. This peruerse- nesse doothe Daule expressely touche, where he sayth: That they were made fooles when they coueted to bee wyse. He had befoze sayde, that they were made bayne in their imaginations: but least any man shuld thereby excuse them from blame, he addeth further, that they are worthly blynded, bycause not contented with sobrietie, but presumptuously takyng vpon theselues moze than they ought, they wyllfully byyng darknesse vpon them, yea with bayne and froward pride do make them selues fooles. Wher vpon, foloweth, that their foolishnesse is not excusable, wherof the cause is not onely bayne curiositie, but also a gredynesse to knowe moze than is mete for them, ioined with a false confidence.

As for this that Dauid sayth, that the wicked and madde men thynke in their hartes, that there is no God: fyrst that is ment onely of those that chokyng the light of nature, do of purpose make them selues senselesse, as we shall see agayne a lyttle hereafter. Euen as we see that many after that they haue bene hardened with boldenesse and custome of sinnyng, do furiously put from them al the remembrance of God, which yet is by very feelyng of nature inwardly ministred vnto their myndes. Nowe Dauid, to make their madnesse the moze detestable, byngeth them in as though they precisely denied, that there is any god: although they take not from him his beyng, but because in takyng from hym hys iudgemente and prouidence, they shutte hym vpon ydle in heauen. For where as nothyng lesse agreeth with the nature of God, than to throwe awaie the gouernement of the worlde, and leaue it to fortune, to wyne at the synnes of men, so as they may lyue in lycentious outrage vnpunished: whosoever he bee that quenchyng the feare of the heauenly iudgement, dothe carelesly folowe his owne affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the iust vengeance of god, to draw a fatnesse ouer their hartes, so that the wicked when they haue ones closed theyr eyes, euen in seeryng may not see. And Dauid in an other place is the best expounder of his own meanyng, where he saith: That the feare of God is not befoze the eies of the wycked: Agayne: that in their euil do- ings they proudly reioyce at them selues, bycause they persuaide them selues,

Ro. i. xxi.

2

Ps. xiii. i.

Psal. xxx. vi. ii.

Psal. i. xi.

selues,



selfes, & God doth not loke vpon the. Therfore although they be cōpelled to acknowledge som God, yet they do rob him of his glozy, in withdraynyng frō him his power. For as God (as Paule witnesseth) can not deny hym selfe, bycause he continually abydeeth like hym selfe: so is it truly sayd, that these men in faynyng God to be a dead and bayne ymage, do deny God. Moreouer it is to be noted, & although they wrastle against theyr own naturall felyng, & do desire not only to shake out God frō themse, but also to destroye hym in heauen, yet their dull hardnesse can neuer so farre pzeuayle, but that God sometyme draweth them backe to his iudgemente seate. But forasmuche as they are not withholden with any feare from runnyng violently agaynst God: therfore it is certayn that there reigneth in them a brutishe forgetfulnesse of God, so longe as that blinde pang of rage dooeth so forcibly rary them.

So is that bayn defence ouerthrowen which many are wont to pretende for excuse of their superstition. For they thynke, that any deuotion to religion suffiseth, what soeuer it be, though it be neuer so much contrary to order and truthe. But they consyder not, that true religion ought to be framed according to the wil of God, as by a perpetual rule: and that God hymselfe abydeeth alway like hym selfe, and is no imagined Ghost or fantasy, that may be diuersly fashioned after euery mans lykynge. And truly we may playnly se with how lying deceytes, superstition mocketh God, while he goeth aboute to doo hym pleasure. For catchyng holde of those thynges in a maner only, whiche God hath testified that he careth not for, he either contemptuously bseth, or openly refuseth those thinges that he appoynteth, and saithe to be pleasant vnto hym. Therfore whosoever dooe sette vp newe inuented formes of worshipping God, they wourship and honour their owne dotyng deuises: bycause they durste not so trifle with God, vnlesse they had fyrste fayned a God, agreyng with the folies of their trislyng toys. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth, that that vnstayed and wandryng opinion of the maiestie of God, is a very ignorance of God. When (sayth he) ye knewe not God ye serued them, that in nature were no goddes. And in an other place he sayth: That the Ephesians were without a God at suche tyme as they strayed from the right knowledg of the one God. And at least in this case, it differeth not muche whether thou beleue one god or many, because in bothe cases thou departest from and forsakest the true God: whom when thou hast ones forsaken, ther is nothing left with thee but a detestable ydoll. It foloweth therfore, that we must determine with Lactantius, that there is no lawfully allowable religion, but that which is ioyned with truthe.

There is also a seconde fault, that they neyther haue at any tyme any consideration of God, but againste their willes, nor do appoche towarde hym, till for all their holdyng backe they be forcibly drawen to hym: and euen then also they haue not a willynge feare that procedeth from reuerence of Goddes maiestie, but onely a seruaile and constrained feare, whiche the iudgement of God wzingeth out of them: which iudgement bycause they can not escape, therfore they dread it, but yet so as therewithall they abhorre it. And so that saying of Statius, that feare fyrst made goddes in the worlde, may be fittly spoken of vngodlynes, and of this kynde of vngodlynes onely. They that haue a mynde ab-

horryng

ii. Tim. ii.  
viii.

3

Gala. iiii.  
viii.

Ep. ii. vii.

4



abhoyrnyng from the iustice of God, do hartily wishe to haue his thzone  
 of iudgement ouerthrowen, whiche they knowe to stande for punishe-  
 ment of offences against his iustice: by whiche affection they warre a-  
 gaynst God, whoe can not be without his iudgement. But when they  
 vnderstande that his power impossible to bee auoyded, hangeth ouer  
 them: bycause they can neither by force remoue it, nor by flyghte escape  
 it, therfore they feare it. So least they should in all thynges seme to des-  
 pise hym, whose maiestie still pzeasseth vpon them, they vse a certayne  
 outwarde forme of religion, suche as it is: but in the meane tyme they  
 ceasse not to defile them selues with all kynde of vices, to ioyne outra-  
 gious mischeues to mischeues, butyll they haue in all poyntes biolate  
 the holy lawe of the Lorde, and destroyed his whole righteousnesse, or  
 at least they are not so holden backe with that fained feare of God, but  
 that they sweetely rest in their sinnes, and flatter them selues, and haue  
 rather to folowe yntemperance of their flesh then restraine it with  
 the bridle of the holy ghoste. But for as muche as the same is but a  
 boyde and lying shadowe of religion, yea scarcely worthy to be called a  
 shadowe, hereby agayne is easly gathered howe muche the true god-  
 lynesse, whiche is powred only into the hartes of the faithful, I meane  
 that out of whiche religion spryngeth, doothe differ from this confuse  
 knowledge of God. And yet the hypocrites would obteyne by crooked  
 compasses to seme nye vnto God, whome they fle from. For where as  
 there ought to haue bene one continued vnbzoken course of obedience  
 in their whole lyfe, they in a maner in all their doynges carelessly re-  
 bellnyng agaynst hym, labour with a fewe sacrifices to appease hym.  
 Where as they oughte to haue serued hym with holynesse of lyfe and  
 syncrenes of hart, they inuent triflynge obseruances of no va-  
 lue, to procure his fauour withall: yea they doo the moze licentiousely  
 lye dull in their own dregges, bycause they trust y they may be dischar-  
 ged agaynst hym w their own mockerie of propitiatory satisfactions.  
 Finally where as their affiaunce ought to haue been fastened in hym,  
 they neglectyng hym doo reste in them selues, or in creatures. At length  
 they entangle them selues with suche a heape of erroures, y the darke  
 myste of malice doothe choke, and at lasse vtterly quenche those spar-  
 kes, that glimneryngly shyned to make them see the glozy of god. Yet  
 that sede still remaineth, whiche can by no meane be plucked by by the  
 rote, to beleue that ther is a certain godhead, but the same sede is so cor-  
 rupted that it byrgeth forth of it none other, but very euyl fruites. Yea  
 therby is that whiche I trauaile to proue moze certainly gathered, that  
 there is a felyng of godhead naturally grauen in the hartes of men,  
 forasmuche as the very reprobate them selues are of necessitie enforced  
 to confesse it. In quiet prosperitie they pleasauntely mocke at god, yea  
 they are full of talke and pratyng to dimynyshe the greatnesse of his  
 power: but yf ones any desperation touche them, it stirreth them by to  
 seke the same God, and mynistreth them sodenly thozte prayers: by whi-  
 che it may appeare, that they were not vtterly ignoraunt of god, but  
 that the same whyche ought sooner to haue ben vttered, was by obsti-  
 nacie suppressed.



## The. v. Chapter.

¶ That the knowledge of God doeth shiningly appeare in the making of the world and in the continual government thereof.



Moreouer because the furthest ende of blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God: that the way to felicitie should be stopped to none, therfore God hath not onely planted in the mindes of men that sede of religion which we haue spoken of, but also hath so disclosed him selfe in the whole workmanship of þ world, and daily so manifestly presenteth himselfe, that men cannot open their eies but they must nedes beholde him. His substance in dede is incomprehensible, so that his diuine maiestie farre surmounteth all mens senses: but he hath in al his workes grauen certain marks of his glozy, and those so plaine and notably discernable, that the excuse of ignorance is taken away from men, be they neuer so grosse and dull witted. Therfore the Prophete rightfully crieth oute, that he is clothed with light as with a garment, as if he should haue said, that then he first began to come forth to be seen in visible apparell, since the tyme that he first displaid his ensignes in the creation of the world, by which eue now what way soeuer we turne our eies he appereth glorious vnto vs. In the same place also the same prophete apily compareth the heauens as they be displaid abzode to his roiall pavilion: he saith that he hath framed his parloures in the waters, that the cloudes are his chariottes, that he rideth vpon the winges of the windes, that the winds and lightnings are his swift messengers. And because the glozy of his power and wisdom doeth moze fully shine aboue, therfore, commonly the heauen is called his palace. And first of al, what way soeuer thou turne thy eyes, there is no pce of the world be it neuer so small, wherein are not seen at least som sparkles of his glozy to shine. But as for this most large and beautiful frame, thou canst not with one biew peruse þ wide compasse of it, but that thou muste nedes be on every side overwhelmed with the infinite force of þ brightnes therof. Wherefore the anchor of the Epistle to the Hebrewes doeth very well call the eyes of the world the spectacles of inuisible thinges, for that the so orderly framing of þ world serueth vs for a mirroz wherein we may beholde God whiche otherwise is inuisible. For whiche cause the Prophete assigneth to the heauenly creatures a language that al nations vnderstande, for that in them there is a moze eident testificacion of the Godhead, than that it ought to escape the consideracion of any nation be they neuer so dull. Which thing the Apostle declaring moze plainely saith that there is disclosed vnto men so much as was behouefull to be knowen concerning God, because all men without exception, do thzoughly see his inuisible thinges euen to his very pover and godhead, which they vnderstande by the creation of the world.

As for his wonderful wisdom, there are innumerable proues bothe in heauen and in earth that witnesse it: I meane not onely that secreter sort of thinges, for the never marking whereof Astrologie, Physike, and all naturall Philosophie serueth, but euen those thinges that thzuste them



them selues in sighte of euery one, euen of the rudest vnlearned man, so that men can not open their eyes but thei muste nedes bee witnessers of them. But truely they that haue digested, yea or but tasted the liberall artes, being holpen by the ayde therof, do procede much further to looke into the secretes of Gods wisdom. Yet is there no man so hindzed by lack of knowledge of those artes, but that he thzoughly seeth abundantly inough of conning workmanship in gods woꝝkes, to bzing him in admiration of the woꝝkmañ therof. As for example: to the searching out of the mouings of the starres, apointing of their places, measuring of their distances, and noting of their properties, there nedeth art and an exact diligence: by which being thzoughly perceaued, as the pzouidence of god is the moze manifestly disclosed, so it is coueniēt, that the mynde rise somwhat the hier therby to behold his glozy. But for asmuch as the vnlearned people yea and the rudest sozt of them, such as ar furnished with the only helpe of their eyes, can not be ignoraūt of ꝑ excellencie of gods conning workmanship, which in this innumerable and yet so seuerally well ozdered and disposed varietie doth of it selfe shew forth it selfe: it is euident that ther is no man to whom God doth not largely opē his wisdom. Likewise it requireth a singuler sharpnes of wit, to wey with suche cunning as Galen doth, the knitting together, ꝑ proportional agremēt, the beautie, & vse in the frame of mans body: but by all mens confession, the body of man doth vtter in very shew of it selfe so cunning a cōpacting together, that for it the maker of it may woꝝthily be iudged wonderfull.

And therfoze certaine of the Philosophers in olde tyme dydde not without cause calle manne a littell woꝝlde, because he is a rare representation of the power, goodnes, and wisdom of god, and conteyneth in hym selfe miracles inough to occupie our myndes, ꝑf we will be content to marke them. And for thys reson Paul, after that he had said that the very blinde men may finde out god by groping for him, by and by saieyth further, ꝑ he is not to be sought far of, because al men do fele vndoutedly winthemselues the heauenly grace wherw they be quickened. But if we nede to go no further than our selues, to find and take hold of god, what pardon shal his slouthfulnes deserue that wil not bouchfate to descend in to himselfe to find god? And the same is the reason why Dauid when he had thoztly spoken in aduancement of the wonderful name & honoz of God that do euery where gloziously shine, by and by crieth out, what is man that thou art mindful of him? Again, out of the mouth of infantes and suckyng babes thou hast stablished strength: for so he pronounceth that not only in the whole kinde of man is a mirrour of the woꝝkes of God, but also that the very infantes whyle they yet hange on their mothers brestes haue tonges eloquent ynough to preache his glozy, so that there nedeth no other ozatours. And therfoze he douteth not to set theyꝝ mouthes in the bauwarde, as beeyng strongly armed to subdue their madnes ꝑ would accordyng to their deuilysh pride couet to extinguissh ꝑ name of God. And herebpon riseth that whiche Paule alledgeth out of Aratus, that we are the offspringe of God, because he garnishyng vs with suche excellencie, hath testified that he is oure father. Lyke as euen by common reason, and as it were by information of experience the prophane Doctes called him the father of men. And truely no man will assentingly and willingly yeld him selfe to serue God, but he that ha-

uing



uing tasted his fatherly loue, is mutually allured to loue & woꝛship him.

And here is disclosed the foule vnthankfulnesse of men, which while thei haue within them selues a woꝛkhouse gloziously furnished with innumerable woꝛkes of God, and also a Choppe stuffed with inestimable plentie of riches, and when they ought to burst foꝛth into pꝛaishynge of him, are contrarye wise puffed vp and doe swell wyth so much the greater pride. They fele how diuersly in marueplous wise God woꝛketh in them: they are taught by experience it self, how great varietie of giftes they possesse by his liberalitie: whether they wyll or noe, they are enforced to knowe that these are the tokens of his godhead: and yet they suppress it close within them. Truly they neede not to goe oute of themselves, so that they would not in presumptuously taking vpon theseiues that which is geuen from heauen, bury with in the grounde that which brightly giueth light to their mindes to se God. But euen at this day the earth beareth many monstreous spirites, which sticke not to abuse the whole seide of godhead that is sowne in mans nature, and to employ it to oppresse the name of God. How detestable, I pray you, is this madnes, that man finding God a hundzed times in his body and his soule, should by the very same pꝛetense of excellēce deny that there is a god: They wil not say, that they are by chaunse made differente from brute beastes.

But they pꝛetende a cloke of nature, whom they accompte the maker of al thinges, and so doe conuey God awaye. They see that exquysite woꝛkmanship in al their members, from their mouth and their eyes euen to the nailes of their toaes, and yet here also they putte nature in place of god. But specially the so swift motions, the so excellent powers, the so rare giftes of the soule, do represent a diuine nature that doth not easily suffer it selfe to be hid: vnlesse the Epicureans like the Gyauntes Cyclopes, wold bearing themselues bolde vppon this hye degre outrageously make warre againste God. Do the whole treasures of the heauenly wisdomes so mete together, to rule a woꝛme of fiue fete long: and shal the whole vniuersalitie of y<sup>e</sup> woꝛld be wout this pꝛerogatiue: firste to agree that there is a certaine instrumentall thing that aunswereth to all the partes of man, doth so serue nothing at al to obscure the honoz of God, that it rather doeth moze gloziously set it out. Let Epicure answer me, what meting of vndiuisible bodyes, boiling the meate and drinke in man, doth dispose part into excrementes & part into bloud, and bringeth to passe that there is in al the members of man such an endeuorynge to do their offyce, euē as if so many seuerall soules did by cōmon aduise rule one body.

But I haue not nowe to doe with that styfe of swyne. I rather speake vnto them, that being geuen to sutfelties would by croked conueiaunce wythe that colde saying of Aristotle, bothe to destroye the immoztalitie of the soule, and also to take from God hys ryghte. For because there are instrumentall powers of the soule, by pꝛetense thereof they bynde the soule to the bodye, that it cannot continue without the bodye, and with pꝛaises of nature they doo as much as in them is, suppress the name of God. But the powers of the soule are farre from beeinge enclosed in those exercises that serue the body. For what pertayneth to the body, for a man to measure the skye, to gather the number of the starres, to lerne the greatenes of euery one, to knowe what space they be distante one  
from

from an other, with what swiftnes or slownesse they goe their courses, how many degrees they decline this way or that way? I graūt in dede that there is some vse of Astrologie: but my meanyng is onely to shewe that in this so depe serching out of heavenly thyngs, it is not an instrumental measuring, but that the soule hath her offices by it selfe seuerall from the body. I haue shewed one example, by whiche it shalbe easy for the readers to gather the reste. Truely the manyfoldc nimblenes of the soule, by which it suruacieth bothe heauen and earthe, ioyneth thynges past with things to come, kepeth in memozy thynges heard long befoze, and expresseth eche thing to it selfe by imaginacion, also the ingeniousnesse by which it inuenteth thynges incredible, and which is the mother of so many maruelous artes, are sure tokens of diuine nature in man. Beside that, euen in slepyng, it doeth not onely rolle and tourne it selfe, but also conceiueth many thynges profytable, reasoneth of many thynges, & also prophecieth of thyngs to come. What shal we in this case say, but that the signes of immoztalitie that are emprinted in man, cannot be blotted out? How what reason may beare that man shalbe of diuine nature, and not acknowledge his Creator? Shall we forsoth by iudgement that is put into vs discern betwene right and wronge, and shall there be no iudge in heauen? Shall we euen in our slepe haue abiding with vs some remnant of vnderstandyng, and shall no God be waking in gouernyng the woꝛlde? Shall we be so compted the inuenters of so many artes and profitable thynges, that God shalbe defrauded of his praise, where as yet experience sufficiently teacheth, that from an other and not from our selues, all that we haue, is in diuerse wise distributed amonge vs? As for that, which some do babble of the secrete inspiracion that geneth lyuelines to the woꝛlde, it is not onely weake, but also vngodly. They lyke well that famous saying of Vergile.

c. vi Fyrst heauen, and earth, and flowvyng fieldes of seas,  
The shinyng globe of Moone, and Titans starres,  
Sprite fedes vvithin, and throughout all the lymmes  
Infused mynde the vvhole huge masse dooth moue,  
And vvith the large bigge body mixe it selfe.  
Thense come the kyndes of men and eke of beastes,  
And lyues of fliying foules, and monsters straunge,  
That vvater beares vvithin the marble sea.  
A fyry lyuelynesse and heauenly race there is  
VVithin those feedes. &c.

Forsothe, that the woꝛld which was created for a spectacle of the glory of God, shuld be the creator of it selfe. So in an other place the same author folowynge the common opinon of the Greekes and Latynes, sayeth:

.iiii. Some say that bees haue part of mynde diuine,  
And heauenly draughtes. For eke they say, that God  
Gothe through the coastes of lande, and crekes of sea,  
And through depe skye. And hense the flockes and heardes: "

And



And men, and all the kyndes of sauage beastes,  
 Eche at their byrthe receyue theyr luttle lyues.  
 And therto are they rendred all at laste,  
 And all resolued are retournide agayne.  
 Ne place there is for deathe: but lyuely they  
 Flye into nombre of the Starres aboue,  
 And take their place vvithin the lofty skye.

Loe, what that hungry speculation of the bniuersall minde that geueth soule and liuelines to the world, auailleth to engender and nourishe godlines in the hartes of men. Whiche doeth also better appeare by the blasphemous sayings of the filthy dogge Lucretius, which are deriued from the same principle. Euen thys is it, to make a shadowishe God, to driue farre away the true God whome we ought to feare and worshyp. I graunt in dede that this may be godlily sayed, so that it procede from a godly minde, that nature is God: but because it is a hard and an vnproper maner of speche, forasmuch as nature is rather an order prescribed by God: therfore in thynges of so great weight and to which is due a singular religiousnes, it is hurtfull to worapp by God confusely with the inferior course of his workes. Let vs therfore remember, so ofte as any man considereth his owne nature, that there is one God which so gouerneth al natures, that his will is to haue vs to loke vnto hym, our sayth to be directed to hym, and hym to bee worshyped and called vpon of vs: because there is nothing more agaynst conuenience of reason, thā for vs to enioy those excellent gyftes that sauoure of diuine nature in vs, and to despise the authoure that freely doeth geue them vnto vs. Nowe as concernynge his power, with howe notable examles dothe it forceably drawe vs to consider it: vnlesse perhappes we may be ignorant, of howe great a strengthe it is with his onely wooorde to vpholde this infinite masse of heauen and earth, with his onely becke sometyme to shake the heauen w noyse of thonders, to burne by ech thing w lightnings, to set the aire on fier w lightning flames, sometime to trouble it with diuerse sortes of tempestes, and by and by the same God when he list in one moment to make faire wether: to holde in the sea as if it hanged in the aire, which with his heighth semeth to threaten cōtinuall destruction to the earth, sometime in horrible wise to raise it by with outrageous violence of windes, and sometime to appease the waues and make it calme againe. For prose hereof do serue all the prayes of God gathered of the testimonies of nature, specialiy in the booke of Job, and in Psalme, whiche now of purpose I ouerpasse, because they shall els where haue an other place fitter for them, where I shall entreate of the creation of the world accorpyng to the Scriptures. Only my meanyng was now to touch, that both straungers and they of the householde of God haue this way of seking God common to them both, that is, to follow these first draughtes which both aboue and beneth doe as in a shadow set fourth a liuely image of him. And now the same power leadeth vs to consider his eternyte. For it must nedes be that he from whom al thinges haue their beginning, is of eternal continuance, and hath his beginning of him self. But nowe if any mā enquire the cause wherby he  
 bothe

both was once lead to create al these things, & is now moued to preserue them: we shal fynde that his only goodnesse was it that caused him. Yea and although this onely be the cause, yet ought the same aboundauntly to suffice to allure vs to the loue of him, sozasmuch as ther is no creature (as the Prophete sayeth) vpon which his mercy is not poured out.

6 Also in the seconde sorte of his woorkes, I meane those that come to passe byside the ordinary course of nature, there doeth appeare no lesse euident profe of his powers. For in gouerning the felowship of men he so ordereth his prouidence, that wheras he is by innumerable meanes good and bouerifull to al men, yet by manifest and dayly tokens he declareth his fauourable kindnes to the godly, and his seuerite to the wicked and euill doers. For not doutefull are the punishmentes that he layeth vpon hainous offences: lyke as he doeth openly shewe hymself a defendoure and reuenger of innocencye, while he prospereth the lyfe of good menne wyth hys blessinge, helpeth their necessitie, asswageth and comforteth their sorowes, relieueth their calaunties, and by al meanes prouideth for their safety. Neyther ought it any thyng to deface the perpetuall rule of his iustice, that he oftentimes permitteth wicked men and euill doers for a tyme to reioyse vnpunished: and on the other side suffreth good and innocent to be tossed wyth many aduersities, yea and to be oppzessed with the malice and vniust dealing of the vngodly. But rather a much contrary consideracion ought to enter into our mindes: that when by manifest shewe of his wraith he puuisseth one sinne, we shoulde therfore thinke that he hateth all sinnes: and when he suffereth many sinnes to passe vnpunished, we shoulde there vpon thinke that ther shalbe an othet iudgemente to which they are differred to bee then punyshed. Likewise how great matter doth it minister vs to consider his mercy, while he oftentimes celsseth not to shewe his vnbweried bouerifullnes vpon miserable sinners in calling them home to him with moze than fatherly tendernes, vntil he haue subdued their frowardnes with doinge them good:

7 To this ende, where the Prophete particularly rehearseth, how God  
 in cases paste hope, doeth sodenly and wonderfully and beside all hope, succoure men that are in misery and in a maner lost, whether he defende them wandering in wildernes from the wild bestes and at length leadeeth them into the way againe, oz ministrerth sode to the nedy and hungry, oz deliuereth prisoners out of horrible dongeons and iron bandes, oz bringeth men in peril of shipwzacke safe into the hauen, oz healeth the half dead of diseases, oz scorseth the earth with heate and drienesse, oz maketh it frutefull with secrete watering of his grace, oz aduanceth the basest of the rascall people, oz throweth down the noble peres from yhie degree of dignitie, by such examples shewed fourth he gathereth that those thinges which are iudged chaunces happening by fortune, are so many testimonies of the heauenly prouidēce, and specially of hys fatherly kindnes, and that therby is geuen matter of reioysing to the Godlye, and the wicked and reprobate haue their mouthes stopped. But because the greater part infected with their errozs are blinde in so clere a place of beholding, therfore he cryeth out that it is a gift of rare & singular wisdom, wisely to weye these woorkes of God: by syghte whereof they nothing profit that othetwise seme most clere sighted. And truly how much  
 soener



foeuer the glozy of God doothe apparantly shyne befoze them, yet scarcely the hundzeth manne is a trewe beholder of it. Likewise his power and wisedome are no moze hidde in darkenesse, whereof the one his power, doth notably appere, when the fierce outragiousnesse of the woked beyng in all mennes opinion vnconquerable is beaten flatte in one momente, their arrogancie tamed, their strongest holdes rased, their weapons and armour broken in pieces, their strengthes subdewed, their deuises ouerthzowen, and theimselfes fall with their owne weighte, the presumptuous boldenesse that auanced it selfe aboue the heauens is thzowen downe euen to the bottome point of the earth. Agayne, the lowly are lysted by out of the duste, and the needy raysted from the donghil, the oppzessed and afflicted are drawn out of extreme distresse, men in despayzed state are restozed to good hope, the vnarmed beare awaye the victorie from the armed, fewe frome many, the feeble from the strong. As for his wysedome, it selfe sheweth it selfe manifestly excellent, while it disposeth euery thing in fittest oportunitie, confoundeth the wisdom of the woorld be it neuer so pearcyng, syndeth out the subtile in their subtiltie: finally gouerneth all thinges by mooste conuenient order.

We see that it needeth no long or laboursom demonstration, to fetche out testimonies, to serue for the glorious declaration and profe of gods maiestie: for by these few that we haue touched it appeareth, that which way foeuer a man chance to looke, they are so comon & ready that they may be easily marked with eye, & pointed out with the fynger. And here again is to be noted, that we are called to the knowledge of god, not such as contented with bayne speculation, doth but flye about in the bzayne, but suche as shall be sounde and fruitfull, yf it be rightly conceyued and take roote in our heartes. For the Lorde is declared by his powers, the force wherof because we fele within vs, and doo enjoy the benefites of them, it muste nedes be that we be inwardly moued muche moze liuely with suche a knowledge, then if we shoulde imagine God to bee suche one, of whome we shoulde haue no feelyng. Whereby we vnderstande, that this is the rightest waye and fittest order to seeke God, not to attempt to entre depely with presumptuous curiositie, thzoughely to discusse his substance: whiche is rather to be reuerently woorszipped then scrupulously searched, but rather to behold hym in his woorkes, by whiche he maketh hym selfe nere and familiar, and doothe in a maner communicate hym selfe vnto vs. And this the apostle ment whenne he sayd, that God is not to be sought afarre of, forasmuche as he with his mooste present power dwelleth within euery one of vs. Wherfore Dauid hauyng befoze confessed his vnspeakeable greatnesse, when he descendeth to the particular rehersall of his woorkes, protesteth that the same wyll shewe foorth it selfe. Therfore we also ought to geue our selues vnto suche a searchyng out of God, as maye so holde our witte suspended with admiration, that it may therwithall thzoughely moue vs with effectuall feelynge. And, as Augustine teacheth in an other place, because we are not able to conceiue hym, it behoueth vs as it were faintyng vnder the burdeyne of his greatnesse, to looke vnto his woorkes, that we may be refreshed with his goodnesse.

Then suche a knowledge ought not only to stirre vs by to the woorkes



Chyppying of God, but also to awake vs, and rayse vs to hope of the life to come. For when we consyder that suche exammples as God sheweth bothe of hys mercifulnesse, and of hys seueritie, are but begunne, and not halfe full, without doubt we muste thynke, that here in he doothe but make a shewe afozhande of those thynges, whereof the open disclosyng and full deluyeraunce, is differred vnto an other lyfe. On the other syde, when we see that the godly are by the vngodly greued with afflictions, troubled with iniuries, oppressed with sclaunder, and bered with despitefull dealynges and reproches: contrarye wyse that wicked dooers doo flourish, prosper, and obteyne quiet with honour, yea and that vnpunished, we must by and by gather, that there shall bee an other lyfe, wherin is layde vp in store bothe dewe reuenge for wyckednesse, and rewarde for rightuousnesse. Mozeouer when we note that the faythfull are often chastised with the rodde of the Lorde, we may mozte certaynly determyne that muche lesse the vngodly shall escape his scourges. For very wel is that spoken of Augustin. If euery synne shoulde now be punished with open payne, it woulde be thought that nothyng were reserued to the laste iudgement. Agayne, yf God shoulde now openly punyssh no synne, it woulde be beleued, that there were no prouidence of God. Therfoze we muste confesse, that in euery particular woozke of God, but principally in the vniuersall generalitie of them, the powers of God are sette foozthe as it were in paynted tables, by whyche all mankynde is prouoked and allured to the knowlledge of hym, and from knowlledge to full and perfecte felicitie. But where as these his powvers doo in his woorkes mozte byghtly appeare, yet what they principally tende vnto, of what baloure they bee, and to what ende we ought to waite them: this we then onely atteyne to vnderstande when we descende into our selues, and doo consider by what meanes God dooth shewe foozthe in vs his lyfe, wysedom, and power, and dothe vse towarde vs his ryghteousnesse, goodnesse, and mercyfull kyndenesse. For though Dauid iustly complayneth, that the vnbeleuyng doo dote in folly, because they weye not the deepe counsailes of God in his gouernance of mankynde: yet that is also mozte true, whiche he sayth in an other place, that the wonderfull wysedom of God in that behalfe excedeth the heares of our heade. But because this pointe shall hereafter in place conuenient be moze largely entreated, therfoze I doo at this tyme passe it ouer.

But with howe great byghtnesse soeuer God doothe in the myzour of his woorkes shewe by representation bothe hymselfe and his immortall kyngedome: yet suche is oure grosse blockyschenesse, that we stande dully amased at so playne testimonies, so that they passe awaye from vs without profyte. For, as touchyng the frame and most beautifull placynge of the woorld, howe many a one is there of vs, that when he eyther lyfteth vp his eyes to heauen, or casteth them about on the diuers countreys of the earth, doothe directe his mynde to remembraunce of the creatour, and doothe not rather rest in beholdyng the woorkes withoute haunyng regarde of the woorkemanne: But as touchyng those thynges that dayely happen besyde the order of naturall course, howe manye a one is there that dooth not moze thynke that menne are rather whyrcled aboute, and rowlled by blynde

De ciui.  
dei. cap.  
viii.Psa. xlii.  
vii.

Psa. l. ciii.

f.º



vnauidednesse of fortune, than governed by prouydence of God. But yf at any tyme we be by the guiding and direction of these thynges dyuen to the consideratton of God (as all menne muste nedes be) yet so soone as we haue without aduiseunte conceiued a feling of som godheade, we by and by slyde awaye to the dotages oz erronious inuencions of our fleshe, and with our vanitie we corrupt the pure veritie of God. So herein in dede we differ one from an other, that euery man pziuatly by hym selfe procureth to hym selfe some peculiar errour: but in this poynte we all are moste lyke together, that we all, not one excepted, doo departe from the one trewe God to monstrous trifles. To which disease not onely common and grosse wittes are subiect, but also the moste excellent and those that otherwysle are endeued with singular sharpnes of vnderstandyng, are entangled with it. Howe largely hath the whole sect of philosophers bewrayed their own dulnesse and beastlye ignoraunce in this behalfe: For, to passe ouer all the rest, whyche are muche moze vnreasonably foolyshe. Plato himselfe the most religious and moste sober of all the reste, baynely erreth in his round globe. Howe what myghte not chaunce to the other, when the chiefe of them, whoes parte was to geue lyghte to the reste, doo themselues so erre and stumble: Lykewise where Goddes gouernaunce of mennes matters, doth so playnely proue his prouidence that it can not be denyed, yet this doothe no moze preuayle with menne, than yf they beleued that all thynges are tossed vp and downe with the rashe will of Fortune: so great is our inclination to vanitie and erreure. I speake nowe altogither of the moste excellente, and not of the comunon sorte, whoes madnesse hath infinitely wandered in pzoophanyge the truthe of God.

Hereof procedeth that vnmeasurable synke of erreurs, wherewith the whole worlde hath bene fylled and ouerfloven. For eche mannes witte is to hymselfe as a maze, so that it is no meruaile that euery seuerall nation was diuersely dzawen into seuerall deuises, and not that onely, but also that eche seuerall man hadde his seuerall gods by hym selfe. For sins that rashe presumption and wantonnesse was ioynd to ignoraunce and darknesse, there hath ben scarcely at any tyme any one manne founde, that dydde not forge to hym selfe an ydole oz fansye in stede of God. Truly euen as out of a wide and large spring do issue waters, so the infinite numbze of gods hath flowed out of the wit of man, while euery man ouer licentiousely strayeng, erroneously deuisech this oz that concernyng God hym selfe. And yet I nede not here to make a register of the superstitions, wherewith the worlde hath ben entangled: bycause bothe in soo dooyng I shoulde neuer haue ende, and also thoughe I speake not one woorde of theym, yet by so many corruptiions it sufficiently appeareth howe horrible is the blyndenesse of mans mynde. I passe ouer the rude and vnlearned people. But amonge the Philosophers, whiche enterprysed with reason and learnyng to pearce into heauen, howe shamefulle is the disagreement: With the hygher wytte that any of theym was endeued, and fylled with arte and science, with so muche the moze glozious coloures he seemed to painte out his opinion. All whiche notwithstandinge, yf one dooe narrowly



looke vpon, he shall fynde them to be but banishing false colours. The Stoikes seemed in theyr owne conceipte to speake very wysely, that out of all the partes of nature may be gathered diuers names of God, and yet that God beyng but one is not therby tozne in sonder. As though we were not already moze than enough enclined to vanitie, but lesse a manifolde plentie of gods set befoze vs should further and moze violently drawe vs into errour. Also the Egyptians mysticall science of diuinitie sheweth, that they all diligently endeuoered to this ende, not to seeme to erre without a reason. And it is possible, that at the fyrst syght some thyng seemyng probable, might deceyue the simple and ignozant: but no moztall man euer inuented any thing, wherby religion hath not ben fowly corrupted. And this so confuse diuersitie emboldned the Epicures and other grosse despisers of godlynesse, by little and little to cast of al helpyng of god. For when they saw the wisest of all to strue in contrary opinions, they sticked not out of their disagreements, and out of the foolische or apparantly erroneous doctrine of eche of theym, to gather, that men doo in vayne & fondly procure tozmentes to them selues whyle they serche for God, whiche is none at all. And this they thought that they myghte freely doo without punishment, because it was better bzeuely to denye vttterly, that there is any God, than to sayne vncreytayn Gods, and so to rayse by contentions that neuer shuld haue ende. And to muche fondly doo they reason, or rather cast a myst, to hide their vngodlynesse by ignozance of men, whereby it is no reason that any thyng shoulde be taken away from God. But forasmuche as all do confess, that there is nothyng, about whiche bothe the learned and vberned doo so muche disagree, ther vpon is gathered that the wittes of men are moze than dull and blynde in heavenly misteries, that do so erre in seekyng out of God. Some other doo praise that answer of Symonides, which beyng demaunded of kyng Hieron what God was, desired to haue a daies respite graunted hym to studye vpon it. And when the next day folowpyng, the kyng demaunded the same question, he requyred two daies respite, and so oftentymes doublyng the numbze of days at length he answered: Howe muche the moze I consyder it, so muche the harder y matter semeth vnto me. But grauntyng that he dyd wysely to suspende his sentence of so darke a matter, yet hereby appeareth, that yf men be only taught by nature, they can know nothyng certainly, soundly, and plainly concernyng God, but onely are tyed to confused principles to worshyp an vnknowen God.

Nowe we must also holde, that all they that corrupt the pure religion (as all they must nedes doo that are geuen to their owne opinion) do depart from the one God. They wil boast that their meanyng is otherwise: but what they meane, or what they persuaade them selues makerly not muche to the matter, sith the holy ghoste pronounceth, that all they are Apostates, that accorpyng to the darknes of their owne mynde do thrust deuyls in the place of God. For this reason, Paule pronounceth that the Ephesians were without a God, tyll they hadde learned by the Gospell, what it was to worshyp the true God. And we must not thinke this to bee spoken of one nation onely, for as muche as he generally affyrmeth in an other place, that all menne were become vayne in their unaginations, syng that in the creation of the worlde, the Maiestie of  
the



of the Creatour was disclosed vnto them. And therefore the scripture, to make place for the true and one onely God, condemneth of falsehood and lying, whatsoeuer godhead in olde tyme was celebrated among the Gentiles, and leaueth no God at all, but in the mounte Syon, where flourished the peculiar knowledge of God. Cruely among the Gentiles the Samaritans in Christes time seemed to approche nighest to true godlynesse: and yet we heare it spoken by Christes owne mouth, that they knewe not what they worshipped. Whereupon foloweth, that they were deceyued with bayne error. Finally although they were not all infected with grosse fautes, or fell into open idolatries, yet was there no true and approued religion that was grounded onely vpon comon reason. For all be it, that there were a fewe that were not so madde as the common people were, yet this doctrine of Paule remaineth certainly true, that the princes of this worlde conceiue not the wisdom of God. Nowe yf the moste excellent haue wandzed in darknesse, what is to be sayde of the very dregges: Wherefore it is no meruayle, if the holy ghoste doo refuse as bastarde worshippinges all formes of worshipping deuised by the will of men. Bycause in heavenly misteries opinion conceiued by witt of men, although it do not alway breede a heape of errours, yet is alwaye the mother of erreure. And though there come no worse of it, yet is this no small fault, at aduenture to worshyp an vnknown God: of whiche fault all they by Christes owne mouth are pronounced guilty, that are not taught by the lawe what God they ought to worshyp. And cruely the best lawmakers that euer were, proceeded no further, than to saie that religion was grounded vpon comon consent. Yea and in Xenophon Socrates praised the answer of Apollo, wherein he willed that euery mā shuld worship gods after the maner of the cuntrey, and the custome of his owne citie. But how came mortall men by this power, of their owne authoritie to determine that which farre surmounteth the worlde: or who can so rest in the decrees of the elders, or comon ordinaunces of peoples, as to receaue withoute doutynge a God deliuered by mannes deuise: Euery man rather will stand to his owne iudgement, than yeld hym self to the wil of an other. Sith therfore it is to weake & feble a bonde of godlynesse, in worshipping of God to folow either a custome of a citie, or the consent of antiquitie, it remaineth that God him self must testify of him self from heauen.

In bayne therfore so many lampes lightned doo thynne in the edifice of the worlde, to shew forth the glozy of the creatour, which do so euery way display their beames vpon vs, that yet of them selues they can not bring vs into the right way. In dede they raise by certayne sparkles, but suche as be choked by before that they can spreade abrode anye full brightnesse. Therfore the apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the worlde images of thynges inuisible, sayth further, that by faith is perceyued, that they were framed by the worde of God: meaning therby y the inuisible godhed is in dede representēd by such shewes,

but y we haue no eyes to see the same throughly, vntill they be enlightned by the reuelation of God through faith. And Paule, where he teacheth that by the creation of the worlde was disclosed that which was to be knowen concerning god, doth not meane such a disclosing as may be comprehended by the witte of men: but rather sheweth, that the same

Abacuk :  
ii. xviii.  
rr.  
Joh. iiii.  
xxii.

i. Cor. ii.  
biii.

John. iiii.  
xxii.

Heb. xi.  
iii.



Act. xvii.  
Act. xviii.  
Act. xvi.

procedeth no further but to make them vnercusable. The same Paule also, although in one place he sayth, that God is not to be sought afarre of, as one þ dwelleth within vs: yet in an other place teacheth to what end that merciesse auayleth. In the ages past (sayth he) God suffred the nations to walke in their owne waies: yet he leste not hym selfe without testimonie, doying good from heauen, geuyng showres and fruitefull seasons, fillyng the hartes of men with foode and gladnesse. Howsoeuer therfoze the Lorde bee not withoute testimonie, whyle with his greate and manyfolde bountyfullnesse he sweetely allureth men to the knowledg of hym: yet for all that, they cesse not to folowe their owne waies, that is to say, their damnable errorrs.

44

But although we want naturall power, wherby we can not clymbe vp vnto the pure and cleare knowledg of God, yet bycause the faulte of our dulnesse is in our selues, therfoze all colour of excuse is cutte away from vs. For we can not so pretende ignorance, but that euen our conscience dothe stil condemne vs of slouthfulnesse & vnthankfulnesse. It is a defence forsoothe right woorthy to be receyued, if man will alledge that he wanted eares to heare the truth, for the publishyng wherof the very dombe creatures haue lowde voyces: yf man shall say that he can not see those thynges with his eyes, whyche the creatures without eyes doo shewe hym: yf man shall laye for his excuse the feblenesse of his witte, where all creatures without reason doo instructe hym? Wherfoze sithe all thynges doo shewe vs the right way, we are woorthily put from all excuse of our wanderyng and straying out of the way. But howe soeuer it is to be imputed to the fault of men, that they dooe by and by cozrupt the sede of the knowledg of God, lowe in theyr mindes by meruailous wozkemanshyps of nature, so that it groweth not to good and cleane fruite: yet it is moste true, that we are not sufficiently instructed by that bare and simple testimonie, that the creatures do honourably declare of goddes glozy. For so soone as we haue taken by the beholdyng of the worlde a smalle taste of the godhead, we leauyng the true God doo in steade of hym rayse by dreames and fansies of oure owne brayne, and doo conuey hyther and thither from the true fountayne the prayse of ryghtousnes, wysedom, goodnes and power. Moreouer we doo so either obscure, or by yll estemyng them, depzaue his dailly doynge, that we take away bothe from them their glozye, and from the authour his due praise.

## ¶ The. vi. Chapter.

That, to attayne to God the Creatour, it is nedefull to haue the scripture to be our guyde and maistrasse.



Herefoze although that same brightnesse, which both in heauen and earth shineth in the eyes of al men, doth sufficiently take away al defense fro the wickednesse of me, euen so as God, to wrappe al mankind in one giltinesse, doeth shewe his diuine maiestie to al withoute ceception as it wer portraied out in his creatures: yet is it necessary that we haue also an other and a beter helpe that may rightly direct  
vs



vs to the very creator of the world. Therefore not in vayne he hath ad-  
 ded the light of his worde, that ther by he mought be knowen to salua-  
 tion. And this prerogatiue he hath vouchesaue to geue to vs, whom it  
 pleased him moze nerely and moze familiarly to drato together to him-  
 selfe. For because he saw the mindes of al men to be carried aboute with  
 wandering and vnstedfast motion, after he had chose the Jewes to his  
 peculiar flocke, he compassed them in as it were with barres, that they  
 should not wander out in vanitie as other did. And not withoute cause  
 he holdeth vs with the same meane in the true knowledge of himselfe.  
 For otherwise euen they should quickly swarue away that seme to stand  
 stedfast in comparison of other. For as olde men, or pooze blind, or they  
 whose eies ar dimme sighted, if you lay a faire boke befoze them, though  
 they perceiue that there is somewhat witten therein, yet can they not  
 reade two wordes together: but being holpen with spectacles set between  
 them and it, they begin to reade distinctly: so the Scripture gathering  
 by together in our mindes the knowledge of God, whiche otherwise is  
 but confused, doeth remoue the mist, and plainly shew vs the true god.  
 This therefore is a singular gifte, that to the instruccion of his church  
 God vseth not onely dumme teachers, but also openeth his obone holpe  
 mouth: not onely publisheth that there is some God to bee worshipped,  
 but also therewithal pronounceth that he himselfe is the same God who  
 we oughte to worship: and doeth not onely teache the electe to loke vpon  
 God, but also presenteth himselfe vnto them to be looked vppon. Thys  
 order hath he kept fro the beginning towarde his church, beside these  
 common instruccions to geue them also hys worde. Whiche is the righ-  
 ter and certainer marke to knowe him by. And it is not to be doubted, y  
 Adam, Noe, Abraham and the rest of the fathers by this help attained  
 to that familiar knowledge, which made them as it wer seuerally diffe-  
 rente from the vnbeleuers. I speake not yet of the proper doctrine of  
 faith, wherwith they wer enlightened into the hope of eternal life. For,  
 that they myght passe from death to life, it was nedefull for them to  
 knowe God not only to be the creatoure, but also the redemer: as dout-  
 lesse they obtained both by the worde. For that kinde of knowledge  
 wherby was geuen to vnderstande who is the God by who the worlde  
 was made and is gouerned, in order came befoze the other: and the was  
 that other inwarde knowledge adioined, which onely quickeneth dead  
 soules, wherby God is knowen not onely to be the maker of the worlde  
 and the onely authour and iudge of all thinges that are done, but also  
 to be the redemer in the person of that mediatur. But beecause I am  
 not yet come to the fal of the worlde and coruption of nature, I will o-  
 mit also to entreate of the remedy therof. Therefore let the readers re-  
 member that I do not yet speake of the couenaunt wherby God hath  
 adopted to hymselfe the children of Abraham, and of that spe cial parte  
 of doctrine wherby the faithful haue alway been peculiarly seuered fro  
 the prophane nations: because that doctrine was founded vpon Christ:  
 but I speake how we ought to learne by the Scripture, that god which  
 is the creator of the worlde, is by certaine markes seuerallye discerned  
 from the counterfait multitude of false gods. And the the order it selfe  
 shal conueniently bring vs to the redemer. But although we shal allege  
 many testimonies out of the new testamēt, & some also out of y law and



the Prophetes, wherein is expresse mencio made of Christ: yet they shall al tende to this ende, to proue that in the Scripture is disclosed vnto vs God the creatoꝛ of the woꝛld, and in the scripture is set foꝛth what we ought to thinke of him, to the end that we should not seke about y bush foꝛ an vncertaine godhead.

2 But whether God were knowen to the fathers by oracles and visi-  
ous, oꝛ whether by the mean and ministraciõ of men he infoꝛmed them of that which they should from hande to hande deliuer to their posterity: yet it is vndoutedly true that in their hartes was engrauen a stedfaste certaintie of doctriñ, so as they might be perswaded and vnderstand, y it which they had learned came from God. foꝛ God alwaies made vndouted assuraunce foꝛ credit of his woꝛde, which farre exceeded all vncertaine opiniõ. At length that by continual proceeding of doctrine, the trueth suruiuing in al ages might stil remaine in the woꝛld, the same oracles which he had left with the fathers, his pleasure was to haue as it were enrolled in publike tables. foꝛ this entent was the law publyshed, wherunto after were added the Prophetes foꝛ expositoꝛs. foꝛ though there were diuerse vles of the law, as hereafter shall better appere in place conuenient: and specially the principall purpose of Moyses and al the Prophetes was to teach the maner of reconciliaciõ betwene God and men, foꝛ which cause also Paule calleth Christ the end of the law: yet, as I say once againe, beside the proper doctrine of faith and repẽtance which sheweth foꝛth Christe the mediatoꝛ, the Scripture doth by certaine markes and tokens paint out the onely and true God, in that that he hath created and doeth gouerne the woꝛlde, to the ende he should be seuerally knowen and not reckened in the false nombre of fained gods. Therefore although it behoueth man earnestlye to bend his eyes to consider the woꝛkes of God, foꝛasmuch as he is set as it were in this gorgeous stage to be a beholder of them: yet princpally ought he to bende his eares to the woꝛd, that he may better profit thereby. And therfoꝛe it is no maruel that they which ar boꝛne in darkenesse do moze and moze ware hard in their amased dulnesse, because beye felwe of them do geue themselues pliable to learne of the woꝛd of God, whereby to kepe them within their boundes, but they rather reioyse in their own vanity. Thus then ought we to holde, that to the ende true religion may thynne among vs, we must take our beginning at the heauenly doctrine. And that no man can haue any tast be it neuer so little of true and sounde doctrine, vnlesse he haue ben scholer to the Scrypture. And from hence groweth the oziginal of true vnderstanding, that we reuerently embrace whatsoeuer it pleaseth God therein to testifye of himselfe. foꝛ not onely the perfect and in al pointes absolute faith, but also al right knowledge of God springeth from obedience. And truelye in thys behalfe God of his singular prouidence hath prouided foꝛ men in and foꝛ al ages.

3 foꝛ if we consider how slipperye an inclinaciõ mans minde hath to slide into forgetfulnes of God, how great a redinesse to fal into al kind of errors, how great a lust to forge oftentimes new & counterfayt religions, we may therby perceiue how necessarie it was to haue the heauenly doctrine so put in wꝛiting, that it should not either perishe by forgetfulnes, oꝛ grow vaine by errour, oꝛ be coꝛrupted by boldnes of men.

Si the



Sith therfore it is manifest that God hath alway bled the helpe of hys woꝝd, toward al those whome it pleased him at any time frutefully to instruct, because he foresaw that his image empꝛinted in the most beautifull foꝛme of the woꝝld was not sufficiently effectual: Therfore it behooveth vs to trauaile this straight way, if we earnestly couet to attayne to the true beholding of God. We must I say, come to his woꝝd, wherin God is well and liuely set out by his woꝝkes, when his woꝝkes be weyed not after the peruersnesse of our own iudgemēt, but according to the rule of the eternall trueth. If we swaꝛue from that woꝝde, as I saied euen now, although we runne neuer so fast, yet we shall neuer attaine to the marke, because the course of our running is out of the way. For thus we must thinke, that the brightnesse of the face of God, which the Apostle calleth such as cannot be attained vnto, is vnto vs like a maze, out of which we cannot bꝛwꝛappe our selues, vnlesse we be by the line of the woꝝd guided into it: so that it is much better for vs to halt in this way, than to runne neuer so fast in an other. And therfore David oftentimes when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the woꝝld, that pure religion maye floꝝy the, bringeth in God reigning: meaninge by this woꝝde reigning, not the power that he hath, but the doctryne wherby he chalengeeth to himselfe a lawfull gouernement: because erroꝝs can neuer be rooted out of the hartes of men, till the true knowledge of God be planted.

Therfore the same Pꝛophete, after that he hath recited that the heauens declare the gloꝝy of God, that the firmament sheweth fourth the woꝝkes of his handes, that the oꝝderly succeeding course of daies and nightes pꝛeacheth his maiestie, then descendeth to make mentio of his woꝝde. The law of the Loꝝd (saieth he) is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the witnesse of the Loꝝd is faithfull, geuing wisdom to little ones: the righteousnesse of the Loꝝd are byꝛyght, makyng hartes cherefull: the commaundemēt of the Loꝝd is byꝛyght geuing light to the eyes. For although he comprehendeth also the other bles of the law, yet in generalitie he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doeth in vaine call vnto hym al nations by the beholding of the heauen and earth, therfore this is the peculiar schole of the childeꝛen of God. The same meanyng hath the xxxiij. Pꝛsalme, where the Pꝛophet hauing pꝛeached of the terrible voice of God, whiche in thunder, windes, thowres, whirlewindes & stoꝝmes, maketh the earth, maketh the mountains to tremble, and breaketh the cedꝛe trees: in the ende at last he goeth further and sayth, that his praises are song in the sanctuary, because the vnbeleuers are deafe & heare not al the voyces of God that resounde in the aire. And in lyke manner in an other Pꝛsalme, after that he had descꝛybed the terrible waues of the Sea, he thus concludeth: thy testimonies are verified, the beautie of thy tēple is holinesse for euer. And out of this meaning also proceded that which Chꝛyst said to the woman of Samaria, that her nation and the rest did honoꝝ that which they knew not, and that onely the Jewes did worship the true God. For wheras the wit of man by reason of the feblenesse therof cā by no meane attaine vnto God, but being holpen and lifted by by his holy woꝝde, it folowed of necessitie, that al men, excepte the Jewes, dyd wander in banite and errour, because they sought god without hys woꝝde.

i. Tim. vi.  
rbi.ps. ix. and  
rcvi. rcvii.  
rcix. &c.4  
ps. xix. rxi.

ps. xciii. v

John. iiii.  
rcvii.



Of the Knowvledge of  
The. vii. Chapter.

By what testimony the Scripture oughte to be established, that is by the witness of the holy gost, that the authoritie therof may remaine certaine. And that it is a wycked inuention to say that the credyt therof doeth hang vpon the iudgemente of the churche.



But before I go any further, it is nedeful to say somewhat of the authoritie of the Scripture, not onely to prepare mens mindes to reuerence it, but also to take away al dout therof. Now, when it is a matter confessed that it is the worde of God that is there sette forth, there is no mā of so desperate boldnesse, vnlesse he be boide of all common sense and naturall wit of man, that dare derogate the credit of him that speaketh it. But because there are not daily oracles geuen from heauen, and the onely Scriptures remaine wherin it hath pleased the Lord to preserue his truth to perpetual memozy, the same Scripture by none other meanes is of full credit among the faythful, but in that they doe beleue that it is as verely come from heauen as if they heard the liuely voyce of God to speake therin. This matter in dede is ryght worthy both to bee largely entreated of & diligently weyed. But the readers shall pardō me if here in I rather regarde what the propozcion of the woork which I haue begon may beare, thā what y largenesse of the matter requireth. Ther is growen by among the most part of men a molte hurteful erroure, y the Scripture hath onely so much authoritie as by common consent of the churche is geuen vnto it: as if the eternall and inuiolable trueth of God did rest vpon the pleasure of men. For so, to the great scozne of the holy gost, they aske of vs who cā assure vs that these Scriptures came from God: or who can assertaine vs that they haue continued vnto our age safe and vncorrupted: who can perswade vs, that thys one booke ought to be reuerently receiued, and that other to be stryken out of the number of Scripture, vnlesse the churche did appoint a certaine rule of al these thinges? It hangeth therfore (say they) vpon the determinaciō of the churche, both what reuerence is due to the Scripture, and what bookes ar to be reckened in the canon therof. So these robbers of gods honoz, whyle they seke vnder coloz of the church to bring in an vnbridled tyzanny, care nothing with what absurdities they snare both themselves and other, so that they may enforce thys one thyng to be beleued among the synple, that the churche can do al thynge. But if it be so: what shal become of the pooze consciences that seke stedfast assurance of eternal lyfe, if al the promyses that remayne therof stande and bee stayed onely vpon the iudgement of men? When they receyue such answere, shal they cesse to wauer and tremble? Agayne to what scoznes of the vngodly is our faith made subiect: into how great suspicion with al men is it bzought, if this be beleued that it hath but as it were a bozowed credit by the fauoure of men?

But such babblers are wel confuted euen with one worde of the Apostle. He testifieth that the churche is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apostles. If the doctrine of the Prophetes, and Apostles



Apostles be the fundacion of the church: then muste it nedes be, that the same doctrine stode in steadfast certaintie, befoze that the church began to be. Nether can they wel cauil, that although the church take her first beginning therof, yet it remaineth doubtful what is to be sayed the wyrtinges of the Prophetes and Apostles, vnlesse the iudgemente of the church did declare it. For if the Chyrstian church were at the beginning builded vpon the wyrtinges of the Prophetes and preaching of the Apostles: wheresoeuer that doctrine shalbe founde, the allowed credyte therof was surely befoze the church, without which the church it selfe had neuer ben. Therefore it is a vaine forged deuise, that the church hath power to iudge the Scripture, so as the certaintie of the scripture should be thought to hange vpon the wil of the church. Wherfoze whē the church doth receiue the Scripture and sealeth it with her consenting testimonie, she doeth not of a thynge doutefull, and that otherwysse should be in controuersy, make it autentike and of credit: but because she acknowledgeth it to be the trueth of her God, accordyng to her dutye of godlinesse without delay she doth honoz it. Wheras they demaund, how shal we be perswaded that it came from god, vnlesse we resort to the decree of the church: Thys is al one as if a man should aske, howe shall we learne to knowe light from darkenesse, white from blacke, or swete from sower. For the Scripture sheweth in it selfe no lesse apparaunte sense of her trueth, than white and blacke thynges do of their coloz, or swete and sower thynges of their tast.

I knowe that they commonly allege the saying of Augustine, wher he sayeth that he would not beleue the gospel, saue that the authoritie of the church moued hym therto. But how vntruely and cauillouslye it is alleged for such a meaning, by the whole tenoz of his wyting it is easy to perceiue. He had to do with the Danichees, whiche required to be beleued without gaine saying, when they vaunted that they had the trueth on their side, but proued it not. And to make their Danichees to be beleued, they pretended the gospel. Now Augustine asketh them what they would do, if they did light vpon a man that would not beeleue the gospel it selfe, with what maner of perswasion they would drawe hym to their opinion. Afterwarde he sayeth. I my self would not beleue the gospel. &c. saue that by authoritie of the church moued me therto. Meaning that he himselfe, when he was a straunger from the fayth, coulde not otherwise be brought to embrace the gospel for the assured trueth of God, but by this that he was ouercome with the authoritie of the church. And what maruel is it, if a mā not yet knowing Chyrste, haue regarde to men: Augustine therfoze doeth not there teache that the fayth of the godly is grounded vpon the authoritie of the church, nor meaneth that the certaintie of the gospel doth hang therupon: but simple and onely, that there should be no assurednesse of the gospel to the infidels, wherby they might be wonne to Chyrst, vnlesse the consent of the church did driue them vnto it. And the same meanyng a litle befoze he doth plainly confirme in this saying. When I shall praise that which I beleue, and scozne that which thou beleuest, what thikest thou mete for vs to iudge or do: but that we forsake such men as first call vs to come and knowe certaine truethees and after commaunde vs to beeleue thynges vncertaine: and that we folowe thē that require vs first to beleue that which

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Contra  
epist. fū  
damēta  
lem, ca. v

Contra  
epist. sun  
damēta  
lē, ca. iiii



we are not yet able to see, that being made strong by beleuing we may atteine to vnderstande the thing that we beleue: not menne nowe, but God himselve inwardly strengthening and geuing lighte to oure minde. These are the very words of Augustine: wherby every man may easily gather, that the holy man had not this meaning, to hang the credite that we haue to the Scriptures vpon the wil and awarment of the churche, but onely to shewe this, (which we our selues also do confesse to be true) that they which are not yet lightened with the spirite of god, are brought by the reuerence of the churche vnto a willynghesse to bee taught, so as they can finde in their hartes to learne the faith of Christ by the gospel: and that thus by this meane the authozitic of y<sup>e</sup> church is an introduction, wherby we are prepared to beleue y<sup>e</sup> gospel. For, as we see, his minde is that the assurance of the godly be staied vpon a farre other foundacion. Otherwise I do not deny but that he often presseth y<sup>e</sup> Manichees with the consent of the whole churche, when he seeketh to proue the same Scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproched Faustus for that he did not yelde hymselfe to the trueth of the gospel so grounded, so stablished, so gloziously renomed, & from the very time of the Apostles by certaine successions perpetuallye commended. But he neuer travaileth to this ende, to teach that the authozitic which we acknowledge to be in the Scripture, hangeth vpon the determinacion or decree of men. But onely this, which made much for him in the mater that he disputed of, he bringeth forth the vniuersal iudgemēt of the church, wherin he had the auantage of his aduersaries. If any desire a fuller proufe herof, let him reade his boke concernynge the profit of beleuing. Where he shall finde that there is no other redi- nesse of beleife commended vnto vs by him, but that which only geneth vs an entrie, and is vnto vs a conuenient beginning to enquire, as he termeth it: and yet not that we ought to rest vpon bare opinion, but to leane to the certaine and sounde trueth.

4

We ought to holde, as I befoze sayd, that the credit of this doctrine, is not established in vs, vntil such time as we be vndoutedly perswaded that God is the authoz therof. Therfoze the principal proufe of y<sup>e</sup> Scrip- ture is comonly taken of the person of God the speaker of it. The Pro- phetes and Apostles boist not of their owne sharpe wit or any such thigs as procure credit to men that speake: neither stande they vpon proues by reason, but they bring forth the holy name of God, therby to compell the whole world to obedience. Now we haue to see howe not onely by probable opinion, but by apparant truth it is euident, that in this behalfe the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretended. If then we wil prouide wel for consciences, that they be not continually carryed about with vnstedfast douting, nor may wauer, nor stay at euey small stop, this manner of perswasion must be fetched deper then from either the reasons, iudgements or the coniectures of men, euen from the se- crete testimony of the holy gholste. True in dede it is, that if we lysted to worke by way of argumētes, many thinges might be alleged that may easily proue, if there be any God in heauen, that the law, the prophecies and the gospell came from hym. Yea although men learned and of depe iudgemente would stande by to the contrary, and would employ and shew forth the whole force of their wittes in this disputacion: yet if they

be

Contra  
Faustum  
lib. xxxii

Aug. de  
vtilitate  
cred.



be not so hardened as to become desperatly shamelesse, they woulde be compelled to confesse, that there are seen in the Scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therein: wherby it maye appeare that the doctrine therof is frō heauē. And shortly hereafter we shal se, that al the bookes of the holy Scripture do farre excel al other wytinges what soeuer they be. Yea if we bring thether pure eies and vncorrupted senses, we shal forthwith finde thers the maiestie of God, which shall subdue al hardnesse of gainesaying and enforce vs to obey him. But yet they do disorderly, that by disputacion trauaile to establishe the perfecte credit of the Scripture. And truely although I am not furnished with great dexteritie, nor eloquence: yet if I were to contende with y<sup>e</sup> mooste luttel despisers of God, that haue a desier to shew themselues wytty and pleasaunt in febling the authozitie of Scripture, I trust it should not be harde for me to put to silence their bablinges. And if it were profitable to spende labor in confuting their cauillations, I would with no great businesse shake in sunder the bragges that they mutter in corners. But though a man do deliuer the sounde word of God from the reproches of men, yet that sufficeth not fourthwith to fasten in theyr hartes that assurednesse that godlynesse requireth. Pzophane men because they thynke religion standeth onely in opinion, to the ende they woulde beleue nothing fondly or lightly, do couet and require to haue it proued to them by reason, that Moyses and the Pzophetes spake from God. But I answer that the testimonie of the holy ghost is better thā all reason. For as onely God is a conueniente witnesse of hymselfe in hys owne worde, so shal the same worde neuer finde credit in the hartes of men, vntil it be sealed by with the inwarde witnesse of y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost. It behooueth therfore of necessitie that the same holy ghost whiche spake by the mouth of the Pzophetes, do entre into our hartes to perswade vs that they faythfully vttered that which was by God commaunded them.

And this order is very aptly set fourth by Esay in these wordes. *My spirit* Esa. li. xvi  
*rite which is in thee and the wordes that I haue put in thy mouth and in the mouth of thy sēde shal not faile for euer.* It greueth some good men, that they haue not ready at hande some cleare proufe to allege, when the wicked do without punishment murmure against the worde of God: As though the holy ghost were not for this cause called both a seale and a pledge, because vntill he do lighten mens minds they do alway wauer among many doutinges.

Let this therfore stande for a certainly perswaded trueth, that they whom the holy ghost hath inwardly taught, doe wholly reſte vpon the Scripture, and that y<sup>e</sup> same Scripture is to be credited for it self sake, & ought not to be made subiect to demonstraciō and reasons: but yet y<sup>e</sup> the certaintie which it getteth among vs, it atteineth by the witnesse of the holy ghost. For though by the only maiestie of it selfe it procureth reuerence to be geuen to it: yet then only it thzoughly perceeth our affectiōs, when it is sealed in our hartes by the holy gost. So being lightened by his vertue, we do then beleue, not by our own iudgemēt, or other mēs, y<sup>e</sup> the Scripture is frō God: but aboue al mans iudgement we holde it most certainly determined, euen as if we behelde the maiestie of God himselfe there pzesent, that by the ministry of men it came to vs from the very mouth of God. We seke not for argumentes and likelhodes to  
rest



rest our iudgement vpon: but as to a thing without al compasse of consideration, we submit our iudgement and wit vnto it. And that not in such sort as some are wont sometime hastily to take holde of a thing vnknewen, which after being thzoughly perceined displeaseth them: but because we are in our consciences wel assured that we hold an inuincible truth. Neither in such sort, as silly men ar wont to yelde their mynde in thzaldom to superstitions: but because we vndoubtedly perceiue therein the strength and bzeathing of the diuine maiestie, wherewith we are drawn and stirred to obey, both wittingly and willingly, and yet moze liuely and effectually than mans wil oz wit can attaine. And therefore for good cause doth God cry out by Esay, that the Prophetes wyth the whole people do beare him witness, because being taught by prophecies they did vndoubtedly beleue without guile oz vncertaintie that God himselve had spoken. Such therfore is our perswasion, as requireth no reasons: such is our knowledge, as hath a righte good reason to maintaine it, euen such a one, wherin the minde moze assuredly and stedfastly resteth than vpon any reasons: suche is oure feling, as cannot procede but by reuelacion from heauen. I speake nowe of none other thing but that which euery one of the faithful doth by experiece find in himselve, sauing that my wordes do much want of a full declaratio of it. I leaue here many thinges vnsoken, because there wil be els where againe a conuenient place to entreate of this matter. Onely now let vs know, that onely that is the true faith which the spirite of God doth seale in our hartes. Yea with this onely reason wil the sobze reder and willing to learne, be contented. Esay promeseth, that al the childre of the renewed churche shalbe y scholars of God. A singular priuilege therein doth God vouchsaue to graunt to his elect onely, whom he seuereth from all the rest of mankinde. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a redy cherefulness to heare the voice of God? But God requireth to be heard by the mouth of Moyses, as it is wrytten: say not in thy harte, who shal ascende into heauen, oz who shal descende into the depe: the worde is euen in thine own mouth. If it be the pleasure of God that this treasure of vnderstanding be layed bp in store for hys chyldren, it is no marueil nor vnklikely, that in the common multitude of mē is seent such ignoraunce and dullnesse. The common multitude I call euen the most excellent of them, vntil such time as they be grafted into the bodye of the church. Mozeouer Esay geuing warning that the Prophetes doctrine should seme incredible not onely to straungers but also to the Jewes that would be accompted of the householde of God, addeth this reason: because the arime of God shal not be reueled to al men. So oft therfore as the smallnesse of number of the beleuers doth trouble vs, on the other side let vs call to minde, that none can comprehend the misteries of God but they to whom it is geuen.

Esa. xliii. r

Esa. liiii. r

Deu. xxx. rii.  
Rom. r. vi  
Esa. liii. i



## The.viii.Chapter.

That so farre as mans reason may beare, there are sufficient  
proues to stablyshe the credite of Scripture.



Wesse we haue this assurance, whiche is bothe more excellent and of more force than any iudgement of man, in bayne shall the authozytie of Scripture eyther bee strengthened with argumentes, or stablished with consente of the churche, or confyrmmed with any other meanes of defence. For vnlesse this fundation bee layde, it will remayneth hangynge in doubtte. As on the other syde when emptyng it from the common state of thynges, we haue embraced it deuoutely and accorpyng to the worthynesse of it: then these thynges become very fitte helpes, which befoze were but of small force to graffe and fasten the assurance therof in our myndes. For it is meruaylous, howe greate establichement groweth herof, when with earnest studie we consider howe orderly and well framed a disposition of the diuine wisdom appereth therein, howe heauenly a doctrine in euery place of it, and nothyng sauozng of earthlynnesse, howe beautyful an agreement of all the partes amonge theym selues, and suche other thynges as auayle to procure a maiestie to wrytynges. But more perfectly are oure hartes confirmed when we consyder, howe we are euen violently caried to an admiration of it rather with dignitie of matter, than with grace of woordes. For this also was not done without the singular prouidence of God, that the hye misteries of the heauenly kingdome should for the moste part be vttered vnder a contemptible baseness of woordes, least if it hadde ben beautified with more glozious speache the wicked should caull that the snely force of eloquence doeth reigne therein. But when that rough and in a maner rude simplicitee dooeth rayse by a greater reuerence of it selfe than any rhetozicians eloquence, what may we iudge, but that there is a more myghty strength of truthe in the holpe Scripture, than that it nedeth any art of woordes? Not without cause therefore the Apostle maketh his argument, to proue that the faythe of the Cozinthians was grounded vpon the power of God, i. Coz. ii. iiii. and not vpon mans wysedom, bycause his preachyng among them was set foorth not with enticyng speche of mans wysedom, but in playne euidence of the spirite and of power. For the truthe is then sette free from all doubtynge, when not vpholden by forayne aides it selfe alone suffiseth to susteyne it selfe. But how this power is proprely alone belongyng to the scripture, hereby appereth, that of all the wrytynges of menne, be they neuer so connyngly garnysed, no one is so farre able to pearce our affections. Reade Demosthenes or Cicero, reade Plato, Aristotle, or any other of all that sorte: I graunt they shall meruailously allure, delite, moue, and raiue thee. But if from them thou come to this holy readyng of Scriptures, wylte thou or not, it shall so lynely moue thy affections, it shall so pearce thy hearte, it shall so settle within thy bones, that in comparison of the efficacie of this feelyng, all that force of Rhetozicians and Philozophers shall in maner banyshe awaie: so that it is easy to perceyue that the scriptures, whiche doo farre excell all



gyftes and graces of mans industrie, doo in deede bzeathe oute a certayne diuinitie.

2

I graunt in deede, that som of the Prophetes haue an elegant cleare yea and a beautifull phzase of speche, so as their eloquence geueth not place to the pzophane wziters: and by suche examples it pleased the holy ghost to shewe that he wanted not eloquence, though in the reste he vled a rude and grosse stile. But whether a man reade David, Elsie, and such lyke, who haue a swete and pleasant flowyng speche, oz Amos, the heardman, Hieremie and zacharye, whose rougher talke sauoureth of countrey rudenesse: in euery one of them shall appeare that maies- tie of the holy ghoste that I spake of. Yet am I not ignozant, that as Sathan is in many thynges a counterfai- ter of God, that with deceit- full resemblance he myght the better crepe into simple mens myndes: so hath he craftily spzead abzoade with rude and in maner barbarous speche, those wicked errours wherwith he deceyued sely men, and hath ofte tymes vled discontinued phzases, that vnder suche visour he might hyde his deceites. But he we bayn and vncleanly is that curious coun- terfai- tyng, all men that haue but meane vnderstandyng doo playnely see. As foz the holy scripture, although frowarde men labour to byte at many thynges, yet is it full of suche sentences as coulde not be concey- ued by man. Let all the pzophetes be looked vpon, there shall not one be founde among them, but he hath farre excelled all mans capacitie, in suche sorte that those are to be thought, to haue no iudgement of tast to whome their doctrine is vnsauozie.

Schole-  
men and  
Cano-  
nistes,

3

Other menne haue largely entreated of this argument, wherfoze at this tyme it suffiseth to touche but a fewe thyngs, that chiefly make foz the pzincipall summe of the whole matter. Besyde these poyntes that I haue already towdhed, the very antiquitie of the scripture is of great weight. Foz howe soeuer the Greke wziters tell many fables of the E- gyptian diuinitie: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is farre inferiour to the age of Moyses. And Moyses deuise- th not a newe God, but setteth foozth the same thyng whiche the Israe- lites had receyued in longe processe of tyme, conueyed to them by theyz fathers as it wer from hand to hand concernyng the everlastyng God. Foz what doth he els but labour to cal the barke to the couenaunt made with Abraham. If he had bzought a thyng neuer hearde of before, he had had no entrie to begynne. But it muste nedes be that the deliue- raunce from bondage, wherin they were deteyned, was a thyng well and commonly knowen among them, so that the hearynge of the men- tion thereof dyd foozthwith raise by all their myndes. It is also likely that they were infozmed of the numbze of the. CCC. yeres. Howe is it to be consydered, if Moyses whiche hym selfe by so long distance of tyme was before al other wziters, do from a begynnynng so long before hym selfe fetch the oziginall deliuerance of his doctrine: howe muche the holy scripture then is beyonde all other wzytynges in antiquitie.

4

Unlesse perhappe some liste to belue the Egyptians, that stretche their auncientie to sixe thousand yeres before the creation of the world. But lithe their bayne babbyng hath ben alway scozned even of all the pzophane wziters themselues, there is no cause why I shoulde spende labour in confutyng of it. But Iosephus agaynst Appion, alledge the



testimonies worthy to be remembred out of auncient wryters; whereby  
 may be gathered, that by consent of all nations the doctrine that is in  
 the lawe hath ben famous euen from the fyrst ages; although it were  
 neither redde nor truely knowen. Howe, that neyther there shoulde  
 remaine to the malicious any cause of suspicion; nor to the wicked  
 any occasion to caull, God hath for bothe these daungers provided  
 good remedies. When Moses reherseth what Jacob almoste thre hun-  
 dred yeares befoze had by heauenly inspiration pronounced vppon his  
 owne posteritie, howe dooth he sette forth his owne tribe: yea in the  
 persone of Leui he spotteth it with eternall infamie. *Gen. xliij*  
 Symeon (sayth he) and Leui the vessels of wickednesse. My soule come not into their  
*Gen. xliij*  
 counsell, nor my tong into their secreete. Cruely he myghte haue passed  
 ouer that blot with silence, in so doying not only to please his father; but  
 also not to staine him selfe and his whole family with parte of the same  
 shame. Howe can that wryter be suspected, whiche vncoustrainedly pub-  
 lishing by the oracle of the holy ghost; that the principall auncestor of  
 the familie wherof hymselfe descended was an abhominable doer; nei-  
 ther priuately provided for his owne honoz, nor refused to enter in dis-  
 pleasure of all his owne kynsemen; whom vndoubtedly this matter grie-  
 ued: When also he reherseth the wicked murmuring of Aaron his owne  
*Num. xxi*  
 brother, and Mary his sister: shall we say that he spake after the man-  
 nering of the fleshe, or rather that he wrote it obeyng the commaund-  
 ment of the holy ghoste: Moreouer sithe hymselfe was hyst in autho-  
 ritie, why did he not leaue at least the office of the hye priesthode to his  
 owne sonnes; but appointeth them to the basest place: I touche here  
 onely a fewe thynges of many. But in the lawe it selfe a man that eche  
 where mete with many argumentes that are able to bying full profe to  
 make men beleue that Moses without all question cometh from hea-  
 uen as an Angell of God.

Howe these so many and so notable myracles that he recompteth, as  
 euen as many establismentes of the lawe that he deliuered; and the  
 doctrine that he published. For this that he was caried in a clowde by  
 into the mountayne: that there euen to the fortyeth daye he continued  
 without company of menne: that in the very publishing of the lawe  
 his face dydde shyne as it were besette with sonnebeames: that lighte  
 nynges flashed rounde aboute: that thunders and noyses were heard  
 eche where in the ayre: that a trompette sounded beeing not blown  
 with any mouth of man: that the entrie of the tabernacle by a clowde  
 set betwene was kept fro the sight of y people: that his authoritie was  
 so miraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of Chozai, Da-  
 than and Abiron, and all that wycked faction: that the rocke stryken  
 with a rodde dyd by and by pouze forth a ryuer: that at his prayer it  
 rayned Hanna from heauen: did not God herein commende him from  
 heauen as an vndoubted prophet: If any man obiect agaynst me, that  
 I take these thynges as confessed, whiche are not out of controuersy, it  
 is easy to answer this caullacion. For seyng that Moses in ope assem-  
 bly published all these thynges, what place was there to sayne befoze  
 those witnesses that had themselues sene the thinges done: It is likely  
 forsooth that he wold com amog them, & rebuking the people of infidel-  
 tie, stubboznesse, vnhankfulnesse & other synnes, wold haue voked y his  
 doctrine



doctrine was established in their owne syght with such myzacles, which in deepe they neuer sawe.

6 For this is also woorthy to be noted, so ofte as he telleth of any myzacles, he therewithall odiously ioynech suche thynges as myght stirre the whole people to crye out agaynst hym, if there had been neuer so lytle occasion. Wherby appeareth, that they were by no other meane brought to agree vnto him, but because they were euer moze than sufficiently conuincid by their owne experience. But because the matter was plainlier knowne, than that the prophane coulde deny that myzacles were done by Moses: the father of lying hath mynistred them an other cauillation, sayeng that they were doone by Magicall artes and sozcerie. But what likely profe haue they to accuse him for a sozcerer, whiche so farre abhozred from suche superstition, that he commaundeth to stone him to death, that dooth but aske counsell of sozcerers and soothsaiers? Truly no suche deceiuer bleseth his iugglynge castes, but that he studieth to amase the myndes of the people to get himselve a fame. But what dothe Moses: by this that he crieth out, that himselve and his brother Aaron are nothyng, but dooth onely execute those thynges that God hath appoynted, he dothe sufficiently wipe away all blottes of thinkyng euyll of hym. Nowe if the thynges themselues be considered, what enchantment coulde byyng to passe that Anna dayly raynyng from heauen, should suffice to feede the people: and if any man kept in store moze than his iuste measure, by the very rottyng therof he shuld be taught: y God dyd punishe his want of beleefe: Beside that, with many great proues God suffred his seruant so to be tried, that now the wicked can nothing pzenayle with pratyng agaynst hym. For how oft did somtyme the people proudey and inipudently make insurrections, somtyme dyuers of them conspiryng among them selues wente aboute to ouerthrowe the holy seruant of God: howe coulde he haue begyled their furour with illusions: And the end that folowed plainly sheweth, that by this meane his doctrine was stablished to continue to the ende of all ages.

7 Moreouer where he assigneth the chiefe gouernement to the tribe of Iuda in the persone of the Patriarch Iacob, who can denye that this was doone by spirite of prophetic, specially if we wey in consideration the thyng it selfe, howe in comyng to passe it proued true: Imagine Moses to haue ben the fyrst authoz of this prophetic: yet from the tyme that he dydde fyrste put it in wrytyng, there passed fower hundred yeaeres wherein there was no mencion of the sceptre in the tribe of Iuda. After Saule was consecrate kyng, it semed that the kyngdom shuld rest in the tribe of Beniamyn. When Dauid was annoynted by Samuel, what reason appeared there why the course of inheritance of the kyngdome should be changed: who wold haue looked that there shuld haue come a kyng out of the base house of a herdman: And whē there were in the same house seuen byethzen, who wolde haue sayd that that honour shuld lyght vpon the yongest: By what meane came he to hope to be a kyng: who can say that this annointment was gouerned by any art, trauaile or policie of man, & not rather that it was a fulfillyng of the heauenly prophetic: Lykewise those thynges that Moses afoze speaketh, albeit darkely, concernyng the Gentiles to be adopted into the couenāt of God, seing they came to passe almost two thousand yeres after

Exod. xlii

Leuit. xi.  
Exod. xvi

Gen. xlii

Sam. xi.  
rb.  
Sam. xvi



after, do thei not make it plain that he spake by the inspiration of God. I ouerskippe his other tellynges aforehande of thynges, whiche doo so evidently sauoure of the reuelation of God, that all men that haue their sounde witt may playnely perceiue that it is God that speaketh. To be thozte, that same one song of his, is a clere lookyng glasse, wherin God evidently appeareth.

Deuter  
xxii.

8

But in the other prophetes the same is yet also muche moze plainely seene. I will choose out onely a fewe examples, because to gather them all together were to greate a labour. When in the tyme of Esaie the kyngdom of Iuda was in peace, yea when they thought that the Chaldees were to them some staie and defence, then did Esaie propheticie of the destruction of the citie and exile of the people. But admirte that, yet this was no token playne enough of the instinct of God, to tell longe befoze of suche thinges as at that tyme semed false, and afterward proved true: yet those prophesies that he vttereth concernyng their deliuerance, whene shall we saye that they proceeded but from God? He nameth Cyzus by whom the Chaldees shoulde be subdued, and the people restozed to libertie. There passed moze than a hundzed yeares from the tyme that Esaie so propheticied befoze that Cyzus was bozne: for Cyzus was bozne in the hundzeth yeare oz theraboutes after the deathe of Esaie. No man coulde then gesse that there shoulde bee any suche Cyzus, that shoulde haue warre with the Babylonians, that shoulde bzyng subiecte so myghtie a monarchie vnder his dominion, and make an ende of the exile of the people of Israell. Dooth not this bare tellynge without any garnishment of woordes evidently shewe, that the thynges that Esaie speaketh, are the vndoubted ozacles of God, and not the coniectures of men? Againe, when Jeremie a litle befoze that the people was caried awaie, didde determine the ende of the captiuitie within thyzecore and tenne yeares, and promised returne and libertie, muste it not needes bee that his tongue was gouerned by the spirite of God? What shamelesnesse shall it bee to denye, that the credite of the prophetes was stablISHED by suche proues, and that the same thyng was fulfilled in dede, whiche thei theim selues doo repozte to make their sayenges to bee beleued? Beholde, the former thynges are come to passe, and newe thinges doo I declare: befoze thei come forth, I tell you of them. I leaue to speake howe Hieremie and Ezechuell beeynge so farre asonder, yet propherynge bothe at one tyme, they so agreed in all theyz sayenges as if eyther one of theym hadde endyted the woordes for the other to write. What did Daniell? Dooth he not write continuyng prophesies of thynges to come for the space of sire hundzed yeares after, in suche sozte as if he hadde compyled an hystozy of thynges already doon and commonly knowen? These thynges if godly men haue well consydered, they shall bee sufficiently well furnished, to appease the barkynges of the wycked. For the playne prooffe hereof is to cleare to be subiect to any cauillations at all.

Esa. xli  
i.Jer. xxi  
ii.

Esa. xli

I knowe what some learned men doo prate in corners, to shewe the quicknesse of their witte in assaltynge the truthe of God. For they demande, who hath assured vs that these thynges whiche are redde vnder title of their names, were euer wrytten by Moses & the prophetes. Yea, they are so hardy to moue this question, whether euer there were



any suche Moses or no. But if a manne shoulde calle in doubtte whe-  
ther euer there were any Plato, or Aristotle, or Cicero, who would not  
saye, that suche madnesse were woorthye to bee corrected with strokes  
and strypes: The lawe of Moses hath been meruaylously preser-  
ued rather by heauenlye prouidence then by diligence of menne. And  
thowgh by the negligence of the Priesttes it laye buried a lyttell while:  
yet syng the tyme that the godly kynge Josias founde it, it hath still by  
continuall succession from age to age ben bsd in the handes of men.  
Neyther did Josias bynng it foorthe as an vnknowen or newe thyng,  
but suche a thyng as hadde ben ever commonly published, and wher-  
of the remembrance was at that tyme famous. The originall booke it  
selfe was appoynted to be sacredly kepte in the temple, and a copy writ-  
ten out thereof, to remayne with the keepers of the kynges Records.  
Oney this had happened, that the priesttes had ceassed to publyshe the  
lawe accordyng to the olde accustomed maner, and the people them sel-  
ues had neglected theyr wonted readyng of it. Yea there in maner pas-  
sed no age wherin the establisshment therof was not confirmed and re-  
newed: They that had Dauid in their handes, knew they not of Moses:  
But to speake of thē al at ones, it is most certayn y their wrytings came  
to posteritie none otherwise but from hand to hand (as I may terme it)  
by continual orderly course of yeres deliuered from their fathers, which  
had partly heard them speake, and partly while the remembrance was  
freshe of it, dyd lerne of them which herd them that they had so spoken.

10  
1. Pac. f.  
ff. Pa. f.  
ff.

As for that whiche they object out of the hystorie of the Machabees,  
to mynche the credite of scripture, it is suche a thyng as nothyng can  
be deuised moze fitte to stablishe the same. But first lette vs wipe away  
the colour that they lay vpon it, and then let vs turne vpon them selues  
the engine that they raise vp agaynst vs. When Antiochus (saye they)  
commaunded all the bookes to be bourned, whense are come these co-  
pies that we nowe haue: On the other side I aske them, in what shop  
they could so sone be made: It is euident, that after the crueltie appeased  
they were immediatly abzode agayn, & were without controuerly kno-  
wen to be the same of ail godly men, that hauyng ben brought vp in the  
doctrine of them dyd familiarly knowe them. Yea when all the wicked  
men beyng as it wer conspired togyther, dyd insolently triumphe with  
reproches vpo the Jewes, yet neuer was there any y durst lay to their  
charge false changyng of their bokes. For what soeuer they thynke  
the Jewes religion to be, yet still they thinke Moses to be the authour  
of it. What then do these praters els, but bewraie their owne moze then  
doggysh frowardenesse, while they falsely saie that these bookes are  
chaunged, and newe put in their places, whose sacred antiquitie is ap-  
proued by consente of all hystories: But to spende no moze labour  
vainely in confutyng suche foolish cauillations: let vs rather hereby  
consyder howe great a care God had for the preservation of his worde,  
when beyonde the hope of all men, he saued it from the outrage of the  
moste cruell tyrant, as out of a present fyre: that he endewed the god-  
ly priesttes and other with so greate constancie, that they sticke not to  
redeeme this booke euen with losse of theyr lyfe if nede were, and so  
to conuey it ouer to posteritie: that he disappoynted the narrow searche  
of so many governours and souldiours. Who can but acknowledge the



the notable and myraculous woozke of God, that these sacred monuments whych the wycked beryly thought to haue bene vtterly destroyed, by and by came abzoade agayne as fully restozed, and that with a greate deale moze honour. For by and by folowed the translatinge of theim into Greke, to publyshe theim thzoughout the worlde. And not in thys onely appeared the myraculous woozkyng, that God pzeserued the tables of his couenaut from the bloudy proclamations of Antiochus: but also that among so manyfold miserable afflictions of the Jewes, wherewith the whole nation was sometyme wozne to a fewe and wasted, and laste of all, bzought in maner to vtter destruction, yet they remayned styll safe and extant. The Hebzue tongue lay not onely vnesteemed, but almoste vnknowen. And surely hadde not been Goddes pleasure to haue his religion pzouyded for, it hadde peryshed altogether. For howe muche the Jewes that were since theyz retourne from exile, were swarued from the naturall vse of theyz mother tongue, appeareth by the Pzophetes, that lyued in that age, whych is therefore woozthy to bee noted, because by this comparyson the antiquitie of the lawe and the pzophetes is the moze playnely perceyued. And by whome hathe God pzeserued for vs the doctrine of saluation conteyned in the lawe and the pzophetes, to the ende that Chziste myghte in his appoynted tyme bee openly shewed: euen by the moste cruelly bente enemyes of Chziste, the Jewes, whome Saincte Augustine doothe therefore woozthlye calle the keepers of the Libzarye of Chzistian Churche, because they haue mynystred vnto vs that thyng, to reade wherof, theimselues haue no vse.

Nowe if we comme to the newe Testamente, with howe sounde pyllers is the trueth thereof vpholden: The thzee Euangelistes wyrite the hystozie in base and symple speche. Manye proude menne dooe lothe that symplitie, because they take no heede to the chiefe poyntes of doctrine therein, whereby it were easie to gather, that they entreate of heauenly mysteries aboue mannes capacitie. Surely who so euer haue but one droppe of honest shame will be ashamed yf they rede the fyfste chapiter of Luke. Nowe, the sermons of Chziste, the summe whereof is shortly comprised by these thzee Euangelistes, dooe easly delyuer theyz wzytynges from all contempte. But Jhon thunderynge from on hys, those whome he compelleth not to obedience of faythe, he thzoweth downe their stubbournesse moze myghtily than any thunderbolt. Nowe let come foozth all these charpused faultfinders, that haue a great pleasure to shake the reuerence of scripture oute of theyz owne and other mens heartes, let them reade Johns gossell: Will they or no, they shall there fynde a thousande sentences that may at leaste awaken their sluggishenes, yea that may pzinte a horrible bzande in theyz consciences to restrayne their lawghyng. The same is to bee thought of Peter and Paul, in whose wzytynges although the moze part be blynd, yet the bery heauenly maiestie in them holdeth all men bounde, and as it were faste tyed vnto it. But this one thyng doth sufficiently aduance their doctrine aboue the worlde, that Mathew being befoze al geuen to the gaine of his money boozde, Peter & Jhon bzought by in their fisher boates, all grosse vnlearned men, had learned nothyng in mens schoole that they myghte deliuer to other. Paule, not onely from a professed,



but also from a cruell and blouddy ennemy conuerted to a newe man, with sodayne and vnhoped chaunge dothe shewe, that beyng compelled by heauenly authozitie he nowe maynteyneth that doctrine, whiche before he had fought agaynst. Nowe lette these dogges denye, that the holy ghoste came downe vpon the Apostles, or lette theym discredite the hystozie: yet styll the truthe it selfe openly crieth out, that they were taughte by the holye ghoste; whyche beyng before tyme despised men amonge the raskall people, sodaynly began so gloziously to entreate of heauenly mysteries.

12 There bee yet also furthemoze many very good reasons, why the consente of the churche shoulde not be esteemed without weyght. For it is to be accompted no smalle matter, that syns the scripture was first publyshed, the wylles of so many ages haue constantly agreed to obey it. And that howe soeuer Sathan with all the worlde hath traauayled by meruaylous meanes, eyther to oppresse it, or ouerthrowe it, or bttely to blotte and deface it oute of mennes remembraunce, yet euer styl like a palme tree, it hath rysen bp aboue, and remayned inuincible. For there hath not lyghtly ben in olde tyme any sophister or Rhetorician that had any moze excellent witte than other, but he hath bente his foze agaynst this scripture: yet they all haue nothyng preuayled. The whole power of the earthe hath armed it selfe to destroye it, and yet all their enterpryses are banished away, as in smoke. Nowe coulde it haue resysted beyng so myghtyly on eche syde assayled, yf it hadde had none other defence but mannes: yea rather it is hereby proued, that it came from God hymselfe, that all the traauayles of men stryuyng agaynst it, yet it hath of het owne power styl rysen bp. Besyde that, not one cite alone, nor one onely nation hath agreed to receiue and embrace it: but so farre as the worlde extendeth in lengthe and breadth, the scripture hath atteyned her credite, by one holye conspiracie of diuers nations, whiche otherwyle were in nothyng agreable one with an other. And forasmuche as suche agreement of myndes so dyuers and disagrepyng in maner in all thynges elles, ought muche to moue vs, because it appeareth, that the same is brought about none other way, but by woorkyng of the heauenly maiestie: no smalle estimation groweth vnto it, when we beholde theyr godlynesse, that doo so agree. I meane not of them all, but onely of those, with whom as with lyghtes it pleased God to haue his churche to shyne.

13 Nowe with what assurednesse of mynde ought we to submitte vs to that doctrine whiche we see stablshed and witnessed with the bloude of so manye holye menne? They when they hadde but ones receaued it, stiked not boldely without feare, yea and with greate cherefulnesse to dye for it: howe shoulde it then come to passe, that wee, hauyng it conueyed to vs with suche an assured pledge, shoulde not with certayn and vnmouable perswasion take holde of it? It is therfoze no small confirmation of the scripture, that it hath ben sealed with the bloud of so many witnesses, specially when we consider that they suffred deth to beare witness of their faith: and not of a frenitike distemperance of bzyne, as somtyme the erronious spirites are wont to do, but with a firme and constant and yet sobze zeale of God. There be other reasons and those not fewe nor weake, whereby the Scripture hath her dignitie and ma-  
iestie,



testie not onely ascertyned vnto godly hartes, but also honourably defended agaynst the subtilties of cauillers, yet be they suche as be not of them selues sufficiently auaylable to byng stedfast credite vnto it, vntill the heauenly father disclosyng therein his maiestie, doothe byng the reuerence therof out of all controuersie. Wherfoze then only the scripture shall suffice to that knowledge of God that byngeth saluation, when the certayntie therof shall be grounded vpon the inwarde perswasion of the holy gholste. So those testimonies of men that serue to confirme it shall not be vaine, if as seconde healpes of our weaknesse they folowe that chiefe and best testimonie. But they doo fondly that will haue it perswaded by proofoe to the vnfaithfull, that the scripture is the woorde of God, whiche can not be knowen but by faith. For good reason therfoze dooth Augustine geue warnyng, that godlynesse and peace of mynde ought to go befoze, to make a man vnderstande somewhat of so greate matters.

De villo  
tate crea  
dendi.

### The. ix. Chapter.

That those fanaticall men, which forsakyng scripture, resoꝛt vnto reuelation, doo ouerthrowe all the principles of godlynesse.



**M**owe they that forsaking the Scripture doo imagine I wote not what wase to attayne vnto God, are to bee thought not so muche to be holden with errour, as to be caried with rage. For there haue arisen of late certain giddy brained men, whiche moste pꝛesumptuously pꝛetendyng a schoole of the spirite, bothe them selues doo forsake all readyng, and also doo scoꝛne their simplicitie whiche still folowe the dead and slaying letter, as they call it. But I would sayne knowe of these men, what spirite that is, by whose inspiration they are caried by so hie, that they dare despise the doctrine of the scripture as chylidische and base. For yf they answer that it is the spirite of Christ, then suche carelesnesse is woꝛthye to bee laughed at. For I thynke they will graunte, that the Apostles of Christe and other faithfull in the primitiue churche were lightned with none other spirite. But none of them dyd learne of that spirite to despise the woꝛde of God: but rather euery one was moued moze to reuerence it; as their wrytynges doo most playnly witnesse. And surely so was it foꝛetold by the mouthe of Esai. For where he saythe, My spirite that is vpon thee, and my woꝛdes whiche I haue putte in thy mouthe, shall not departe oute of thy mouthe, noꝛ oute of the mouthe of thy seede for euer: he dooth not bynde the olde people to the outwarde doctrine as though they were sette to learne to spelle, but rather he teacheth, that this shall be the true and perfecte felicitie of the newe churche vnder the reigne of Christe, that it shall no lesse be ledde by the voyce of God, than by the spirite of god. Wherby we gather, that these lewde menne with wycked sacrilege dooe seuer asunder those thynges that the Prophete hath ioyned with an inuioleable knotte.

Esa. lxx.  
xvi.



into the thyrde heauen, yet ceassed not to goe forwarde in the doctrine  
 of the law and the Prophetes, euen so as he exhorteth Timothe, a do-  
 ctour of singular excellence to apply reaydng. And worzhie is that com-  
 mendation to be remembred, wherwith he setteth foozthe the scripture,  
 sayeng, that it is profytable to teache, to admonyssh and to reprove,  
 that the seruantes of God maye bee made perfecte. Howe dyuelyshe a  
 madnesse is it to fayne, that the vse of scripture is but transitozpe, and  
 lasteth but for a whyle, whiche in dede gypdeth the chyldren of God e-  
 uen to the laste ende: Agayne, I woulde haue them answer me this:  
 whether they haue tasted of an other spirite than that, whiche the Lord  
 promysed to his disciples. Althoughe they be bered with extreme mad-  
 nesse, yet I thynke they are not caryed with suche gyddinesse, that they  
 dare so boast. But what maner of spirite dyd he speake of in his pro-  
 mise: euen that spirite whiche shoulde not speake of it selfe, but shulde  
 mynister and inspire into their myndes those thynges whych he the  
 Lord hymselfe hadde taught by his woorde. It is not therfoze the of-  
 fice of the spirite whych is promised vs, to fayne newe and vnhearde  
 of reuelations, oz to coyne a newe kynde of doctrine, wherby we shuld  
 be led from the receiued doctrine of the gossell, but to seale in our min-  
 des the selfe same doctrine that is commended vnto vs by the gossell.

2  
 Wherby we playnly vnderstand, that we ought right studiously to ap-  
 ply the redyng & hearyng of the scripture, if we list to take any vse and  
 fruite of the spirite of God. As also Peter praiseth their diligence that  
 are hedefull to the doctrine of the Prophetes, which yet myght seme to  
 haue geuen place after the risyng of the light of the gossell. On the o-  
 ther syde yf any spirite leauynge the wysedome of the worde of God  
 doth thrust vnto vs an other doctrine, that the same spirite ought right-  
 fully to be suspected of vanitie and lyenge. For what: when Sathan  
 transfozmeth hymselfe into an aungell of lyght, what credite shall the  
 holy ghooste haue among vs, if it be not seuerally knowen by some assu-  
 red marke: And truely it hath been playnly poynted oute vnto vs by  
 the woorde of the Lord, but that these miserable men doo wyllyngly  
 couete to erre to their owne destruction, while thei seeke a spirite rather  
 from them selues than from him. But (say they) it is dishonozable, that  
 the spirite of God, whom all thynges ought to obey, shoulde be subiect to  
 the scripture. As if this were a dishonour to the holy ghost to be eue-  
 ry where egall and lyke to it selfe, to agree with it self in all thynges, and  
 no where to varye. In dede if it were to be tried by the rule either of  
 men, oz of angels, oz any others rule whatsoeuer, then it myght well  
 be thought, that it were brought into obedience, oz if ye lyst so to terme  
 it, into bondage. But when it is compared with it selfe, when it is  
 consydered in it selfe, who canne therfoze say, that there is any wrong  
 doone vnto it: But thus it is brought to tryall. I graunte, but suche  
 a triall wherewith it was his owne pleasure to haue his maicstie esta-  
 blished. It ought to content vs so soone as he entreth into vs. But lest  
 vnder his name the spirite of Sathan shoulde creepe in, he wylle haue  
 vs to knowe hym by that image of hym selfe, whych he hath prin-  
 ted in the scriptures. He is the authour of the scriptures: he can not be  
 dyuers and vnylike hym selfe. Therefore it muste needes bee, that he  
 contynually remayne suche as he hath shewed hym selfe therein.



This is no dishonour vnto him, vnlesse perhappe we count it honozable to swarue and goe out of kinde from himselfe.

Wheras they cauil þ we rest vpon þ letter þ sleieth, herein they suffer punishment for despising of the Scripture. For it is plain enough that Paule there contendeth against the false Apostles, which commending the law without Christ did cal alway the people from the benefite of the new testament, wherin the Lord doth couenant that he will graue his law within the bowels of the faithfull, and write it in their hartes. The letter therfore is dead, and the law of the Lord killeth the readers of it, when it is seuered from the grace of Christ, and, not touching þ heart, only soundeth in the eares. But if it be effectually printed in our hartes by the holy ghost, if it present Christ vnto vs: then is it the worde of life, conuerting soules, geuing wise dome to little ones. &c. Also in the same place the Apostle calleth his preaching the ministerie of the holy ghost: meaning that þ holy ghost doth so sticke fast in his truth which he hath expressed in the scriptures, that then only he putteth forth and displaith his force, when the Scripture hath her due reuerence and dignitie. And it disagreeth not herewith which I befoze said, that the woorde it selfe is not much assured vnto vs, vnlesse it be confirmed by the witnesse of the holy ghost. For with a certain mutuall knot the Lorde hath coupled together the assurance of his worde and of his spirite, so that perfecte reuerence to the worde doth then settle in our mindes when the holy ghost shineth vpon vs to make vs therein beholde the face of God: and on the other side without al feare of being deceiued we do embrace the holy ghost when we reknowledge him in his own image, that is in his worde. Thus it is vndoubtedly: God brought not abzode his worde among men for a sodeine shewe, meaning at the comming of his spirite by and by to take it away againe, but he after sent the same spirite with whose power he had distributed his word, to make an end of his worke with effectual confirmation of his worde. In this sorte Christe opened the mindes of the two disciples, not that they should cast away þ Scriptures and ware wise of themselves, but that they should vnderstand the Scriptures. Likewise Paule when he exhorteth the Thessalonians not to extinguishe the spirite, doth not carry them vp on hie to baine speculations without the worde, but by and by saith further, that prophesies are not to be despised: wherby without dout is meant, that the lighte of the spirite is choked by so sone as prophesies come to be despised. What say these proudly swelling me, raniished with the spirite, to these things, which reckon this onely to be an excellent illumination, when carelesly forsaking and saying farewell to the word of God, they both boldly and rashly do take holde of al that they haue coeined in their slepe. Truely a farre other sobrietie becommeth the children of God: whiche as they see that without the spirite of God they are boide of al light of tructh, so do they knowe that the worde is the instrumente wherwith the Lorde distributeth to the faithfull the light of his spirite. For they know none other spirite but that which dwelte and spake in the Apostles, by whose oracles they are continually called to the hearyng of the worde.

C. b.

The

3

ii. Cor. iiii.  
vi.ii. cor. iiii.  
viii.A. u. r. llii  
xxvii.

l. the. v. r. p.



Of the Knowvledge of  
The .x. Chapter.

That the Scripture, to correct all superstition, doth in comparison  
set the true God against al the Gods of the gentiles, reckning by m  
foz none of them.



But because we haue shewed, that the knowledg of  
God which in the frame of the world and al the crea-  
tures is somewhat plainly set fozt, is yet moze famili-  
arly and plainly declared in the worde: now is it good  
to consider, whether the Lord shew himselfe suche in  
the Scripture as it pleased him first to be represented  
in his workes. But I shall at this time be contented  
only to point vnto it, wherby the godly mindes being adimonished may  
know what is chesely to be searched in the Scriptures cōcerning God,  
and be directed to one certain marke in their seeking. I do not yet touch  
the peculiar couenaunte, wherby God seuered the stocke of Abraham  
from other nations. For euen then he appeared the redemer in recey-  
uing to his childzen by free adopcion those that befoze were ennemies.  
But we ar yet about that knowledg that resteth in the creation of the  
world and ascendeth not to Christ the mediatur. And although by and  
by it shalbe good to allege certaine places oute of the newe testament,  
fozasmuch as eyen out of it both the power of God the creator and his  
prouidence in preseruing of the first nature is approued, yet I warne  
the readers befoze, what is now my purpose to do, to the ende that they  
passe not the appointed boundes. So for this present, let it suffice vs to  
learne, how God the maker of heauen and earth doth gouerne þ world  
by him created. Euery where is renomed both his fatherly bountie and  
enclined wil to do good, and there are also examples rehearsed of hys  
seueritie, which shew him to be a righteous punisher of wicked doinges;  
specially where his sufferance nothing preuaileth with the obstinate.

In certain places are set fozt moze plaine descriptions wherin his  
natural face is as in an image represented to be seen. For in the place  
where Moses describeth it, it semeth that his meanyng was shortly to  
comprehende al that was lawful for men to vnderstande of God. The  
lord (sayeth he) the Lord, a mercifull God, & gracious, patiente and of  
much mercy, and true, whych kepest mercy, vnto thousandes which tak-  
kest a way iniquitie and wycked doinges, befoze whom the innocent  
shal not be innocent, which rendrest the wyckednesse of the fathers to  
the childzen and childzens childzen. Where let vs marke, that his eterni-  
tie and being of himselfe is expessed in the twise repeting of that ho-  
norable name: and that then his vertues are rehearsed, in which is des-  
cribed vnto vs, not what he is in respect to hymselfe, but what a one he  
is towarde vs: that thys knowledg of hym maye rather stande in a  
lively feling, than in an empty and supernatural speculation. And here  
we do heare recited those vertues of hys which we noted to shine in the  
heauen and earth, that is to say, clemēcie, bountie, mercy, iustice, iudge-  
ment and truth. For myght and power are corteyned vnder this name  
Elohim God. Wyth the same names of addition doe the Prophetes set  
him



him forth when they meane fully to paint out his holy name. But, because I would not heape bp to many examples together, at this presēt let one Psalmē suffice vs, wherin the summe of al his vertues is so exactly reckened bp, that nothing can seme to be omitted. And yet is nothing there rehearsed, but that which we may beholde in his creatures. So plainly do we perceiue God by inforzacion of experyēce, to be such as he declareth himselve in hys worde. In Jeremy where he pronounceth, what a one he would haue vs knowe hym to be, he setteth forth a description not altogether so full, but yet comming all to one effecte. He that glozypeth, saith he, let him glozy in this that he knoweth me to bee the Lord that do mercy, iustice, and iudgemente on the earth. Surelpe these thre things are very necessary for vs to knowe: mercy, in which alone consisteth al our saluacion: Iudgement, which is darly executed vpon euil doers, and moze greuous is prepared for them to eternal destruction: Justice, wherby the faithful are preserved and most tenderly cherished. Which thinges when thou hast conceiued, the prophēcy saith thou hast sufficiently enough wherof thou maiest glozy in God. And yet here are not omitted either his trueth or his power, or his holinesse or goodnesse. For how should the knowledge stand sure which is here required of his iustice, mercy and iudgement, vlesse it did rest vpon hys vnmouable truth: And how should we beleue that he doeth gouerne the earth with iustice and iudgement, but vnderstandyng hys power: And whense commeth his mercy but of his goodnesse: If then all his waies be mercy, iudgement and iustice, in them must holinesse also nedes bee seen. And to none other ende is directed that knowledge of God that is set forth vnto vs in the Scriptures, than is that knowledge also which appeareth emprinted in his creatures, that is to say: it first moueth vs to the feare of God, and then to put confidence in hym, to the ende we may learne first to honoz him with perfect innocency of lyfe and vnfained obedience, and then to hang altogether vpon hys goodnesse.

But here I meane to gather a summe of generall doctrine. And first let the readers note, that the Scripture to the ende to direct vs to the true God, doth expzessly exclude and cast away al the gods of y genziles, because commonly in a manner in al ages religion hath ben corrupted. True it is in dede that the name of one God was euerye where known and renomed. For euen they that worshipped a great number of gods, so oft as they did speake accordyng to y proper sense of nature, they simply bled the singular name of God as if they were contented with one God alone. And thys was wisely marked by Justine y Martyr, which for thys purpose made a boke of the Monarchie of god, wher by many testimonies he sheweth that thys, that there is but one god, was engrauen in the hartes of al men. The same thyng also doth Tertulliane proue by the common phzase of speche. But forasmuche as all without exception are by their own banitie either drabwen or fallen to false forged deuises, and so their senses are become bayne, therefore all that euer they naturally vnderstode of the beeing but one god, auayled no further but to make them inrecusable. For euē the wisest of them do plainly shewe the wandering erroz of theyz mynde, when they wyshe some god to assist them, and so in theyz prayers do cal vpon vncertayne gods. Moreouer in this that they imagined god to haue many natures

Psa. cxi b  
iii.Jere. vi.  
xiii.



although they thought somewhat lesse absurdely than the rude people did of Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Minerva and other: yet were they not free from the deceites of Satan, and as we haue already sayed els where, whatsoeuer wayes of escape the Philosophers haue suttelly inuented, they cannot purge themselves of rebellio but that they all haue corrupted the trueth of god. For thys reason, Habacuc after he had condemned all idols biddeth to seke God in hys own temple, that the faythfull should not admyt hym to be any other than such as he had disclosed him selfe by hys worde.

Haba. ii.

The. xi. Chapter.

That it is vnlawfull to attribute vnto God a visibill forme, and that generally they forsake God, so many as do erect to themselves any images.



As the Scripture prouiding for the rude & grosse wit of man bleseth to speake after the common maner: so when it meaneth to make seuerally knowen the true God from the false gods, it chiefely compareth him with idols: not that it doth allowe these inuencions that are moze suttelly and finely taughte by the Philosophers, but the plainlier to disclose the folishnesse of the world, yea rather their madnesse in sekyng God so long as they cleaue euery one to their own imaginations. Therfore that exclusive definition whych we commonly heare, byngeth to nought all that maner of Godhead that men frame to themselves by their own opinion, because God hymselfe is the only conueniente witnesse of hymselfe. In the meane tyme, sith thys brutish grossenesse hath possessed y whole world, to couet visibill shapess of God, and so to forge themselves Gods of timber, stone, golde, siluer, and other dead and corruptible matter; we ought to holde thys prynciple, that wyth toycked falshode the glozpe of God is corrupted so oft as any shape is fained to represent him. Therfore God in the law, after he had once chalenged the glozpe of hys deitie to hymselfe alone, meaning to teache vs what maner of worshipping him he alloweth or refuseth, addeth immediatly: Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, noz any similitude, in which woordes he restraineth our libertie, that we attempt not to represent him w any visibill image. And there he shortly reckneth by all the formes wherwith of long tyme befoze, supersticion had begon to turne his trueth into lryng. For we know that the Persians worshipped the sonne, yea and so many starres as the folish nations saw in the skie, so many goddes they fained them. And scarce was there any liuing creature whiche was not among the Egyptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wyser than the rest, because they worshipped God in the shap of a manne. But God compareth not images one with an other, as though one wer moze and an other lesse mete to be bled, but withoute any exception he reiecteth all images, pictures and other signes, wherby y superstitious thought to haue God nere vnto them.

Ex. xx. iiii

Maximus Tirus  
us plato-  
nicus ser-  
mone.  
xx. viii.

2

Deu. iii. f  
iii. 1b.

This is easy to be gathered by the reasons whiche he ioyneth to the prohibition. first with moyses. Remember that the Lord hath spoken to thee

thee



thee in the vale of Horeb. Thou heardest a voice, but thou sawest no body. Therfoze take hede to thy selfe, least peradventure thou be deceiued and make to thy selfe any likenesse. &c. We see how openly God setteth his voice against all counterfaite shapes, that we may knowe that they forsake God whosoever do couet to haue visibill formes of hym. Of the Prophetes onely Esay shalbe enough whiche speaketh ofte and much herof, to teache that the maiestie of god is defiled with vncome and folishe counterfaying, when he beeyng without body is likened to bodily mater: being inuisible, to a visibill image: being a spirit, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a smal lompe of timber, stone or golde. In like manner reasoneth Paule: For asmuch as we are the generation of god, we ought not to thinke that the godhead is lyke vnto golde, or siluer or stone grauen by art and the inuention of mā. Whereby it certainly appeareth, whatsoeuer images are erected or pictures painted to expresse the shape of god, they simply displeas hym as certaine dishonors of his maiestie. And what maruel is it if the holy ghost do thonder out these oracles from heauen, sith he compelleth the verye wretched and blinde idolaters themselves to confesse this in earth? It is knowne how Seneca complained as it is to reade in Augustine. They dedicate (saith he) the holy immortall and inuolable gods in most vile and base stufte, and put vpon them the shapes of men and beastes, and some of them with kinde of man and woman mingled together, & with sondry shapen bodyes, and such they call gods whiche if they shoulde receiue breath and mete them would be reckened monsters. Whereby agayne plainly appeareth, that it is a fonde cauillation wherewith the defenders of images seke to escape, which say that the Jewes were forbidden images, because they were inclinable to superstition. As though that thyng perteyned to one nation onely which god byngeth forth of hys eternall being and the contynuall order of nature. And Paule spake not to the Jewes but to the Athenienses when he confuted theyr erroze in counterfayting a shape of god.

God in dede. I graunt, somtyme in certayne sygnes hath geuen a presence of hys godhed, so as he was sayed to be beholden face to face, but all these sygnes that euer he shewed dyd aptly serue for meanes to teache, and wythall dyd playnly admonishe men of an incomprehensible essence. For the cloude and smoke and flame, although they wer tokens of the heauenly glozy, yet did they as it were bridle and restraine the mindes of mā that they should not attempt to passe any further. Wherefoze not Moses himself, to whom God disclosed himselfe most familiarly in comparison of other, obtained by prayer to see that face, but receyued this answer that man is not able to susteine so great brightnesse. The holy ghost appeared vnder the lykenesse of a doue, but sith he immediately banished away, who doeth not see that by that toke of so short a continuance of a moment the faithful are put in minde that they ought to beleue him to be an inuisible spirite, that holding them contented with his vertue & grace, they should make him no outward shape. This, that God appeared somtymes in forme of a man, was a foreshewing of the reueling that was to be made of him in Christ. And therefore it was not lawfull for the Jewes to abuse this pretense to erect to themselves a representation of the godhead in the shape of man. Also the

Esai. xl.  
xviii.  
et. xli. vii. &  
xlv. ix. et.  
xlv. b.  
Acte. xviii.  
xxix.

Li. vi. de  
cui. dei.  
cap. x

Deu. lxxx.  
xi.

Exod. xxx.  
iii. xiii.

Mat. iii.  
xvi.



the mercy seate wherin God shewed forth the presence of his power in the time of the law, was so made as it might teache that the best beholding of the godhead is this, when mens mindes are caried beyond them selues with administracion of it. For the Cherubins with their winges stretched abrod did couer it, the veile did hide it, and the place it selfe being set faire inwarde did of it selfe sufficiently kepe it secrete. Therefore it is very plaine that they be very mad that goe aboute to defende the images of God & of Saintes with y<sup>e</sup> example of these Cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant these litle images, but to shewe that images are not mete to represent the misteries of God: sozasmuch as they were made for this purpose, that hiding the mercy seate with their winges they should not onely kepe backe the eies of man, but also all his senses from the beholding of God, and so to correct his rash hardinesse. For this purpose maketh it that the Prophetes described the Seraphins shewed them in vision, with their face vncovered: wherby they signifie, that so great is the brightnesse of the glozve of God that the Angelles themselues are kept from direct beholding it, and the smal sparkes thereof that shine in the Angels are withdravven from our eies. Although yet so many as rightly iudge, doe acknowledge that the Cherubins of whom we now speake, pertained onely to the olde maner of introduction as it were of children bled in the law. So to draw them now for an example to our age, is an absurditie. For that childish age, as I may so terme it, is passed, for the which such rudimentes were appointed. And it is much shame, that the painine writers are better expounders of the law of God than the Papistes are. Iuuenale reprocheth the Jewes as it were in scozme that they honoz the white cloudes and the deitie of the heauen. I graunt he speaketh peruerfly and wickedly: and yet he speaketh moze truely in saying that they haue among them no image of God, than y<sup>e</sup> papistes do which prate y<sup>e</sup> they had a visible image of god. And whereas that people with a certaine hote hastinesse, brake out oftentimes to seke them idols, euen as waters out of a great frethe spring boile out with violēt forze: herby rather let vs learne how great is the inclination of our nature to idolatry, least throwing vpon the Jewes the blame of that fault which is common to al, we slepe a deadly slepe vnder baine allurementes to sinne.

4

To the same purpose serueth this saying. The idols of the gentiles are golde and siluer, euen the woorkes of mens handes. Because the Prophete doth gather of the stufte it selfe, that they are no gods y<sup>e</sup> haue a golden oz siluer image: and he taketh it for confessed truth, y<sup>e</sup> it is a foolish fained inuencion whatsoever we conceiue of our own sense concerning God. He nameth rather golde and siluer than clay oz stone, y<sup>e</sup> the beautie oz the price should not serue to bryng a reuerence to idols. But he concludeth generally that nothing is lesse allowable, than gods to be made of ded stufte. And in the meane while he standeth as much vpon this point, that men are caried awaye with to mad a rashnesse, whyche themselues bearyng about with them but a borrowed breath, ready to vanish away at euery moment, yet dare geue the honoz of God to idols. Man must nedes confesse that himselfe is but a creature of a daies continuance, and yet he will haue a pece of metall to be compted God to which himselfe gaue the beginning to be a God. For whense came the beginning

Ero. xv.  
vii.

Esa. xl. ii.

psa. cxv. b.  
c. xiii. b. xv



beginning of idols but from the will of mē: Very lustly doeth the heathē poēt geue them this taunt:

I was somtime a fig tree log, a blocke that serued for nought:

The workeman doubted what of me were fittest to be wrought:

A fourne to sit vpon, or els a Priap God to be.

At length he thought the better was a God to make of mē.

Horat  
serm. i.  
sat. viii

Forsoth an earthly silly mā that breatheth out his own life in maner every moment, by his workmanship that conuey the name and honour of God to a dead stocke. But forasmuch as Epicure in scoffingly iesting hath cared for no religion, let vs leaue the tauntes of him and suche as he is, and let the rebuking of the Prophete pricke vs or rather thruſte vs throught where he sayeth, that they are to much beastly witted that with one selfe pece of wood do make a fier and warme themselves, doe heate the ouen to bake bread, do rost or sethe flesh, and do make them a God befoze which they fal down humbly to pray. Therfoze in an other place he doeth not onely accuse them by the law, but also doth reproche them that they haue not learned of the fundaciōs of the earth: for that there is nothyng lesse conuenient than to bryng God to the measure of spue fote which is aboue all measure and incomprehenſible. And yet thys same monstrous thyng which manifestly repugneth agaynſte the order of nature, custome sheweth to be naturall to men. We must moreouer holde in minde, that superstitions are in Scripture commonly rebuked in thys phrase of speache, that they are y<sup>e</sup> workes of mens hande which want the authozitie of God: that thys may be certayne, that all these maners of worshipping that men do deuise of them selues are detestable. The Prophete in the Psalme doeth amplife the madnesse of them that therfoze are endued wyth vnderstandyng, that they shoulde know that al thynges are moued with the only power of God, and yet they pray for helpe to thinges dead and senselesse. But because the corruption of nature carryeth as wel al nacions, as eche man priuatlye to so great madnesse, at last the holy ghost thondzeth wyth terryble curse agaynſt them saying: let them that make them become lyke to them and so many as trust in them. And it is to be noted that a similitude is no lesse forbydden than a grauen image, wherby the fonde lutteltie of the Grekes is cofuted. For they thynke they ar wel discharged if they graue not a God, while in payntinges they do more licentiously outrage than any other nacions. But the Lord forbyddeth an image not onely to be made by the grauer, but also to be counterfaited by any other workmā, because such counterfaiting is euill and to the dishonor of his maiestie.

Esai. xlvi.  
rb.

Esai. cxi.

Esai. lvi.  
er. xxi. vii  
et. lxi. r.  
Dsc. xiii.  
ii i.  
mic. v. xiii.  
pl. cxi. viii

I know that it is a saying more than common among the people, y<sup>e</sup> images are lay mens bokes. Gregoꝝy so said, but the spirite of god pronounceth far otherwise, in whose schole if Gregorie had ben taught, he would neuer so haue spoken. For wheras Hieremy painly saieyth that the stocke is a doctrine of vanitie: and wheras Habacuc teacheth y<sup>e</sup> the molten image is a teacher of lyes: surely hereof is a general doctrine to be gathered, that it is vaine and lieng whatsoeuer men learne by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and saye that y<sup>e</sup> Prophetes reprove them only which abused images to wicked superstition:

He. r. viii  
ha. ii. xviii

I graunt



I graunt that to be true. But I adde further that which is easy for all men to se, that they condemne that thing wholly which y Papistes take for an assured principle, that images are in stede of booke. For they doe in comparison set images against God as thinges directly contrarye & such as neuer can agree together. This comparison I saye is made in those places which I haue alleged. Sith there is but one true god whō the Jewes did worshop, it is amisse & fally done to forge visibill shapess to represent God, and men are miserably deceiued, that therby seke for knowledge of God. Finally if it were not true that it is a deceitfull and corrupt knowledge of God that is learned by images, the Prophetes would not so generally condemne it. At least thus much I win of them when we shew that it is banitie and lieng that men do attempte to represent God with images, we do nothing but rehearse word for word that which the Prophetes haue taught.

6

Let be red what Lactantius and Eusebius haue writtē of this matter which sticke not to take it for certayne y they wer al mortal of whō images are to be seen. Likewise Augustine: whiche withoute douting pronounceth that it is vnlawfull not onely to worshop images, but also to set by images to God. And yet sayeth he none other thyrng but the same which many yeares befoze was decreed by the Clibertine councel wherof this is the xxxvi. Chapter. It is ordeined that no pictures be had in the church, that the thing which is honozed and worshipped be not painted on the wals. But most notable is that which in another place Augustine allegeth out of Varro, and confirmeth it with his owne assent, that they which first brought in the images of gods, both toke away the feare of God, and brought in erreure. If Varro alone should say this, peraduenture it should be but of smal authoritie. Yet ought it of right to make vs ashamed that a heathen man groping in darknesse came to this light, to se that bodily images are therfore vnnete for the maicstie of God; because they diminish the feare of God and encrease erroz in men. The proufe it selfe witnesseth that this was no lesse truly than wisely spoken. But Augustine hauing borrowed it of Varro, bringeth it forth as of his own mind. And first he admonisheth, that the first errozs wherwith men were entangled concerning God, beganne not of images, but as with new matter added encreased by them. Secondly he expoundeth that the feare of god is therfore minished or rather taken away therby, because his maicstie may easely in the folishnesse and in the fonde and absurde forging of images grow to cōtempt. Which seconde thing I would to god we did not by proufe finde to be so true. Whosoeuer therfore will couet to be rightly taught, let him elleswhere learne than of images, what is mete to be knowen concerning God.

7

Wherfoze if the papistes haue any shame, let them no moze vse this hyft to say that images are lay mens booke, which by many testimonies of Scripture ar so openly confuted. And althoughe I graunt them so much, yet should they not muche get thereby for defense of their idoles. What monsters they thurst in, in the place of God is wel knowen. The pictures and images that they dedicate to Sayntes, what at they but examples of extreme riot & vncleennesse, wherunto if any would fastioze himselfe, he were woorthy to be beaten with stauess. Surely the brothelhouse,



houses can shewe harlots moze chastely and soberly attyred, than their temples shewe images of these whom they would haue called virgins. Euen as vncomly array geue they to the martirs. Lette them therfoze fashion their idols at least to some honest shewe of shamefastnesse, that they may somewhat moze colorably lye in saieng, that they are the bokes of some holinesse. But if it were so, yet then would we answere, that this is not the ryght way to teache the faythful people in holy places, whom God would haue there instructed with farre other doctryne than wyth these trifles. God commaunded in the churches a common doctryne to be set forth to al men in preaching of his woozde and in his holy misteryes: whcreunto they shew themselues to haue a minde not very hede-ful, that cast their eses about to beholde images. But whom do the Pas-pistes cal lay and vnlearned men whose vnskillfulnesse may beare to be taught only by images: forsoth euen those whō the Lord knowledgeth for hys disciples, to whom he bouchesaueth to reuele the heauenly wise-dome, whom he willet to be instructed with þ holosome misteries of his kingdom. I graunt in dede as the matter standeth that there ar at this day many which cannot be without such bokes. But whēse I pray you groweth that dulnesse but that they are defrauded of þ doctrine whiche only was mete to instruct them with: for it is for no other cause that they which had the cure of churches gaue ouer their office of teachyng to idoles, but because themselues were dunne. Paule testifieth that Christ is in the true preaching of the gospel, painted out and in amanner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then wer it to haue cōmon-ly set vp in churches so many croses of wood, stone, siluer and golde, if thys were wel and faythfully beaten into the peoples heads, that Christ dyed to beare our curse vpon the crosse, to cleanse our synnes with the Sacrifice of hys body, and to wash them away wyth hys bloud, and finally to reconcile vs to God the father: Of which one thyng they might learne moze than of a thousande croses of wood or stone. For parhaps the couetous do set their mindes and eyes faster vpon the golden and siluer croses than vpon any wordes of God.

Gal. iii. 1.

As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by common consente thought to be true which is wrytten in the boke of wpsedome, that they were the first authoures of them, which gaue thys honoz to the ded, su-persticiously to worshop their memorie. And truly I graunt that thys euil custome was very auncient, and I deny not that it was þ fierbrand wherwith the rage of men being kindled to idolatry did moze and moze burne therein. Yet do I not graunt that thys was the fyrst or ygyvall of thys mischicfe. For it appeareth by moyses that images were bled before that this curiositie in dedicatig the images of dead mē, whereof the pro-phane wryters make often mention, were come in bre. When he telleth that Rachel had stolen her fathers idols, he speaketh it as of a common fault. Wherby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so cal it, a continual worshop of idols. After the generall floud, there was as it were a new regeneration of the wozld, and yet there passed not many peaces but that men accordyng to their own lust fained them gods. And it is likely that, the holy patriarch yet living, his childzens childzen wer geuen to idolatry, so that to his bitter grieffe he saw the earth defiled w idols, whose corruptions the Lord had but late purged with so horribe

Sap. xiiii. 16.

Ge. xxxi. 19.



Jos. xliiii.  
ii.

judgement. For Thare and Nachoz euen befoze the birthe of Abraham were worshippers of false Gods, as Josue testifieth. Seing the generation of Sem so sone swarued, what shal we iudge of the posteritie of Cham, who were already cursed in their father? The minde of men, as it is full of pride and rather boldenesse, presumeth to imagine God according to her own conceit: and as it is possessed with dullnesse, yea overwhelmed with grosse ignorance, so it conceiveth vanitie and a fonde fantasie in steede of God. And to these evils is added a new mischief, that man attempteth to expresse in workmanship suche a God as he inwardly conceiveth. Thus the minde begetteth the idole, and the hand bringeth it forth. The example of the Israelites proueth that this was the beginning of idolatrie, that men do not beleue that God is among them, vnlesse he shewe himselfe carnally presente. We knowe not (sated they) what is become of this Moses: make vs gods that may go befoze vs. They knew that there was a God whose power they had had experience of in so many miracles: but they did not beleue that he was nigh vnto them, vnlesse they did see with their eyes a corporall representacion of his face, to be a witnesse vnto them of the God that gouerned them. Their minde was therfore to knowe by the image going befoze them, that God was the guide of their iourney. This thing daily experience teacheth, that the flesh is alway vnquiet till it hath gotten some counterfaite deuise like it self, wherein it may vainly delite as in an image of god. In a manner in all ages since the creation of the world, men to obey this blinde desire haue erected signes wherein they imagined God to be present befoze their carnall eyes.

Ex. xxxi. i

After such inuencion forged, by and by foloweth worshipping. For when men thought that they beheld God in images, they did also worship him in them. At length being both with mindes and eyes altogether fastened theron, they beganne to ware more and more brutishe, and to wonder at them and haue them in admiracion, as if there wer some nature of godhed in them. So appeareth that men brake not out into the worshipping of images, till they were perswaded in some grosse opinion: not to thinke the images to be gods, but to imagine that there dyd a certaine force of Godhead abide in them. Therefore whether thou represent to thy selfe either God or a creature in the image, when thou fallest down to worship, thou art already bewitched with some superstition. For this reason the Lord hath forbidden not onely images to be erected that are made to expresse a likenesse of him, but also any titles or bones to be dedicated, that should stande to be worshipped. And for the same reason also in the commaundemente of the lawe, this other point is added concerning worshipping. For so sone as they haue forged a visible forme for God, they also tye the power of God vnto it. So beastly foolish are men, that there they fasten God where they counterfaite him, and therfore must they nedes worship it. Neither is there any differēce whether they simply worship the idole, or God in the idole. This is alway idolatry when honoures due to God are geuen to an idole, vnder what coloz soeuer it be. And because God wil not be worshipped superstitiously, therfore what soeuer is geuen to idols is taken from hym. Lette them take hede hereunto that seke for pretenses to defende the abhominable idolatrie, wherwith, these many ages past, true religion hath been drowned and ouerthrowen. But (saye they) the images



are not taken for goddes. Neither were the Jewes themselves so br<sup>u</sup>advised to forgett that it was God by whose hande they hadde been broughte oute of Egipte before they made the calfe. Yea when Aaron saied, that those were the Goddes by whom they were deliuered oute of the lande of Egipte, they boldly assented, shewing a plaine tokē of their meaning, that they would still kepe that God that was their deliuerer, so that they mighte see him goe before them in the calfe. Neither is it to be beleued that the heathen were so grosse as to beleue, that God was no other thing but stockes and stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but still they kepte the same Goddes in their mynde: and there were many images of one God, and yet they dyd not according to the multitude of images faine them many Gods. Besyde that they did daily cōsecrate newe images, yet did they not thinke that they made newe goddes. Lette the excuses be read whiche Augustine saie they were pretended by the Idolaters of his age. When they were rebuked, the common sorte answered, that they did not worshipping that visib<sup>l</sup>e thing, but the deitie that did in it inuisibly dwell. And they that were of somewhat better religion, as he calleth it, did saye that they did neither worshipping the image nor the spirite in it, but by the corporall image they did beholde the signe of that thing whiche they oughte to worshipping. Howe then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Jewes, or of the gentiles, were none otherwise minded than as I haue saied: being not contented with a spirituall vnderstanding of God, they thought by the images he should be moze sure and neter imprinted in them. After once that suche disordered counterfaiting of God well liked them, they neuer ended, till daily moze and moze deluded with newe deceites they imagined that God did shewe forth hys power in images. And neuertheless, both the Jewes were perswaded that vnder suche images they did worshipping the one true Lorde of heauen and earth: and lykewise the gentiles, their false goddes, whom yet they fayned to dwell in heauen.

in pl. cxiij

Whosoever deny that it hath thus ben done in time past, yea within our own remembraunce, they impudently lie. For, why fall they down before the? And when they pray, why turne they toward them as to the eares of God? For it is true that Augustine saie they, that noman praieth or worshipping when he so beholdeth an image but he is so affected in minde that he thinketh himself to be heard of it, or that it wil do for him what he desireth. Why is there such difference betwene the images of one God, & passing by one image with litle reuerence or none done to it they honor an other solemnely? Why doe they werry themselves with bowed pilgrimages to visit those images wherof they haue like at home? Why do they at this day in defense of them as it were for their religion and countrey, fight to slaught<sup>r</sup> and destruction, in suche sorte as they would better suffer to haue the one only God than their idols to be take from them? And yet I do not recken by the grosse errors of the comon people, which are almost infinite, and do in manner possesse the hartes of all men. I do only shew what themselves do confesse when they meane most of al to excuse themselves of idolatry. We do not cal them (say they) our Goddes. No moze did the Jewes nor the gentiles cal them theirs in tyme past: and yet the Prophetes eche where cesse not to caste

16

in pl. cxliij



Baptisme and the Lorde's supper, and other ceremonies. whereboyth our eies ought both moze earnestly to be occupied and moze liuely to be moued, than that they should neede any other images framed by þ' witt of men. Noe this is the incomparable commoditie of images; whiche can by no valur be recompensed, if we beleue the papistes.

14

I thinke I had spoken enough of this thing alreadye, but that the Nicene Synode doeth as it were laye hande on me to enforce me to speake moze. I meane not that most famous Synode which Cōstātine the Great assembled, but that which was holden eyght hundred yeares ago, by the commaundemente and authoritie of Irene the Emperesse. For that Synode decreed, that images should not onely be hadde in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoeuer I should saye, the authoritie of the Synode woulde make a greate prejudice on the other syde. Although to saye truth, that dooeth not so much moue me, as make it appeare to the readers howe farre theyr rage extended, that were moze desirous of images than became Chrystians. But first let vs dispatche this. They that at this day maynteine the vse of images, allege the decree of þ' Nicene Synode for theyr defense. But there is extante a booke of confutaciō bearyng the name of Charles the Great, whiche by the phrase we maye gather to haue been wrytten at the same tyme. Therein are recited the sentences of the Byschoppes that were presente at that counsell, and the argumentes wherewith they contēded. John the Legate of the east partes saied: God created manne after his owne image: and thereupon gathered that we oughte to haue images. The same man thought that images were commended vnto vs in this sentence: He we me thy face, because it is beautifull. An other to proue that images oughte to be sette vpon altares, cyted thys testimonie: no manne lighteth a candell and putteth it vnder a bushell. An other, to shewe that the beholding of them is profitable for vs, brought forth a verse oute of the Psalm: the lychte of thy countenaunce is sealed vpon vs. An other tooke thys similitude: As the Patriarches bled the Sacrifices of the gentiles, so must Chrystian menne haue the images of Saintes in steade of the images of the gentiles. To the same purpose haue they wrythed thys saying: Lorde, I haue loued the beautie of thy house. But specially witty is the exposition of thys place, As we haue heard so haue we seen, that God is not knowen by onely hearyng of hys worde, but also by lokyng vpon images. Like is the sharpe deuyle of Byschop Theodoro. Maruellous (sayeth he) is God in his Saintes. And in an other place: In the Saintes that are in the earth: therefore thys oughte to be referred to images. Finally so filthy are theyr vnsauoye follyes that it greueth me to rehearse them.

15

When they talke of the worshyppynge: then are broughte forth the worshyppynge of Bharao, and of the rod of Ioseph, and of the pillar that Iacob sette vp. Albeit in thys laste example, they doe not ouely depraue the meanyng of the Scripture, but also byyng in that whyche is no where to bee read. Then these places seme to them maruelous stronge and meeke proues. Worshyppe his footestole. Agayne worshyppe on hys holye hyll. Agayne. All the rychemen of the people shall



Shall worshipping thy countenance. If a man would in scoone putte the personage of a riding foole vpon the patrones of Images, could he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to putte all oute of doubt, Theodosius Bishoppe of Mira, doeth so earnestly confyrme by the dreames of his Archdeacon, that images oughte to be worshipped, as if he had an oracle from heauen to shewe for it. Nowe lette the fauourers of images gooz and presse vs with the decree of that Synode. As though those reuerende fathers doe not altogether discredit them selues, in either so childishly handelyng, or so vngodly and fowlie tearing the Scriptures.

Nowe come I to those monstrous impieties, whiche it is maruell that euer they durste vomyt, and twise maruellous that they were not cried oute againste with hie detestacion of all men. And it is good that this outragiously wicked madnesse be bewrayed, that at least the falsse coloure of antiquitie maye be taken awaye, whiche the Papistes pretende for the worshipping of images. Theodosius the Bishoppe of Amozum pronounceth curse againste all them that wyl not haue images worshipped. An other imputeth all the calamities of Grecia and the easte part to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the Prophetes, the Apostles and the Martirs worthy to suffer, in whose time there were no images? They adde further. If the Emperours image be met with perfume and censing: muche more is this honoure due to the images of Saintes. Constantius Bishoppe of Constance in Ciprus, professeth that he reuerently embraceth images, and affirmeth that he wyl geue to them the same honourable manner of worshipping that is due to the Trinitie that geueth life. And who soeuer refuseth so to do, he curseth him and sendeth him away with the Manichees and Marcionites. And, that ye should not thinke that this was the priuate sentence of one manne, they did all assent vnto it. Yea Thon the Legate of the easte partes beeing further carried with heate, sayed it were better to bring al brothelhouses into the citie than to denye the worshipping of images. At lengthe by consente of them al it was decreed, that worse than all Heretikes are the Samaritanes, and worse than the Samaritanes are the enemies of images. And because the playe shoulde not be without hys solemne farewell, this clause was added, let them be glad and reioyse that hauing the image of Chryst doe offer Sacrifice vnto it. Where is now the distinction of Latria and Dulia, wherewith they are wonte to seke to blinde the eyes both of God and mē?

For the counsell wythout any excepcion doeth  
geue euen as much vnto images as  
vnto the lyuinge God  
hymselfe.

That God is severally discerned from idols, that he may be only and wholly worshipped.



Where I said in the beginning that the knowledge of God standeth not in bare speculation, but draweth with it the worshipping of him, and by the way we touched how he is rightly worshipped, which point shall be in other places moze largely to be set forth. Nowe I doe but shortly repete, that so oft as the Scripture affirmeth that there is but one God, it striueth not for the bare name of God, but withall commaundeth this, that whatsoeuer belongeth to the godhead bee not geuen to any other. Wherby also appeareth what pure religion doeth differ from superstition. Eusebia, in Greke signifieth as much as true worship, because alway euen the blinde themselues groping in darkness haue founde that this rule ought to be holden, that God bee not vnorderly worshipped. The name of religion although Cicero truelye and wel deriueth from relegere, to recorde, or gather by together: yet is the reason that he assigneth enforced and far fet, that good worshippers did often recorde and diligently wey what was the trueth. I rather thinke that that name is set as a contrary to wandring libertie, because the greater part of the world vnadvisedly taketh holde of that whyche they first mete withall, and flieth aboute hether and thether: but true godlinesse, to the ende it may stande in stedfaste state, Religit, that is to say doth gather by it selfe together within her bondes. Like as I think superstition to haue her name herof, that not being contented with the maner and order prescribed, she heapeth by together a superfluous number of vaine thinges. But to leaue the wordes it hath alway ben agreed by consent of all ages, that religion is with false errors corrupted & peruered. Wherupon we gather that it is a very fonde coloz which the superstitious do pzetende, whē with vndiscrete zeale we geue our selues leaue to do al thinges. And although this confession sounde in the mouthes of al mē: yet herein a shamefull ignozaunce bewraieith it selfe, that neither they cleaue to the one God, noz haue any regarde of order in þ worshipping of him, as we haue already shewed. But god, to claime his own right vnto himselfe, crieth out that he is ielous, and that he wil be a seuerer reuenger if he be mingled with any fained god. And then he setteth forth the lawful maner of worshipping, to holde mankinde in obedience. He containeth both these pointes in his law, whē first he bindeth the faithful vnto hymselfe that he only may be theyr lawemaker: and then he pzetreibeth a rule wherby to be worshipped after his owne minde. Of the law, because the bles and endes therof are many, I wyl entreate in place fit for it. Now I only touch this point, that therby mē are bzidled that they run not out of the way to wrong worshippinges. Now as I first said, we must holde in mind, that if al that euer properly belōgeth to godhead do not rest in God alone, he is spoiled of his honor, & his worship broken. And here must we somewhat hedefully marke with

ii. de naz  
tu. deoz  
rum,



with what suttelties superstition deceiueth. For it doothe not so reuolte vnto straunge gods that it semeth to forsake the hyst God, or to byng hym downe into the numbze of other Goddes: but while the graunterh vnto hym the hyst place, she setteth rounde aboute hym a number of lesser gods, among whome she diuideth his offices: And so (albeit clockedly & craftily) the glozie of the godhead is cut in partes, that it remaineth not whole with hym. So in y old tyme, as wel they of the Jewes as of y Gentiles dyd set beneth the father & iudge of gods a great rout of gods whiche shuld euery one accor dyng to his degree haue in comon with the hyst God the gouernement of the heauen and earth. So the saintes that in a fewe ages past departed this lyfe, are aduanced to the felowship of God, to be woꝛshipped, called vpon, and honoured in stede of him. And yet with suche abhominacion we thinke that the maiestie of God is not so muche as diuided, when in deede it is a greate parte suppressed and extingwished, sayng that we reteine styll a pooze opini- on of his supreme power: and in the mean tyme deceiued with entan- gled suttelties we are sonderly caried to diuers gods.

For this purpose also was inuented the distinction of Latria and Du- lia, as they terme them, that is woꝛship and seruice, wherby they might freely seme to geue away the honoꝛs of God to angels and dead men. For it is euident, that the woꝛship whiche the Papistes geue vnto sain- tes differeth nothyng in dede from the woꝛship of God. For all alike without diuersitie they woꝛship both God and them: sayng that when they be charged with it, they wynde away with this exception, that they keepe still for God the honour that is due vnto him inuiolate, because they leaue vnto hym the woꝛshippe that they call Latria. But sith the que- stion standeth vpon the matter, and not the woꝛde, who wolde permit them so carelesly to mocke in a matter of all matters mooste weyghtie: But to lette that also passe, yet winne they nothyng by this distinction, but to proue, that thei geue woꝛship to one God and seruice to an other. For Latria in greke signifieth as much as in latin Culus, & in Englishe woꝛship. Dulia, pꝛopzely signifieth seruice. And yet somtyme in scripture this difference is confounded together without diuersitie. But graunte it be a perpetuall difference, then must we searche what bothe the woꝛ- des may meane. Dulia is seruice, Latria, is woꝛship. Now no man dou- teth that to serue, is moze then to woꝛshippe. For many tymes a manne coulde hardely beare to serue hym whome he would not sticke to woꝛ- ship. So is it an vnegall dealyng to geue to the saintes that whiche is the greater, and to leaue to God that whiche is the lesser. But many of the auncient authoꝛs haue vsed this distinction. What maketh that matter, if all menne doo perceiue it to be not onely vnfitte, but all toge- ther very sonde:

Nowe leauyng nice suttelties, lette vs wey the matter it selfe. When Paule putteth the Galathians in remembꝛance what they were befoze that they were lightened in the knowledg of God, he saieth that they gaue Duliam seruice to those that of nature were no gods. Although he name not Latriam or woꝛship, is therfoze theyꝛ superstition excusable: He doth neuerthelesse condemne their peruerse superstition, whiche he termeth by the name of Dulia seruice, than if he had expressed the name of Latria, woꝛship. And when Chyriste repulseth the assault of Sathan



with his buckler, that it is wozitten, thou shalt woꝝshyp the Lorde thy  
 God, the name of Latria was not bzought in question. Sathan requi-  
 red but an adozation. Likewise whē the angel reyzoned John, because  
 he felle downe on his knees befoze hym, we oughte not to thinke that  
 John was so madde that he woulde geue vnto the angell the honoure  
 that was due onely to God. But because it was not possible, but that  
 all woꝝshyp that is ioyned with religion sauoureth somewhat as pertey-  
 nyng to God, therefore he coulde not adoze the angell, but that he must  
 take away somnewhat from the glozpe of God. We reade in deede of-  
 ten, that men haue bene honoured: but that was a ciuile honour, as  
 I maye so call it. But religion hath an other rule, whyche so soone as  
 it is ioyned with woꝝshyppe, bzyngeth with it a prophane abuse of the  
 honour of God. The same maye we see in Coznelius. He hadde not so  
 slenderly profyted in godlynesse, but that he hadde learned to geue  
 the soueraigne woꝝshippe to God alone. Therfoze when he fell downe  
 befoze Peter, he didde it not of this meanyng to woꝝshyppe hym in the  
 steede of God. And yet dydde Peter earnestly forbyd hym to doo that  
 whiche he didde. And why so: but because men doo neuer so narrow-  
 ly put difference betwene the woꝝshyppe of God, and of his creatures:  
 but that without diuersitie they geue away that vnto the creature, whi-  
 che belongeth vnto God. Wherefoze if we haue one God, we must re-  
 membze that nothyng be it neuer so lyttle muste bee taken awaye from  
 his glozpe, but that he kepe styll that whyche is proprely his. Therfoze  
 zacharie when he preacheth of the repayzyng of the Churche, in playne  
 woꝝds expzesseth: That there shal not only be one God, but also y there  
 shalbe one name of y god, to the end y he haue nothing in common with  
 Idols. What maner of woꝝshyp God requyzeeth, we shal see in an other  
 place when it falleth in order. For it pleased hym in his law to prescribe  
 vnto men what is lawfull and ryght, & so to bynd thē to a certayn rule,  
 that euery man should not geue hymselfe leaue to deuise what foꝝme of  
 woꝝshyp he lyst. But because it is not expediēt to loade the readers with  
 heapyng many matters together, I will not touche that poynte yet.  
 Onely lette it suffice for this tyme to kepe in mynd, that euery caryng  
 away of the dutyefull behauiours of godlynesse to any other than to  
 God alone, is not without robbery of God. And fyrste superstition de-  
 uysed to geue diuine honours to the Sonne, oz other starres oz idols:  
 then folowed ambitious pryde, whyche garnyshyng mortall men with  
 spoyles taken from God, presumed to prophane all that euer was  
 holy. And although this pynceple remayned amonge theim,  
 to honour the soueraigne deitie, yet grewe it in vse indis-  
 ferently to offer sacrifices to spirites, lesser gods, oz  
 dead mē of honoz. So slippery is the way to slide  
 into this fault, to make common to a num-  
 ber that whiche God seuerely cha-  
 lengeth to hym selfe alone.

Mat. liii.  
r.  
Heue. xix  
f.

Act. v. xix

zac. xliiii.  
ix.



## The. xiii. Chapter.

That there is taught in the scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, whiche essence consisteth in it thre persons:



That which is taught in the scriptures concernyng the incomprehensible and spirituall essence of God, oughte to suffice not onely to ouerthrowe the foolish errors of the common people, but also to confute the fine suttelties of prophane philosophie. One of the olde wyriters semed to haue said very wel, That God is all that we do see, and all that we doo not see. But by this meane he hath imagined the godhead to be powred out into all partes of the world. Although God, to the intent to kepe men in sobre mynde, speaketh but sparsely of his owne essence, yet by those twoo names of addition that I haue reherced, he doothe bothe take away all grosse imaginations, and also represseth the presumptuous boldnesse of mans mynde. For surely his immeasurable greatnesse ought to make vs afrayde, that we attempt not to measure hym with our sense: and his spirituall nature forbiddeth vs to imagine any thyng earthly or fleshely of hym. For the same cause he often assigneth his dwelling place to be in heauen. For though, as he is incomprehensible, he tilleth the earthe also: yet because he seeth oure myndes by reason of their dullnesse to lie still in the earthe, for good cause he lifeth vs vp aboue the worlde, to shake of our slouth and sluggishnesse. And here falleth to grounde the error of the Manichees, which in appointyng two originall beginnynges haue made the diuell in a maner egall with god. Surely this was as muche as to breake the vnitie of God and restrayne his vmeasurablenesse. For where they haue presumed to abuse certain testimonies: that sheweth a fowle ignorance, as their error it selfe sheweth a detestable madnesse. And the Antrozophites are also easily confuted which haue imagined God to consist of a bodye, because oftentimes the scripture ascribeth vnto hym a mouth, eares, eyes, handes, and feete. For what man yea though he be slenderly witted dooth not vnderstande that God dooth so with vs speake as it were childishly, as nurses doo with their babes: Therefore suche maners of speeche doo not so playnely expresse what God is, as they do apply the vnderstandyng of him to our slender capacitie. Whiche to do, it behoued of necessity that he descended a great way beneath his owne heygth.

But he also setteth out hymselfe by an other speciall marke, wherby he may be moze nerely known. For he so declareth hymselfe to bee but one, that he yet geueth hymselfe distinctly to be considered in thre persons: whiche except we learne, a bare and empty name of god without any true God lieth in our bzaine. And that no man should thinke that he is a threfolde God, or that the one essence of God is diuided in thre persons, we must here seke a short and easy definition to deliuer vs fro all error. But because many doo make muche a doo about this worde Person, as a thyng inuented by man: howe iustly they doo so, it is beste fyrst to see. The apostles namyng the sonne, the engraued forme of the Hypostasis of his father, he vndoubtedly meaneth, that the Father hath

God speaketh  
but sparingly  
of his owne esse-  
nce to keep man  
in modestie in  
his speech  
H. 3. of

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Heb. i. iii  
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some beeyng, wherin he differeth from the sonne. For to take it for Essence (as some expositours haue done, as if Christ like a piece of ware printed with a seale didde represent the substance of the father) were not onely harde but also an absurditie. For lithe the Essence of God is single or one and vndiuisible, he that in hym selfe conteineith it all and not by pecemeale, or by deuiation, but in whole perfection, should very vnpropzely yea fondly bee called the engraued forme of hym. But because y father although he be in his own propzetic distinct, hath expzessed hymselfe wholly in his sonne; it is for good cause sayde, that he hath geuen his Hypostasis, to be seene in hym. Wherwith aptely agreeth that which by and by foloweth, that he is the brightnesse of his glozy. Surely by the Apostles wordes we gather, that there is a certayn propz hypostasis in the father, that shineh in the sonne: whereby also agayne is easily perceiued the Hypostasis of the sonne that distinguisheth him from the father. Like order is in the holy ghost, for we shall by and by proue hym to be God, and yet he must nedes be other than the father. Yet this distinction is not of the essence, whiche it is vnlawfull to make manyfolde. Therfoze if the Apostles testimonie be credited, it foloweth that there be in God thze hypostases. This terme seyng the Latines haue expzessed with the name of Person, it were to muche pride and waywardnesse to bzaule about so cleere a matter. But if we list worde for worde to translate, we may call it Subsistence. Many in the same sense haue called it substance. And the name of Person hath not ben in vse among the Latins onely: but also the Grecians, perhaps to declare a consente, haue taught that there are thzee prosopa, that is to say Persons in God. But they, whether they be Grekes or Latins that differ one from another in the worde, doo very well agree in the summe of the matter.

3 Howe howesoer the heretikes barke at the name of persone, or some ouermuch precise men do carpe that thei like not the worde fained by deuise of men: lithe they can not get of vs to say, that there be thzee, 1 whereof euery one is wholly God, noz yet that there be many goddes: what vnreasonableness is this, to myslyke woozdes, whiche expresse none other thyng but that whiche is testified and approved by the scriptures? It were better (say they) to restraine not only our meanynges but also oure woozdes within the boundes of scripture, than to deuyle straunge names that may be the begynnynge of disagreement & bzaulyng: so doo we tper our selues with strife about woozdes: so the truthe is losse in contending: so charitie is broken by odiously bzaulyng together. If they call that a straunge woozde, whiche can not be shewed in scripture, as it is written in nombze of syllables: then they bynde vs to a hard law, wherby is condemned all exposition y is not pierced together, with bare laying together of textes of scripture. But if they meane that to be straunge, whiche beyng curiously deuised, is superstitionously defended, whiche maketh moze for contention than edification, whiche is either vnaptely, or to no profite vsed, whiche withdraueth from the simplicitie of the word of God, then with all my hart I embrace their sobze minde. For I iudge that we ought with no lesse deuout reuerence to talke of God than to thynke of him, for as muche as what soeuer we doo of our selues thinke of him, is foolish, and what so euer we speake is vsauoye. But there is a certayn measure to be kepte. We ought to  
learne



learne out of the scriptures a rule bothe to thynke and speake, wherby to examine all the thoughtes of our mynde and wordes of our mouth. But what withstandeth vs, but that suche as in scripture are to our capacitie doutfull and entangled, we may in plainer woordes expresse theim, beyng yet suche wordes as doo reuerently and faithfully serue the truthe of the scripture, and be bled sparely, modestly, and not without occasion. Of whiche sort there are examples enow. And where as it shall by pzoofe appere that the Church of great necessitie was enforced to bse the names of Trinitie, and Persones, if any shall then fynde faulte with the newenelle of woordes, shall he not be iustly thought to be greened at the lyght of the truthe, as he that blameth onely this that the truthe is made so playne and cleare to discerne?

Suche newenelle of woordes, if it be so to bee called, commeth then chiefly in bse, when the truthe is to be defended against wzanglers that doo mocke it out with cauillations. Whiche thyng we haue at this daye to muche in experience, who haue great businesse in banquishynge the enemies of true and sounde doctrine. With suche folding and crooked windyng these slippery snakes doo slide away, vnesse they be strongly griped and holden hard when they be taken. So the old fathers beyng troubled with contendyng againste false doctrines, were compelled to shewe theyr meanynges in exquisite playnnesse, least they should leaue any crooked bywayes to the wicked, to whom the doubtful constructions of woordes were hidyngholes of errours. Arius confessed Christe to be God, and the sonne of God, because he coulde not agayn say the euident wordes of God, and as if he had ben so sufficiently discharged did fayne a certayne consent with the rest. But in the meane while he ceased not to scatter abzoad that Christe was create, and had a begynnyng as other creatures. But to the ende they myght drawe forth his windyng sutteltie out of his denne, the auncient fathers went further, pronouncyng Christ to be the eternall sonne of the father and consubstantiall with the father. Hereat wickednesse began to boile, when the Arrians began to hate and deteste the name Omoouion, consubstantiall. But if in the begynnyng they had sincerely and with playn meanynge confessed Christ to be God, they would not now haue denyed hym to be consubstantiall with the father. Who dare nowe blame these good men as bzawlers and contentious, bycause for one litle woordes sake, they were so whote in disputation, and troubled the quiete of the church? But that little worde shewed the difference betwene the true beleuyng Christians, and the Arrians that wer robbers of God. Afterward rose vp Sabellius whiche accompted in a maner for nothyng the names of the father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, sayeng in disputation that they were not made to shewe any maner of distinction, but onely were feuerall additions of God, of whiche sorte there are many. If he came to disputation, he confessed, that he beleued the father God, the sonne God, the Holy ghost God. But afterwarde he would redely slippe away with sayeng that he hadde in no other wise spoken than as if he had named God, a strong God, iust God, and wise God: and so he song another songe, that the father is the Sonne, and the Holy ghost is the father, without any order, without any distinction. The good doctours which then had care of godlynesse, to subdewe his wickednesse, cried oute on  
the



the other side that there ought to be acknowledged in one God; thre properties. And to the ende to fense themselves againste the crooked wisa then subtleties with plaine and simple truth, they affirmed, that there did truely subsist in one God, or (which came all to one effect) that there did subsist in the unitie of God a Trinitie of persons.

5 If then the names haue not ben without cause inuented, we ought to take hede, that in reiectyng them we be not iustly blamed of proude presumptuousnesse. I woulde to God they wer buried in dede, so that this faith were agreed of all men, that the father and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost bee one God: and yet that the father is not the Sonne, nor the Holy ghost the Sone, but distinct by certain propertie. Yet am I not so precise, that I can fynde in my harte to strue for bare wordes. For I note, that the olde fathers, whiche otherwise spake very religiously of such matters, did not euery wher agree one with an other, nor eueryone with himselfe. For what formes of speche bled by the counceils doothe Hilarie excuse: To howe greate libertie doothe Augustine sometyme breake forth: Howe vnlyke are the Grekes to the Latins: But of this variance one example shal suffice for this tyme. When the Latins ment to expresse the word *omouision*, they called it *Consubstantial*, declaring the substance of the father and the Sonne to be one, so vsyng the word substance for essence. Wher vpon Hierom to Damasus sayth, it is sacrilege to say, that there are thre substances in God: and yet aboue a hundred tymes you shal fynde in Hilarie, that there are three substances in God. In the woorde *Hypostasis*, howe is Hierome accombred: For he suspecteth that there lurketh poison in namyng thre *Hypostases* in God. And if a man do ble this word in a godly sense, yet he plainly saith that is an improprie speche, if he spake vnfainedly, and dyd not rather wityngly and willyngly seeke to charge the bishoppes of the Eastlandes, whome he soughte to charge with an vniuste sleaude. Sure this one thyng he speaketh not very truely, that in all prophane schooles, *ousia*, essence is nothyng els but *hypostasis*, whyche is proued false by the comimon and accustomed ble. Augustine is more modeste and gentyll, whiche although he say, that the worde *hypostasis* in that sense is strange to latine eares, yet so farre is it of that he taketh from the Grekes theyr vsuall maner of speakyng, that he also gently beareth with the Latins that had folowed the greke phrase. And that whiche Socrates writeth in the fyrte booke of the *Tripartite* hystorie, tendeth to this ende, although he ment that it hadde by vnskillfull men bene wrongfullye applied vnto this matter. Pea and the same Hilarie hymselfe layethe it for a greate faulte to the heretikes charge, that by theyr waywardnesse he is compelled, to putte those thynges in perylle of the speche of men, whyche oughte to haue bene kepte in the religiousnesse of myndes, playnely confessyng that this is to doo thynges vnlawfull, to speake that ought not to bee spoken, to attempt thynges not licenced. A little after, he excuseth himself w many wordes, for that he was so bold to vtter newe names. For after he had bled the natural names father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, he addeth that what soeuer is sought further, is beyod the compass of speache, beyonde the reache of sense, and beyonde the capacitie of vnderstandyng. And in an other place he saith, y happy ar y bishopps of Gallia, which neither had nor receiued

De trini.  
li. v. cap.  
viii. & ix.

De trini.  
lib. ii.



nor knewe any other confession, but that olde and simple one, whiche from the time of the Apostles was receyued in all churches. And muche like is the excuse of Augustine, that this woorde was wroung oute of necessitie by reason of the imperfection of mens language in so greate a matter: not to expresse that whiche is, but that it shoulde not bee vs- spoken howe the father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſte are three.

This modestie of the holy menne ought to warne vs, that we doo not foorthwith so seuerely lyke Censors, note them with infamie that refuse to subscribe and sweare to suche wordes as we propounde them: so that they doo it not of pride, of frowardnesse, or of malicious craft. But let them again consider, by how great necessitie we are driuen to speake so, that by littell & little they may be enured with that profitable maner of speche. Let them also learne to beware, least sicke we must mete on the one syde with the Arrians, on the other syde with Sabellians, whyle they be offended that we cutte of occasion from them both to cauill, they byng themselues in suspicion, that they be  $\phi$  disciples either of Arrius or of Sabellius. Arrius sayth that Chyriste is God, but he muttereth that he was create, and had a beginnyng. He saith Chyriste is one with the father, but secretly he whispereth in the eares of his disciples, that he was made one as the other faithfull be, although by singular prerogatiue. Say ones that Chyrist is Consubstantiall with his father, then plucke you of his visour from the dissembler, and yet you adde nothyng to the scripture. Sabellius sayth, that the seueral names, father, Son, and Holy ghost signifie nothyng in God seuerally distincte: saye that they are three: and he will crye out that you name thre gods. Saye that there is in one essence a Trinitie of persons, then shal you in one word bothe saye, what the scripture speaketh, and stop their bayne babbling. Nowe if any be holden with so curious superstition, that they can not abide these names: yet is there no man, though he wold neuer so sayn, that can deny but that when we heare of one, we must vnderstande an vnitie of substance: when we here of thre in one essence, that it is ment of the persons in the trinitie. Which thyng beyng without fraude confessed, we stay no longer vpon wordes. But I haue long ago found, and that often, that who soeuer do obstinately quarell about woordes, doo keepe within them a secrete poison: so that it is better willyngly to prouoke them, than for their pleasure to speake darkly.

But leauyng disputation of woordes I will nowe begyn to speake of the matter it selfe. I call therfore a Person, a subsistence in the essence of God, which hauyng relation to the other is distinguished from them with vncōmunicable propriete. By the name of Subsistence we meane an other thyng than the essence. For if the worde had simply ben God, and in the meane tyme had nothyng seuerally propre to it selfe, John hadde sayde amplye, that it was with god. Where he foorthwith addeth, that God hymselfe was the same worde, he calleth vs backe agayne to the one single essence. But because it could not be with God, but that it must rest in the father: hereof ariseth that subsistence, which though it be ioyned to the essence with an vnseparable knot, yet hath it a speciall marke, wherby it doth differ from it. So of the thre subsistences, I say that eche hauyng relation to other is in propriete distinguished. Relation is here expressely mencioned, For when there is simple

*This modestie  
of fathers  
should warne  
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infamy who  
refuse to subscribe  
to such wordes  
we propounde  
or the our parti-  
cular maner  
explaining  
doctrine of  
trinity.*

John. 1. 1

and



and indefinite mention made of God, this name belongeth no lesse to the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, than to the Father. But when the Father is compared with the Sonne, the severall proprietie of eyther doth discern hym from the other. Thirdely, what soeuer is propre vnto eue-ry of them is uncommunicable. For that which is geuen to the Father for a marke of difference, can not agree with, nor be geuen to the Son. And I mislike not the definition of Tertullian, so that it be rightly taken, That there is in God a certayne disposition or distribution, which yet chaungeth nothynge of the vnitie of the essence.

But befoze that I go any further, it is good that I proue the Gods head of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. Then after we shall see, how they differ one from an other. Surely when the Worde of God is spoken of in the Scripture: it were a very greate absurditie to imagin it only a fadyng and vanisshyng boyce, whiche sente into the ayze, cometh out of God hymselfe, of whiche sort were the oracles geuen to the fathers, and all the prophesies: when rather the woorde is mente to bee the perpetuall wisdomme abidyng with the Father, from whens all the oracles and prophesies proceeded. For as Peter testifieth, no lesse didde the olde prophetes speake with the spirite of Christ, than dyd the Apostles and all they that after them dyd distribute the heauenly doctrine. But because Christe was not yet openly shewed, we must vnderstande that the Worde was befoze all worldes begotten of the Father. And if the Spirite was of the Worde, whose instrumentes were the prophetes, we do vndoutedly gather that he was true god. And this doth Moses teache playnly enough in the creation of the world, when he setteth the worde as the meane. For why dooth he expressely tell, that God in creatyng of all his woorkes sayd, Be this doone, or that doon: but that the vnserchable glozy of god may thiningly appere in his images: The suttlenosed and babblyng men do easily mock out this, with sayeng that the name Woorde, is there taken for his byddyng or commaundement. But better expositors are the Apostles, whiche teache that the worldes were made by the same, and that he susteineth them all with his mightie Worde. For here we see y<sup>e</sup> the Word is taken for the bidding or commaundement of the Sonne, which is hymselfe the eternall and essentiall Word to the Father. And to the wise and sobze it is not darke that Salomon sayth, where he byngeth in Wisdom begotten of God befoze all worldes, and bearyng rule in the creation of thynges, and in all the woorkes of God. For to say that it was a certayne commaundement of God, setyng but for a tyme, were very foolishhe and bayne: where as in deede it was Goddes pleasure at that tyme to shewe foorth his stedfast and eternall purpose, yea and some thyng more secreete. To whyche entente also maketh that sayinge of Christe: My Father and I doo woorkes euen to this daye. For in sayinge, That from the begynnyng of the worlde he was contynually woorkyng with his Father, he doothe more openly declare that whyrche Moses hadde more shortly touched. We gather then that the meanyng of Goddes speakyng was this, that the Worde hadde his office in the doynge of thynges, and so they bothe had a common woorkyng together. But mooste playnely of all doothe John speake, when he shewethe that the same Woorde, whyrche from the begynnyng was God with God, was togy-



God the Father the cause of all thynges. For he both geueth to the Worde a perfecte and abydyng essence, and also assygneth vnto it some thyng peculiar to it selfe, and plainly sheweth how God in speaking was the creatour of the worlde. Therefore as all reuelacions proceeding from God dooe well beare the name of the worde of God, so oughte we yet to sette in the hreste place that substancyall Worde; the well spyng of all Oracles, whiche being subiecte to no alteration, abideth alwayes one and the selfe same with God, and is God hymselfe.

Here many dogges dooe barke agaynst vs, whiche when they dare not openly take from him his Godhead, doe secretly steale from him his Eternitie. For they saye, that the Worde then beganne firste to be, when God in the creacion of the worlde opened his holy mouthe. But verie vndiscretely dooe they to imagine a certayne innouacyon of the substance of God. For as those names of God that haue relacion to his outwarde worke, beganne to be geuen vnto hym after the being of his worke, as for example, thys that he is called the creatour of heauen and earth: so doeth Godlynesse knowe or admitte no name that shoulde signifie any newe thinge in hymselfe to haue chaunced vnto God. For if any shoulde come to him from ells where than in hymselfe, then thys saying of James shoulde fayle, that euery good geuing and euery perfecte gifte is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of lightes, with whom is no variableness neyther shadowing by turning. Therefore nothing is lesse to be suffred, than to faine a beginning of that Worde, whiche both alwaye was God, and afterwarde was creatour of the worlde. But full suttelly forsoth they reason, that Moses in saying that God then first spake, doeth secretly shewe that there was no Worde in him befoze. Whiche is a moste tryfling argumente. For it foloweth not, because a thyng at some one certayne time beginneth to be shewed openly, that therefore it had neuer anye beyng befoze. But I conclude farre otherwysle and saye: seyng that in the same momente that God sayed, lette lighte be made, the power of the worde appeared and shewed it selfe: the same Worde was longe befoze. But if a man aske howe long befoze, he shall fynde no beginning. For he appointed no certayne space of tyme when hym selfe sayed: Father glorie me with the glozy which I had wyth thee befoze the worlde was. And thys thyng John also left not vntouched, because he fyrst sheweth that in the beginning the worde was with God, befoze that he commeth to the creation of the worlde. We saye therefore agayne, that the Worde whyche was conceyued of God befoze any beginning of tyme, was contynuallye remayninge wyth hym. Whereby bothe hys eternitie, true essence, and Godhead is proued.

Although I dooe not yet touche the person of the Mediator, but do deferre it to that place where we shall specially entreate of the Redemption: yet because it oughte to be certaynly holden wythoute controuersie amonge al men, that Christ is the same Word clad with flesh, in this place will be very fitte to recite all those testimonies that proue Christ to be God. When it is sayed in the. xlv. Psalme, thy throne O God is for euer and euer: the Jewes doe cauill and saye, that



the name Elohim is also applied to the Angels and soueraigne powers. But in all the Scripture there is not a like place, that raiseth an eternall thzone to any creature. For he is here not simplye called God, but also the eternall Lorde. Againe, this tittle is geuen to none but with an addicion, as it is saied: that Moses shalbe for a God to Pharao. Some rede it in the Genitiue case which is verye foolish. I graunte in dede that oftentimes a thing is called Diuine or of God, that is notable by any singular excellence: but here by the remoure of the terte it appeareth, that suche a meaning were harde and forced, and will not agree. But if their subboznesse will not so yelde: In Elsie is betie plainly broughte in for all one both Chryste and God, and he that is adozned with the soueraigne power, whiche is properly belonging to God alone. This (saie he) is the name wherby they shall call him, the strong God, the father of the world to come &c. Here the Jewes barcke againe, and turne the terte thus: this is the name wherby the stronge God the father of the world to come shall call him: so that they leaue this onely to the Sonne to bee called the Prince of peare. But to what purpose shoulde so many names of addicion in this place bee heaped vpon God the father, seeyng it is the purpose of the Prophete to adozne Chryste with suche speciall notes as maie builde oure faith bypon him: Therfore it is oute of doute that he is here in like sorte called the stronge God, as he is a little before called Immanuel. But nothing can be founde plainer than that place of Hieremie where he sayeth, that this shall be the name wherby the seide of David shall be called Jehouah oure righteousnesse. For where the Jewes themselves doe teach, that all other names of God are but adiectiue names of addicion, and that this only name Jehouah whiche they call vnspeakable is a substantiue name to expresse hys essence: we gather that the Sonne is the onely and eternall God, which saith in an other place that he wil not geue his glozy to an other. But here also they seke to scape away because that Moses gaue that name to the Altare that he bilded, and Ezechiel gaue it to the newe citie Hierusalem. But who doth not see that the Altare was bilded for a monumente that God was the auancement of Moses. And that Hierusalem is not adozned with the name of God, but onely to testifie the presence of God: For thus sayeth the Prophete. The name of the citie from that day shalbe Jehouah there. And Moses sayth thus. He bilded an altare and called the name of it, Jehouah my exaltacion. But more businesse ariseth by an other place of Hieremie, where the same tittle is applied to Hierusalem in these wordes: this is the name wherby they shall call her Jehouah our righteousnesse. But thys testimonye is so farre from making agaynste the tructh whiche we defende, that it rather confirmeth it. For wheras he had before testified that Chryst is the true Jehouah from whom floweth ryghteousnesse, nowe he pronounceth that the churche shall so berely fele the same, that she may gloriouslye vse the very name it selfe. And so in the firste place is sette the fountayne and cause of ryghteousnesse, in the other the effecte.

Nowe if thys dooe not satisfie the Jewes, that Jehouah is so ofte presented in the personne of an Angell, I see not wyth what



what cauellations they canne mocke it oute. It is saied that the Angell appeared to the holy fathers: and the same Angell chalengeth to hymselfe the name of the eternall God. If any take exception and say, that this is spoken in respecte of the Person that he representeth: thys knotte is not thus losed. For being a seruaunte he woulde not suffer Sacrifice to be offered to hym and take from God his due honoure. But the Angell refusing to eate bread, commaundeth Sacrifice to bee offered to Jehouah. And then he proueth that hymselfe in dede was the same Jehouah, and therefore Hanoah and his wife by thys token did gather, that they had seen not an only Angel but God. And thence came it that he sayed: we shall dye because we haue seen God. And when hys wyfe answereth, if Jehouah woulde haue slayen vs, he woulde not haue receaued Sacrifice at oure handes: in thys he doeth confesse that he was God whiche befoze was called the Angell. Besyde thys, the answer of the Angell hymselfe taketh away all doubte of it, saying: why doest thou aske me of my name, which is maruellous: So much the moze detestable was the wickednesse of Seruetto, when he affirmed that God neuer appeared to Abraham and the other fathers, but that an Angell was worshipped in place of him. But truely and wisely haue the true teaching doctozs of the Churche expounded, that the same principall Angell was the worde of God, which then as aforehande beganne to execute the office of Mediatoure. For though he was not yet clothed with flethe, yet he came down as a meane betwene God and men, to come moze familiarly to the faithfull. Therefore hys nye communicating hymselfe made him to be called an Angell: yet still in the meane time he retained that which was his own, to be God of vnspcakable glozy. The same thing meaneth Oleas, which after he had recited the wrauslyng of Jacob with the Angell, sayeth: Jehouah the God of hostes, Jehouah, worthy of memozy is his name. Here agayne Seruetto carpeth, God did beare the person of an Angel. As though the Prophete did not confirme that whiche Moses had saied: why doest thou aske me of my name? And the confession of the holye Patriarche doeth sufficiently declare that he was not a created Angell, but one in whom the full godhead was residente, when he saied: I haue seen God face to face. And for thys cause Paule sayeth, that Chyrste was guide of the people in the wyldernesse. For though he the tyme was not yet come of his abacemente: yet that eternall worde shewed a figure of that office to whiche he was appointed. Nowe if the seconde Chapter of zacharie be weyed withoute contencion, the Angell that sente an other Angell was by and by pronounced to be the God of hostes, and to hym is soueraigne power ascribed. I omitte innumerable testimonies on the which oure fayth safely resteth, although he they doe not muche moue the Jewes. For when it is saied in Esai. Beholde this is our God, this is Jehouah, we shal waite vpon him, and he shall saue vs, they that haue eyes may see, that herein is meant God which ryseth by for the saluacion of his people. And these behement demonstracions twise repeted suffer it to be drawen no otherwhere but to Chyrste. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of Malachie where he promyseth that he shall come the Lorde that was then desired, to hys owne temple. But to none but to the onely soueraigne God was the temple

E.ii.

dedicate,

Ju. vi. vii

Ju. xlii.  
vbi.

Ole. xii. s

Ge. xxxii.  
xxix.  
1. Cor. x.  
iii.  
zach. ii. iii

Es. xlv. s

Mal. iii. s.



Of the Knowledge of

dedicate, which temple yet the Prophete doeth claime for Christ. Wher upon foloweth that Christe is the same God that was ever honored among the Jewes.

As for the newe testamente, it swarureth with innumerable testimonies, therfore we must traually rather shortly to choose out fewe, than largely to heape by all. For though the Apostles speake of him since he was nowe become the Mediatour in fleshe: yet all that I shall bring forth shall aptly serue to proue his godhead. Firste this is worthy to be singularly marked, that those thinges which were before spoken touching the eternall God, the Apostles doe shewe that they are either already perfozmed, or hereafter to be perfozmed in Christ. For where Esai prophecieth that the Lorde of hostes shalbe to the Jewes and Israelites a stombling stone and a rocke to fall upon: Paule affirmeth that the same is fulfilled in Christ. Therfore he declareth him to be the Lorde of hostes. Likewise in an other place. We must all (saith he) ones be broughte to appeare before the iudgemente throne of Christe. For it is wrytten, to me shall all knees bowe, and to me shall all tonges swere. Seing God in Esai speaketh this thing of himselfe, and Christe in dede perfozmeth it in himselfe, it foloweth that he is the selfe same God whoes glozy may not be withdraben to an other. And that thing which wryting to the Ephesians he allegeth out of the Psalmes, is euident that it can be applyed to none but to God alone. Ascending on hie he hath carped captiuitie captive, meaning that such ascending was in shadow shewed, when God in notable victozy against forein nations did shewe forth his powler, but he declareth that in Christe it was more fully perfozmed. So Ihon testifieth that it was the glozy of the Sonne that was reuleled to Esai by a visson, wheras in dede the Prophete himselfe wryteth that the maiestie of God appeared vnto hym. And it is euidente that those thinges whiche the Apostle wryting to the Hebrewes applieth to the Sonne, are the plaine titles of God. as: Thou Lorde in the beginning diddest laye the foundations of heauen and earth. &c. Agayne worshop him all ye his Angels. And yet he abusethe not those tittles when he drabweth them to Christ. For al those thinges that are spoken of in those Psalmes, he hymselfe alone hath fulfilled. For it was he that rose by and had mercy on Sio. It was he that claimes to hymselfe the kingdome of all the nations and ilandes. And why shoulde Ihon sticke to apply the maiestie of God to Christe whiche in hys preface had sayed that the worde was alwaye God? Why shoulde Paule feare to sette Christe in the iudgemente throne of God, hauing before wyth so open proclamacion declared hys Godhead, where he sayed that he was God blessed to the ende of worldes? And to make appeare, howe well he agreeth in thys poynte wyth hymselfe, in an other place he wryteth that Christ is God openly shewed in the fleshe. If he be God to be prayed to the ende of worldes, then he is the same he to whom in an other place he affirmeth all glozye and honoure to be due. And thus he hydeth not, but playnly cryeth oute, that he woulde haue counted it no robbery if he had shewed himselfe egall wyth God, but that he wyllingly abaced hymselfe. And that the wycked shoulde not carpe that he is some made G O D, Ihon goeth

ii  
many thinges  
wrote by Ihu  
all of 72000  
God. was by  
expressed off  
to the 1st.

Esa. viii,  
viii,  
Rom. ix,  
xxiii.  
Ro. xliii.  
r.  
Esa. lb.  
xxiii.

Eph. iiii  
viii.  
Psa. lxxi.  
xix.

Iohn. i.  
xliii.  
Esa. xl. i.

Heb. i. r.  
and. vi.

Iohn. i. i.

1. Cor. r.  
Ro. ix. b. j

1. Tim. iiii  
xvi.

1. Timo. i  
xvii.  
Psa. li. bi



goeth further and saith, He is the true God & the eternal life. Although it oughte aboundantly to satisfie vs, that he is called God, specially of that witness which expressly affirmeth vnto vs y<sup>e</sup> there are no moe gods but one. That same witness is Paule, which saith thus. How many soeuer be called goddes either in heauen oz in earth, to vs there is but one God from whom are all thinges. When we heare of the same mouth; that God was openly shewed in the fleche, that God wyth hys owne bloud purchased the churche to himselfe: why shoulde we imagine a seconde God whiche he himselfe acknowledgeth not: And it is no dout that all the godlye were of the same meaning. Like wise Thomas in protesting him to bee his Lorde and his God, doeth professe that he is that onely one God whom he had alway worshipped.

Nowe if we esteeme his Godhead by the woordes that in the Scripture are ascribed vnto him, it shall thereby moze euidentlie appeare. For when he saied that from the beginning he was therterto working with his father: the Jewes whiche were mooste dull in vnderstandyng of all his other sayinges, yet then perceiued that he toke vpon him the power of God. And therefore, as John telleth, they soughte the moze to kill him, because he didde not onely breake the Sabbat, but also dyd call God his father, making himselfe egall with God. Howe dull shall we be then, if we doe not perceiue that his godhead is herein playnly affirmed: And truely to order the worlde with prouidence and power, and to gouerne all thinges with the authoritie of his owne mighte, whiche the Apostle ascribeth vnto him, belongeth to none but onely the creatoure. And he not onely enterparteneth the gouernemente of the world with his father, but also all other offices which can not be made common to God with his creatures. The Lord crieth out by the Prophete: I am he, I am he, that doe awaye thynne offences for myne owne sake. According to the meaning of thys sentence whē the Jewes thoughte that wronge was done to god for that Christe did forgeue sinnes, Christe not onely affirmed in woordes but also proued by miracle that this power belonged vnto himselfe. We see therefore that he hath, not the ministracion, but the power of forgeuenesse of synnes, whiche the Lorde sayeth he wil not suffer to passe away from hymselfe to any. What shall we saye of searching and pearcing the secreete thoughtes of hartes: is it not the propretie of god alone? But the same had Christ: wherby is gathered that he is God.

Nowe, in his miracles howe plainly and clerely doeth he appeare? And though I graunte that as well the Prophetes as the Apostles did egall and like miracles to these that he did: yet thys greate differēce is there, that they by their ministracion disposed the giftes of God, he shewed forth his owne power. He bled sometime praier, to the ende to gene glozy vnto hys father. But we see for the mooste part his own power shewed vnto vs. And howe couide it otherwise be but that he was the verye authoz of miracles that by hys owne authorite gaue power to other to deale miracles abzode: for the Euangelist declareth that he gaue power to the Apostles to rayse vp the dead, to heale the leprous, to cast out devils. &c. And they so bled the ministracion therof that they sufficiently shewed that thys power came not from els where but from

E.iii.

Christe



Christ. In the name of Jesus Christ (saith Peter) Rise and walke. It is therfore no maruel if Christ alleged his miracles to cōfound the unbeleuingnesse of the Jewes: forasmuch as they wer such as being done by hys own power dyd geue a most playne testymonte of his godhead. It els where then in God there is no saluacion, no righteousnesse, no life: and Chyzst conteyneth al these thynges in hym, surely he is there by declared to be God. And no man can object against me and say, that lyfe and saluacion is poured into hym by God: for it is not saied that he receyued saluacion but that he is saluacion hymselfe. And if none be good but onely God: howe can he be onely man, beyng I wil not say good and iuste, but selfe goodnesse and iustyce: yea from the first beginning of the creacion as the Euangeliste wytnelleth in hym was lyfe: and he euen then beeyng lyfe was the lychte of men. Wherefore beyng supported wyth suche proues we are bolde to repose our fayth and hope in hym: when yet we knowe that it is an yngodlynesse y robbeth God for any man to fasten hys confydence in creatures. Beleue ye in God: sayeth he. Beleue then also in me. And so doeth Paule expounde those two places of Esay. Whosoever trusteth in hym shall not be putte to shame. Agayne. Oute of the roote of Isai shall he come that shall rylse to rule peoples, in hym the nations shall truste. And why shoulde we seke oute moze testimonies of Scripture for thys matter, when we so often mete with this sentence: He that beleueth in me hath euerlasting lyfe. Mozeouer the inuocacion whyche hangeth vppon Faythe belongeth also to hym, whyche yet is proper to the maiestie of God if he haue any thyng at all proper to hymselfe. For one Prophete sayeth: whosoever calleth vpon the name of Jehoua shall be saued: and an other sayeth a moste stronge toure is the name of Jehouah: to it the ryghteous shall flee and he shall be saued, but the name of Chyzst is called vpon for saluacion: it foloweth therfore that he is Jehouah. As for inuocacion, we haue an example of it in Stephen, when he sayeth, Lorde Jesu receiue my spirite. Againe in the whole churche, as Ananias testifieth in the same booke. Lorde (sayeth he) thou knowest howe great euylles this man hath done to thy Saintes that call vppon thy name. And that it maye bee moze playnly vnderstanded that the whole fulnesse of the Godhead doeth corporally dwell in Chyzste, the Apostle dooeth confesse that he broughte no other doctryne amonge the Cozinthians but the knowledg of hym, and that he preached no other thyng but that knowledg. What, I praye you, and howe greate a thyng is thys, that the name of the Sonne only is preached vnto vs whom he willeth to glozy in the knowledg of hymselfe alone: Who dare saye that he is but a creature, of whom the onely knowledg is our whole glozpe: Beside that, the salutacyons sette befoze the Epystles of Paule, wythe the same benefites from the Sōne which they do from the ffather, wherby we are taughte not only that those thyngs whych the ffather geueth vs do come vnto vs by his intercessiō, but also by communitie of power, he is the author of them. Whiche knowledg by practyse is wythoute doute moze certayne and perfecte than any idle speculation. For there the godly mynde doth beholde God moste present, and in maner handle him, wher it feleth it selfe to be quickened, lightened, saued, iustified and sanctified.

Wherefore

Act. iii. vi.  
John. v.  
xxv. and  
xxvii.  
and. xliii.  
xi.

Mat. xix.  
xvii.  
Joh. i. liii.  
Joh. xiiii.  
i.  
Esa. xli.  
xvi.  
Esa. xli.  
Rom. x. xi  
x. xv. xii.

1o. ii. xxxii  
2o. xviii,  
v.

Act. vii. lxx  
Act. ix. xliii

1. Cor. ii.

12. i.  
xliii.



Wherefoze out of the same fountaines we must fetch our meane of proving to confirme the Godhead of the Holy ghost. Very plaine is y<sup>e</sup> testimonie of Moses in the history of the creation, that the spirite of God was vpon the depthes, or vpon the vnfashioned heape: because he sheweth that not onely the beautie of the worlde that is nowe to be seen is preserued by the power of the Spirite, but ere this beautie was added, the Spirite was then busied in preseruing that confused lumpe of thinges. And that saying of Esaiæ cannot be cauilled against. And now Jehouah and his Spirite hath sent me. For he communicateth with the Holy ghost his chiefe power in sending of Prophetes. Whereby appeareth the diuine maiestie of the Holy ghost. But our best proufe, as I haue saied, shall be by familiar vse. For that whiche the Scriptures impute vnto it, is farre from the proprietie of creatures, and suche a thing as we oure selues doe learne by assured experience of godlinesse. For he it is that being eche where poured abrode, doeth susteine and geueth growing and life to all thinges in heauen and in earth. And by this pointe he is proued to bee none of the number of creatures, for that he is not comprehended within any boundes: but by pouring his liuely foze into all thinges to breath into them life and mocion, this is the very worke of God. Moreover if regeneracion into an incorruptible life be better and moze excellent than any presente quickening: what shall we iudge of him from whose power the same proceedeth? And that he is the authoz of regeneraciõ, not by a borrowed, but by his owne foze, the Scripture in many places teacheth: and not of that onely, but also of the immortalitie to come. Finally, as vnto the Sonne, so vnto him also are applied al those offices that are most of all properly belonging to the Godhead. For he searcheth the depe secretes of God, wherewith none of al the creatures is of counsel. He geueth wisdom and skill to speake, wheras yet the Lord pronounceth to Moses that it is only his worke to do it. So by him we come to a partaking of God, so that we may fele his power as it were working life in vs. Our iustificacion is his worke. From him is power, sanctification, trueth, grace, and what good thing soeuer maye be thoughte of, because it is the Holie ghoste onely from whom proceedeth all kinde of giftes. For that sentence of Paule is righte worthy to be noted. Although there be diuerse giftes, and manifolde and sondry is the distribucion of them, yet is there but one holie Spirite: because he maketh him not onely the original or beginning, but also the authoz. Whiche a little after is moze plainly expressed in these woordes. One and the same Spirite distributeth all thinges as he will. For if he were not some thing subsisting in God, he woulde not attribute vnto him choise of minde and wyll. Therefore mozte euidentlye doth Paule geue to the Holie ghost diuine power, and sheweth that he is substantially resident in God.

And the Scripture it selfe, when it speaketh of hym, foze beareth not the name of God. For Paul hereby gathereth that we are the temple of God, because his spirite dwelleth in vs: which thing is not lightly to be passed ouer. For wheras God so often promisseth that he wil chose vs for a temple to himselfe, that promysse is no other way fulfilled, but by hys spirite dwelling in vs. Surely, as Augustine very well sayeth: if we  
 E.iiii. were

Gen. i.ii.

Ec. xlviii  
xvi.1. Cor. ii. v  
i. cor. vii. x  
Cr. iiii. xi1. cor. xii.  
xi.15  
1. cor. iii.  
xvii. and  
vi. xix.  
ii. Cor. vi  
xvi.



wer commaunded to make vnto the Holy ghost a temple of timber and stone, because such worshop is due to God onely, it were a cleare argument that he is God: now therfoze how much clearer is this, that we ought, not to make a temple, but our selues to be a temple for him: And the Apostle himselve calleth vs sometime the temple of God, sometime the tēple of the Holy ghoste, both in one meaning. And Peter reprehēding Ananias for that he had lied to the Holy ghost, said that he lied not vnto men but vnto God. And where Clay bringeth in the Lord of hostes speaking, Paul teacheth that it is the Holy ghost that speaketh. Yea where commonly the Prophetes say, that the wordes whiche they vtter are the wordes of the Lord of hostes, Christ and the Apostles doe referre them to the Holy ghost. Wherby it foloweth that he is the true Iehouah that is the chiefe authoz of prophecies. Again where God complaineth that he was prouoked to wrath by the stubboznesse of his people, in steade of that Clay saith that his holy Spirite was greued. Last of al, if blasphemie against the Holy ghost be not forgeuē in this world nor in the worlde to come, whereas he maye obtaine pardon that hath blasphemed against the sōne: his diuine maiestri is here plainly proued, the offense oz diminishment wherof is an vnardonable crime. I dooe wittingly and of purpose omitt many testimonies that the aūcient wri- ters haue bled. They haue thought it a maruellous mete place to allege out of Dauid: with the word of the Lorde the heauens wer stablised, and al the power of them with the spirite of his mouth, to proue that y world was no lesse the work of the Holy ghost than of the Sonne. But forasmuch as it is commonly bled in the Psalmes to repete one thyng twice: & in Clay the spirite of his mouth is as much to say as his word, that reason is very weake. Therfoze I thought good to touche a fewe such thinges as godly mindes might soundly rest vpon.

And as God hath moze plainly disclosed himselfe by the comming of Christ, so is he also in the thze Persons become moze familiarly known. But of al the testimonies lette this one suffice vs for this present. Paule so knitteth these thzee together, God, faith, & Baptisme, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this maner. Because there is but one faith, he therby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one god, he therby proueth y there is but one faith. Therfoze if we be entred into the faith and religion of one God by Baptyl- me: we must nedes thinke him the true God in whose name we ar bap- tised. And it is not to be doubted, but that in this solemne protestacion, Christ meant to testifie that the perfect light of faith was already deli- uered, when he said: Baptise them in the name of the father and of the Sonne & of the Holy ghost. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of the one god, which with perfect byrghtnesse hath appea- red in y father, the Sonne & the Holy ghost. Wherby is euidente that in the essence of God abide thze Persons in which the one God is kno- wen. And surely, forasmuch as our fayth ought not to loke hether and thether, nor diuersly to wāder about, but to haue regard to y one God, to be applied to him, and to sticke fast in him: it is hereby easily proued, that if there be diuerse kindes of faith, there must also bee many Gods. Now wheras baptisme is a Sacrament of faith: it proueth vnto vs the vnitie of God, because it is but one. And herof also foloweth, that it is

August  
ad. Max  
imum.  
Ep. lxxvi

Act. v. iiii.  
Esa. vi. ix  
Act. xxviii  
vrb.

Esa. lxi.  
r. Dat. xii  
vrb.  
Park. lli.  
vrb.  
Luk. xxi. v

Ps. cxxiii.  
vi.

Cl. xi. iiii.

16

Ep. llii. v.

Dat. x  
viii. xii.



not lawfull to be baptised but into one God, because we embrace þ Faith of him, into whose name we are baptised. What meant Christe then, when he commaunded to be baptised, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy gost, but that we ought with one Faith to beleue in the Father, Sonne, and the Holy ghost: Therfore lithe this remaineth certayn, that there is but one God, and not many, we determine that the Worde and the Spirite are nothyng els but the very selfe essence of God. And very foolishly did the Arrians prate, which confessyng the godhed of the Sonne did take from him the substance of God. And suche a like rage vexed the Macedonians, whiche woulde haue to be vnderstanded by the Spirite, only the gyftes of grace that are poured foorth into men. For as wisdome, vnderstandyng, prudence, fortitude, feare of God doo procede from hym: so he onely is the spirite of wisdome, prudence, fortitude, and godlinesse. Yet is not he diuided accordyng to the distribution of his graces: but howe soeuer they bee dyuersely dealt abzoade, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saithe.

1. Cor. xlii. ri.

Agayn, there is shewed in the Scriptures a certain distinction of the Father from the Woorde, and of the Woorde from the Spirite. In discussing wherof, howe greate religiousnesse and sobrietie we oughte to vse, the greatnesse of the mysterie it selfe dooth admonishe vs. And I very well like that saying of Gregorie Naziansene: I can not thynke vpon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightnesse of the thre: And I can not seuerally discern the thre, but I am suddenly dzyuen backe to one. Wherfore lette it not come in our myndes ones to imagine suche a Trinitie of Persons as may hold out thought withdrawen into seueralties, and doothe not foorthewich bynge vs agayn to that vnitie. The names of Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, doo proue a true distinction, that no man should thynke them to be bare names of addition, wherby God accordyng to his woorkes is diuersly entitled: but yet it is a distinction, not a diuision. The places that wee haue already cited, doo shewe that the Sonne hath a propriety distincte from the Father, because the Woorde had not ben with God, if he hadde not ben an other thyng than the Father: neyther had he had his gloze with the Father, but beyng distinct from hym. Lykewise he doothe distinguish the hym selfe from the Father, when he saythe, that there is an other whyche beareth hym witnesse. And for this purpose maketh that whiche in an other place is sayd, that the Father created all thinges by the Woorde, whiche he coulde not, but beyng after a certaine maner distinct from hym. Moreouer the Father came not downe into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not, nor roase agayne, but he that was sent by him. Neither yet did this distinction beginne at the takynge of fleshe: but it is manifest that he was also before, the onely begotten in the bosom of the Father. For who can abide to say, that then the Sonne entred into the bosome of the father, when he descended from heauen to take manhode vpon hym: He was therefore before in the bosome of the Father, and enioyed his glozie with the Father. As for the distinction of the Holye ghoste from the Father, Christe speaketh of it when he saith, that it procedeth from the Father. And howe oft doothe he shewe it to be an other beside himselfe: as when

17 11

In sermo ne de sacro baptis mo.

John. v. iiii. s. viii. rvi.

John. i. rvi.

Job. xiiii. vi. rb. rvi.

the pro-



Joh. xliiii. he promyseth that he will sende an other confortoure, and often in  
fol. other places.

18 But to bozow similitudes from matters of mē, to expresse the force of  
this distinction, I knowe not whether it be expedient. In dede the olde  
fathers are wont so to doo somtyme: but withall they doo confesse, that  
what soeuer they bryng forth for like, doothe muche differ. For which  
cause I am muche afrayd to be any waye bolde, least if I bryng forth  
any thyng vnsittly, it shuld geue occasion either to the malicious to ca=  
uill, or to the vnskilfull to be deceiued. Yet suche distinction as we haue  
marked to be sette out in scriptures, it is not good to haue left vnspoke.  
And that is this, that to the father is geuen the begynnynge of woord=  
kyng, the fountayne and spryng of all thynges: to the Sonne wple=  
dome, counsell, and the very disposition in the doyng of thinges: to the  
Holy ghost is assigned power & effectual working. And although eter=  
nitie belong vnto the father, and eternitie to the Sonne and to þ Holy  
ghost also, for as much as God coulde neuer haue ben without his wisa=  
dom & power, & in eternitie is not to be sought, which was fyrst or last:  
yet this obseruation of order is not bayne or superfluous, wherein the  
father is reckened fyrst, and then of hym the Sonne, and after of them  
both the Holy ghost. For euery mans mynde of it self enclineth to this,  
fyrst to consider God, then the wisdom rising out of hym, and laste of  
all the power wherwith he putteth the decrees of his purpose in execu=  
tion. In what sort the Sonne is said to be of the father only, and the  
Holy ghoste bothe of the father and the Sonne, is shewed in many  
places, but no where more playnely than in the. viii. chapiter to the  
Romayns, where the same Spirite is without difference somtyme cal=  
led the Spirite of Christe, & somtyme of him that raised by Christ from  
the dead: and that not without cause. For Peter dothe also testifie that  
it was the Spirite of Christe wherewith the Prophetes did prophetic,  
where as the Scripture so often teacheth, that it was the Spirite of  
God the father.

19 Now this distinction doth so not stand against þ single vnitie of God,  
þ therby we may proue that þ Son is one God with the father, because  
he hath one Spirit with hym, and that the Holy Spirite is not a thyng  
diuers from the father & the Son. For in eche Hypostasis is vnderstan=  
ded the whole substance, with this that euery one hath his own propre=  
tie. The father is whole in the Sonne, & the Sonne is whole in the  
father, as hymselfe affirmeth. I am in the father, and the father is  
in me. And the Ecclesiasticall wryters doo not graunt the one to be se=  
uered from the other by any difference of essence. By these names that  
betoken distinction (sayth Augustin) that is ment wherby they haue re=  
lation one to an other, and not the very substance wherby they are all  
one. By whiche meanyng are the saynges of the olde wryters to be  
made agree, whiche otherwise would seeme not a little to disagree. For  
sometyme they saye that the father is the beginnyng of the Sonne,  
and somtyme that the Sonne hath bothe godhead and essence of hym=  
selfe, and is all one begynnynge with the father. The cause of this  
diuersitie Augustine doothe in an other place well and plainely de=  
clare, when he sayeth: CHRIST hauyng respect to hym selfe, is  
called God, and to his father is called the Sonne, And agayne,

The

Joh. xliiii.  
f.

August.  
homo. de  
tempori.  
xxxviii.

De trini:  
tate &  
coll. ad  
pasceñti  
epistol.  
clxxvii.



the Father as to hymselfe is called God, as to his Sonne is called the Father, where hauynge respecte to the Sonne he is called the Father, he is not the Sonne: & where as to the Father he is called the Son, he is not the Father: and where he is called as to hym self the Father, and as to hymselfe the Sonne: it is all one God. Therfoze when we simply speake of the Sonne: without hauynge respect to the Father, we do well and propzely say, that he is of hym selfe: and therfoze we call hym but one beginnyng: but when we make mention of the relation betweene hym and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Sonne. All the whole fifth boke of Augustine concernyng the Trinitie dooth nothyng but sette foorth this matter. And muche safer it is to reste in that relation that he speaketh of, than into suttletle pearryng vnto the hye mysterie to wander abzoad by many hayne speculations.

Let them therfoze y are pleased with sobrenesse, & cōtented with measure of faith, shortly learne so muche as is profitable to bee knowen: that is, when we professe that we beleue in one God, vnder the name of God, we vnderstande the one onely and single essence in whiche we comprehend the three Persons or hypostases. And therfoze so ofte as we doo indefinitely speake of the name of God, we meane no lesse the Sonne and the Holy ghost than the Father. But when the Sonne is ioynd to the Father, then commeth in a relation, and so we make distinction betwene y Persons. And because the proprietes in the Persons bring an order with them, so as the beginnyng and originall is in the Father: so ofte as mention is made of the Father and the Son, or the Holy ghost together, the name of God is peculiarly geuen to the Father. By this meane is retained the vnitie of the essence, and regarde is hadde to the order, whiche yet dothe minishe nothyng of the godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghoste. And where as we haue already seene that the Apostles doo affirme, that the Sonne of God is he, whom Moses and the prophetes doo testifie to be Jehouah the Lorde, we must of necessitie alwaye come to the vnitie of the essences. Wherefoze it is a detestable sacrilege for vs to call the Sonne a seuerall God from the Father, bycause the symple name of God, doothe admytte no relation, and God in respecte of hym selfe can not bee saide to be this or that. Now, that the name of Jehouah the Lorde indefinitely taken is applied to Christe, appereth by the wordes of Paul, wher he sayth: Therfoze I haue thysle praid the Lorde, because that after he hadde receyued the aunswere of Christ, My grace is sufficient for the: he sayeth by and by, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certayne that the name Lorde is there set for Jehouah, and therfoze to restraine it to the person of the Mediatour were very fonde and childyshe, for somuch as it is an absolute sentence that compareth not the Father with the Sonne. And we knowe that after the accustomed maner of the Greeces, the Apostles, doo commonly sette the worde Kyrios, Lord, in stede of Ichouah. And, not to fetch an example farre of, Paule dydde in no other sense pray to the Lorde, than in the same sense that Peter citethe the place of Ioell: who soeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde shall be saued. But where this name is peculiarly geuen to the Sonne, we shall se that there is an other reason: herof, when we com to a place fitte for it. Nowe it is enough to haue in mynde, when Paule had ab-

Cyrius de trinit.  
li. vii. idē  
li. iii. diaz  
log.  
Augusti.  
in ps. cit.  
& tract.  
in Iohā  
xxxix. et  
psal. lxxvii

20 4

1. Cor. xii.  
17.Act. ii. xvi  
Joel. ii.  
xviii.

solute



absolutely prayed to God, he by and by byrnygeth in the name of Christ. Euen so is the whole God called by Christ hymselfe the Spirite. For there is no cause agaynst it, but that the whole essence of God may bee spirituall, wherin the father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoste be comprehended. Whiche is very playne by the Scripture. For euen as there we heare God to be made a Spirite: so we do here the Holy ghost, for so muche as it is an Hypostasis of the whole essence, to bee called bothe God, and procedyng from God. 14

21

But for as muche as Satan, to the ende to roote out our faith, hath alway moued great cōtentions, partly concernyng the diuine essence of the Sonne, and of the Holy ghost, and partly cōcernyng their distinctiō of Persones. And as in a maner in all ages he hath stirred by wicked spirites to trouble the true teachers in this behalfe: so at this day he trauaileth out of the olde embzes to kyndle a new fyre: therfoze here it is good to answer the peruerse foolish errours of some. Hitherto it hath ben our purpose, to leade as it were by the hande those that are willyng to learne, and not to striue hande to hande with the obstinate and contentious. But now the truthe which we haue already peasably shewed, must be reskued from the rauillations of the wicked. All be it my chiefe trauaple shall yet be applied to this ende, that they whyche geue gentill and open eares to the woord of God, may haue wherbyon steadfastly to rest their foote. In this poynt, if any where at all in the secrete mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute sobzely, and with greate moderation, and to take great hede that neyther oure thought noz oure tongue procede any further than the boundes of Goddes woorde dooe extende. For howe may the mynde of man by his capacitie define the immeasurable essence of God, whiche neuer yet coulde certainly determine howe great is the body of the Son, which yet he daily seeth, with his eyes: yea howe may she by her owne guidyng atteyn to discusse the substance of God, that can not reache to knowe her owne substance? Wherfoze lette vs willingly geue ouer vnto God the knowledge of hym selfe. For he onely, as Hylarie saieyth, is a conueniente witnesse to hym selfe, whiche is not knowen but by hymselfe. We shall geue it ouer vnto hym, if we shall both conceiue hym to be such as he hath opened himself vnto vs, and shall not els where searche to knowe of hym, than by his owne woorde. There are to this ende written fine homelies of Chrysostome agaynst the Anomei. Yet the boldnesse of Sophisters coulde not be restrained by them from bablyng vnbzidledly. For they haue behaued them selues in this behalfe no whit more modestely than they are wonted in all other. By the vnhappye successe of whiche vndiscretion, we ought to be warned to take care that we bend our selues to trauaile in this question rather with tractable willyngnesse to learne, than with charpnesse of witte, and neuer haue in our mynde epyther to searche for God any where els than in his holy Woorde, or to thynke any thyng of hym, but haupng his Woord goyng before to guide vs, or to speake any thyng but that whiche is taken out of the same Woorde: The distinctiō that is in the one godhead of the father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoste, as it is very harde to knowe, so dooth it byrnyng moze busynesse and comberance to some wittes than is expedient. Let them remembze that the myndes of men doo entre into a mase when they folowe their

Hila. li.  
pri. de  
Trinis  
tate.



owne curiositie, and so let them suffer them selues to be ruled with the heauenly oracles, howe soeuer they can not atteyne the heighte of the mysterie.

To make a register of the errours, wherwith the purenesse of faith in this poynt of doctrine hath in tymes paste ben assailed, were to long and full of vnprofitable tediousnesse: and the moste parte of heretikes haue so attempted to ouerwhelme the glozy of God with grosse dotyng errours, that they haue thought it enough for them to shake and trouble the vnskilfull. And from a fewe men haue spronge by many sectes, wherof some doo teare in sundet the essence of God, some do confound the distinction  $\bar{y}$  is betwene the Persons: But if we hold fast  $\bar{y}$  which is already sufficiētly shewed by the Scripture,  $\bar{y}$  the essence of the one God whiche belongeth to the Father, the Son, and the Holy ghost, is syngle and vndiuided. Agayne, that the Father by a certayne proprietie differeth from the Sonne, and the Sonne from the holy ghost: we shal stop by the gate not only against Arius and Sabellius, but also the other olde authozs of errours. But because in our tyme there be risen by certayne phrenetike men, as Seruetto and other like, which haue encombrd all thinges with newe deceites: It is good in fewe wordes to discusse their falsehoods. The name of the Trinitie was so hatefull, yea so detestable to Seruetto, that he sayde, that all the Trinitaries, as he called them, were bitterly godlesse. I omitte the foolische wordes that he had deuised to raile withall. But of his opinions this was the sūme. That God is made Tripartite, whē it is said, that there abide thre Persons in his essence, and that this Trinitie is but a thyng imagined, because it disagreeeth with the vnitie of God. In the meane tyme the Persons he would haue to be certaine outward conceptions of forme, whiche are not truely substyng in the essence of God, but doo represente God vnto vs in this or that fashion. And at the beginnyng that there was in God nothyng distincte because ones the Worde and the Spirite were all one: but sins that Christe arose God oute of God, the Holye ghost sprong also an other God out of hym. And though sometyme he colour his follies with allegozies, as when he saythe, that the eternall Worde of God was the Spirite of Christ with God, and the bright shynyng of his forme. Agayne, that the Holy ghost was the shadow of the godhed, yet afterward he bringeth the godhed of them both to nothing, affirmyng that after the rate of distribution there is bothe in the Son and in the Holy Spirite a parte of God, euen as the same Spirite in vs, and also in wode and stones is substancially a porcion of God. What he babbleth of the Person of the Mediatour, we shal hereafter see in place conuenient. But this monstrous forged deuise, that a Person is nothyng ells but a visibler forme of the glozy of God, needeth no long confutation. For where as John pronounceth, that the Worde was **God** before the Worlde was yet create, he maketh it muche differyng from a conception of forme. But if then also, yea and from farthest Eternitie of tyme, that Worde whyche was God was with the Father, and had his owne propre glozpe with the Father, he could not be an outward or figuratiue shynyng: but it necessarily foloweth that he was an hypostasis that did inwardely abyde in God. And althoughe there bee no mencion made of the Spryte, but in the Hystoꝝpe of

22

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Job. 1. 1.

the



Gen. i. ii.

the creation of the worlde: yet he is not there brought in as a shadowe, but an essentiall power of God, when Moses heareth that the very un- fashioned lumps was sustained in hym. Therfore it then appeared, that the eternall Spirite was alwaies in God, when he preserved and susteyned the confused matter of heauen and earth, vntill beautie and order were added vnto it. Surely he coulde not yet be an image or representation of God as Seruetto dreameth. But in other poyntes he is compelled moze openly to disclose his wickednesse, in sayeng that God by his eternall purpose appointyng to hymselfe a visible Sonne, did by this meane shewe hymselfe visible. For if that be true, there is no other godhed left vnto Christe, but so farre as he is by the eternall decree of God ordeyned his Sonne. Moreover he so transformeth those imagined shapies that he sticketh not to sayne newe accidentes in God. But this of all other is most abhominable, that he confusely myngleth as well the Sonne of God, as the Holye ghoste, with all creatures. For he playnely affirmeth, that there bee partes and partitions in the Essence of God, of whiche euerye portion is God. And namely he saythe, that the Spirites of the faithfull are coeternall and consubstanciall with God: albeit in an other place he assigneth the substanciall Deitie, not onely to the soule of man, but also to other creatures.

23

Out of this sinke came forth an other lyke monster. For certaine lewde men meanyng to escape the hatred and shame of the wickednesse of Seruetto, haue in dede confessed, that there are thre Persones, but addyng a maner howe: that the Father whiche truly and properly is the one onely God, in formyng the Son and the Holy ghost, hath powered his godhead into theim. Yea they forbear not this horrible maner of speeche, that the Father is by this marke distinguished from the Sonne and the Holy ghost, that he is the only essentiatur or maker of the essence. First they pretende this colour, that Christ is euewhere called the Sonne of God: whereof they gather, that there is none other properly God but the Father. But they mark not, that though the name of God be also common to the Sonne, yet by reason of preeminence it is sometyme gyuen to the Father onely, because he is the fountayn and originall of the Deitie, and that for this purpose, to make the syngle vnitie of the essence to be therby noted. They take exception and saye: If he be truly the Sonne of God, it is inconuenient to haue hym reckened the Sonne of a Person. I answer that bothe are true: that is, that he is the Sonne of God, because he is the Woorde begotten of the Father before all worldes (for we come not yet to speake of the Person of the Mediatour) and yet for explications sake we oughte to haue regarde of the Person, that the name of God simply be not taken, but for the Father onely. For if we meane none to be God but the Father, we plainly throwe downe the Sonne from the degree of God. Therfore so ofte as mencion is made of the godhed, we must not admitte a comparison betwene the Sonne and the Father, as though the name of God dydde belonge onely to the Father. For truely the God that appeared to Elsie was the true and onely God, and yet John affirmeth that the same was Christe. And he that by the mouth of Elsie testified, that he should be a stumbling stone to the Jewes, was the only God: and yet Paule pronounceth that the same was Christe. He that crieth

Esa. vi. f.  
Joh. xii.  
xli.  
Esa. viii.  
xliii.  
Rom. ix.  
xxiii.  
Esa. xlv.  
xxvii.



crieth out by **Esaie**, **I** live, and to me all knees shall bowe, is the onely God: and yet **Paule** expoundereth that the same was **Christ**. For this purpose setue the testimonies that the **Apostle** reciteth: **Thou O God** haste laide the foundations of heauen and earth. **Agayne**, let all the angels of **God** worship him, whiche thynges belong to none, but to the onely **God**. And yet he saith, that they are the propre titles of **Christ**. And this caullation is nothyng worthe, that that is geuen to **Christe**, whiche is propre to **God**: because **Christe** is the shynyng brightnesse of his glozy. For because in eche of these places is set the name of **Jehouah**, it foloweth, that it is so sayd in respecte that he is **God** of hymselfe. For if he be **Jehouah**, it can not be denied that he is y<sup>e</sup> same **God** that in an other place crieth out by **Esaie**: **I, I am**, and beside me there is no **God**. It is good also to consider that saying of **Hieremie**: The gods that haue not made the heauen and earth, let them perishe out of the earth that is vnder the heauen. Where as on the other side we must nedes confesse, that the **Sonne of God** is he, whose godhead is ofte proued in **Esaie** by the creation of the worlde. And howe can it be that the **Creatour**, whyche geueth beyng to all thynges, shall not bee of hymselfe, but borowe his beyng of an other. For who soeuer saythe that the **Sonne** was essentiate or made to be of his father, denieth that he is of hymselfe. But the **Holy ghost** saith the contrary, namyng hym **Jehouah**. Nowe if we graunt that the whole essence is in the father onely, either it muste be made partable, or be taken from the **Sonne**, and so shall the **Sonne** be spoyled of his essence, and be a **God** only in name and title. The essence of **God**, if we beleue these triflers: belongeth onely to the father, for as muche as he is onely **God**, and is the essencemaker of the **Sonne**. And so shall the godhed of the **Sonne** be an abstracte from the essence of **God**, or a deriuation of a parte oute of the whole. Nowe muste they nedes graunt by theyr own principle, that the **holy ghost** is the **Spirite** of the father only. For if he be a deriuation from the fyrst essence, whiche is onely propre to the father, of right he can not be accompted the **Spirite** of the **Sonne**: whiche is confuted by the testimonie of **Paul**, where he maketh the **Spirit** common to **Christ** and the father. Moreover if the **Person** of the father be wiped out of the **Trinite**, wherein shall he differ from the **Sonne** and the **Holy ghoste**, but in this, that he onely is **God**: They confesse **Christ** to be **God**, and yet they say he differeth from the father. **Agayne**, there muste be some marke of difference to make that the father be not the **Sonne**. They which say that marke of difference to be in the essence, doo manifestly bring the true godhead of **Christe** to nothyng, whiche can not be without essence; yea and that the whole essence. The father differeth not from the **Sonne**, vnlesse he haue somethyng propre to hymselfe that is not common to the **Sonne**. What nowe will they fynde wherein to make him different? If the difference be in the essence, let them answer if he haue not communicated the same to the **Sonne**. But that could not be in part, for to say that he made halfe a **God** were wycked. Beside that by this meane they doo fowly teare in sunder the essence of **God**. It remaineth therefore that the essence is whole, and perfectly common to the father and the **Sonne**. And if that bee true, then as touchyng the essence there is no difference of the one of them from the other. If they say y<sup>e</sup> the father in geuyng

**Esa. xlv.**  
**xxiii.**  
**Ro. viii.**  
**xi.**  
**Heb. i. r.**  
**Psal. cii.**  
**xxvii.**  
**Pl. xcvi.**  
**lvi.**

**Esa. lxi.**  
**vi.**  
**Here. x. r.**



geuyng his essence, remaineth neuerthelesse the only God, with whom the essence abideth: then Christ shalbe a figuratiue God, and a God onely in the w<sup>o</sup>r<sup>d</sup> & in name but not in deede: because nothyng is moze. propre to God than to bee, accoꝝdyng to this saying: He that .is., hath sent me vnto you.

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It is easy by many places to proue that it is false whiche they holde, that so ofte as there is in scripture mencion made absolutely of God, none is ment therby but the father. And in those places that they them selues doo alledge, they sowlly betoꝝay their owne want of consideration, because there is also sette the name of the Sonne. Wherby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatively takē, and therfoꝝe restrained to the Person of the father. And their obiection where they say, If the father were not only the true God, he should hymselfe be his owne father, is answered with one woꝝde. It is not inconuenient foꝝ degree and orders sake, that he be peculiarly called GOD, whiche hath not onely of hym selfe begotten his wisdom, but also is the God of the Mediatour, as in place fitte foꝝ it, I will moze largely declare. Foꝝ sythe Christ was openly shewed in the fleche, he is called the Sonne of God, not onely in respect that he was the eternall Woꝝde befoꝝe all woꝝldes begotten of the father: but also because he tooke vpon hym the Person and office of the Mediatour to ioyne vs vnto God. And because they do so boldly exclude the Sonne from the honouꝝ of God, I would fayne knowe whether the Sonne when he pronounceth, that none is good but God, doo take goodnesse from hymselfe: I doo not speake of his humaine nature, least perhappes they shuld take exception, and say, that what soeuer goodnesse was in it, it came of free gyft. I aske whether the eternall Woꝝde of God be good oꝝ no: If they say nay, then we hold that it vngodlinesse sufficiently counced: in sayeng yea, they confound thym selues. But where as at the first sight, Christe seemeth to put from hymselfe the name of Good, that doothe the moze confirme oure meaynyng. Foꝝ sythe it is the singular title of God alone; foꝝ as muche as he was after the common maner saluted by the name of Good, in refusing false honouꝝ, he did admonish them that the goodnesse wherin he excelled, was the goodnesse that God hath. I aske also, where Paule affirmeth that only God is immortall, wise, and true, whether by these woꝝdes Christe be brought into the numbꝝe of men mortall, foolish, and false: Shall not he then be immortall, that from the begynnyng was lyfe to geue immortallitie to angels: Shall not he bee wise that is the eternall wisdom of God: Shall not the trueth it selfe be true: I aske further moze, whether they thynke that Christe ought to be woꝝshipped oꝝ no: Foꝝ he claimeth this vnto hymselfe, to haue all knees bowe befoꝝe hym: it foloweth that he is the God whiche lyd in the lawe foꝝ byd any other to be woꝝshipped but hymselfe. If they will haue that meantt of the father onely whiche is spoken in Esai: I am, and none but I: this testimonie I tourne against thym selues, foꝝ as muche as we see, that whatsoeuer pertaineth to God is geuen to Christe. And their caꝝuillation hath no place, that Christe was exalted in the fleche, wherein he had bene abased, and that in respecte of the fleche, all authoritie is geuen hym in heauen and in earthe: because although the maiestie of kyng and Iudge extende to the whole Person of the Mediatour, yet yf he

Crod. v.  
rui.Mat. xii.  
rui.1. Tim. i.  
rui.Philly.  
ii. r.Esa. lxi.  
vi.



if he had not been God openly shewed in flesh, he could not have been auanced to suche height, but that God should haue disagreed with himselfe. But this controuersye Paule doeth well take away, teaching that he was egall wyth God before that he dyd abase himselfe vnder the shape of a seruaunte. Nowe howe could this equalitie haue stande together, vnlesse he hadde been the same God whoes name is Jah and Jehouah: that rydeth vppon the Cherubin, that is kynge of all the earthe and Lorde of the worldes? Nowe howe soeuer they babble agaynste it, it canne not bee taken from Chryste whiche Gaile sayeth in an other place: He, he, is our **G O D**, for hym we haue wayted, whereas in these woordes he describeth the comming of **G O D** the redemer, not onely that should bring home the people from the exyle of Babylon, but also fullye in all pointes restore the churche. And with their other cauillation they nothyng pzeuayle, in sayinge, that Chryste was God in hys father. For though we confesse that in respecte of order and degree the beginning of the Godheade is in the father, yet we saye that it is a detestable inuentyon to saye that the essence is onely proper to the father, as though he were the onely God-maker of the Sonne. For by this meanes eyther he should haue moe essence than one, or ells they call Chryste God onely in title and imaginacion. If they graunte that Chryste is God, but nexte after the father, then shall the essence bee in hym begotten and fashioned, whiche in the father is vnbegotten and vnfashioned. I knowe that many quicke nosed men doe laughe at this that we gather the distinction of Persons oute of the wordes of Moyses, where he bringeth in God speaking thus: Lette vs make manne after oure image. But yet the Godly readers doe see howe baynly and fondely Moyses should bring in this as a talke of dyuerse together, if there were not in God moe Persons than one. Nowe certayne is it, that they whom the father spake vnto, wer vncrate: but nothing is vncrate but God himselfe yea the one onely God. Nowe therefore vnlesse they graunte that the power of creating was common, and the authoritie of commaunding common, to the father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghooste: it shall folowe that God did not inwardly thus speake to himselfe, but directed his speche to other forein woorkmenne. Finallie ene place shall casilie answere two of their obiections. For where as Chryste himselfe pronounceth that **G O D** is a Spirite, this were not conueniente to be restrained to the father onely, as if the woorde himselfe were not of spirituall nature. If then the name of Spirite doeth as well agree with the Sonne as with the father, I gather that the Sonne is also comprehended vnder the indefynite name of **G O D**. But he addeth by and by after that, none are allowed for good worshippers of the father, but they that worshyppe hym in Spirite and trueth, where vppon foloweth an other thyng, because Chryste doeth vnder a hed execute the office of a teacher, he doeth geue the name of **G O D** to the father, not to the entente to destroye his owne Godhead, but by degrees to lyfte vs vnto it.

Ph. ii. vii

Esa. xlv. ii.

Gene. i. v.

John. i. viii.



But in this they are deceiued, that they dreame of certaine vndul-  
 ded singular thinges wherof eche haue a part of the essence. But by the  
 Scriptures we teache, that there is but one essentially God, and there-  
 fore that the essence as well of the Sonne as of the Holy ghost is vn-  
 begotten. But forsoemuch as the Father is in order firste, and hath of  
 himselfe begotten his wisdom, therfore rightfully as is aboue sayed,  
 he is counted the original and fountaine of al the Godhead. So God  
 indefinitely spoken; is vnbegotten, and the Father also in respecte of  
 Person is vnbegotten. And foolishly they thinke that they gather, that  
 by oure meaning is made a quaternitie, because fastly and cauillouslye  
 they ascribe vnto vs a deuise of their owne brayne, as though we dyd  
 faine that by deriuacion there come thzee Persons out of one essence:  
 wheras it is euident by our wytynges that we do not drawe the Per-  
 sons out of the essence, but although they be abiding in the essence we  
 make a distinction betwene them. If the Persons were seuered from  
 the essence, then paraduenture their reason were like to be true. But  
 by that meane it shoulde be a Trinitie of Goddes and not of Persons,  
 which one God containeth in hym. So is their sonde question answer-  
 ed, whether the essence doe mete to make by the Trinitie, as though we  
 did imagine that there descende thzee Goddes oute of it. And thys  
 exception groweth of lyke foolysheesse where they saye, that then the  
 Trinitie shoulde be withoute God. For though it mete not to make by  
 the distinction as a parte or a member, yet neither are the Persons  
 withoute it noz oute of it. Because the Father if he were not God  
 coulde not be the Father, and the Sonne is none otherwyse the  
 Sonne but because he is God. We saye therfore, that the Godhede  
 is absolutely of it selfe. Whereby we graunte that the Sonne in so  
 muche as he is God is of hymselfe withoute respecte of hys Person,  
 but in so muche as he is the Sonne, we saye that he is of the Father.  
 So his essence is wythoute beginning, but the beginning of his Per-  
 son is God hymselfe. And the true teaching writers that in olde  
 tyme haue spoken of the Trinitie, haue onely applyed thys name  
 to the Persons, for somuche as it were not onely an absurde er-  
 roz but also a grosse vngodlinesse to comprehende the essence in the  
 distinction. For they that will haue these thzee to mete, the essence,  
 the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, it is playne that they dooe destroye  
 the essence of the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, for ellz the partes  
 ioynd together would fall in sonder, whiche is a fault in euery distinc-  
 tion. Finally if the Father and the Sonne were Synonymes or se-  
 uerall names signifying one thyng, so the Father shoulde be the  
 Godmaker and nothyng shoulde remaine in the Sonne but a sha-  
 dowe, and the Trinitie shoulde be nothyng ellz, but the ioyning of one  
 God with two creatures.

Whereas they obiecte, that if Chyrste bee properly God, he is  
 not ryghtfullye called the Sonne, to that we haue already answer-  
 ed; that because in suche places there is a comparyson made of the  
 one Personne to the other, the name of God is not there indefi-  
 nitelye taken, but restrayned to the Father onelye, in so muche as  
 he is the beginning of the Godhead, not in makynge of essence  
 as the madde menne dooe fondlye imagyne, but in respecte of



order. In this meaning is construed that saying of Christ to the Father: this is the eternal life, that men beleue in the the one true God, and Iesus Christe whom thou hast sente. For speaking in the Person of the Mediator, he kepeth the degree that is meane betwene God and men: and yet is not his maiestie thereby diminished. For though he abaced hymselfe, yet he lefte not with the Father his glozy that was hidden before the world. So the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Hebzues, though he confesseth that Christ for a thort time was abaced beneth the Angels, yet he stycketh not to affirme withall, that he is the same eternall God that founded the earth. We must therfoze holde, that so oft as Christe in the Person of the Mediator speaketh to the Father, vnder thys name of God is comprehended the Godhead whyche is hys also. So when he sayed to the Apostles: it is profitable that I go by to the Father, because the Father is greater. He geueth not vnto hymselfe only the seconde degree of Godhead to be as touchyng hys eternal essence inferior to the Father, but because hauyng obtained the heauely glozy, he gathereth together the saythfull to the partakyng of it. He letteth his Father in the hier degree, in so muche as the glozyous perfection of brightnesse that appeareth in heauen, differeth from that measure of glozy that was seen in him being clothed with fleche. After like maner in an other place, Paule sayeth: that Christe shall yelde by the kyngdome to God and hys Father, that God maye be all in all. There is nothyng moze absurde than to take awaye eternall contynuaunce fro the Godhead of Christe. If he shall neuer cesse to be the Sonne of God, but shall alwaye remaine the same that he was from the beginning, it foloweth that vnder the name of the Father is comprehended the one essence that is common to them both. And surely therfoze did Christe descende vnto vs, that lifyng vs by vnto hys Father, he might also lift vs by vnto hymselfe, inasmuch as he is all one with his father. It is therfoze neyther lawfull nor ryghte so exclusiuely to restrayne the name of God to the Father, as to take it from y Sonne. For, Ihon doth for thys cause affirme that he is true God, that no man shoulde thynke that he resteth in a seconde degree of Godhead beneth hys Father. And I maruell what these framers of new Goddes do meane, that whyle they confesse Christe to be true God, yet they forth with exclude hym from the Godhead of hys Father. As though there coulde any be a true God but he that is the one God, or as though the Godhead poured from one to an other, be not a certayne newe forged imagination.

Whereas they heape by many places out of Ireneus, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christe is the onely and eternall God of Israel: that is eyther done of a shamefull ignoraunce, or of an extreme wyckednesse. For they oughte to haue considered, that then the holye manne had to doe in disputation with those phrentyke menne, that denyed that the Father of Christe was the same God that in olde time spake by Moses and the Prophetes, but that he was I wote not what imagined thyng broughte oute of the cozruption of the woelde. Therfoze he altogether trauallyeth in thys poynte, to make it playne that there is no other God preached of in the Scripture

Ioh. xvij. iii.

Ioh. xvi. vii.

1. Cor. xv. xiii.

Iohn. i. i.



but the father of Chziste, and that it is amisse to deuise any other, and therfoze it is no maruell if he so ofte conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken of by Chzyste and the Apostles. And in like manner nowe, whereas we are to stande agaynste an other sorte of erroz, we maye truely saye that the God whiche in olde time appeared to the fathers, was none other but Chziste. But if any manne obiecte that it was the father, oure aunswere is in redineste, that when we strine to defende the Godhead of the Sonne, we exclude not the father. If the readers take hede to thys purpose of Ireneus, all that contention shall cesse. And also by the syrte Chapter of the thirde booke, this whole strife is ended, where the good manne standeth all vppon this pointe, to proue that he whiche is in Scripture absolutely and indefinitely called God: is verely the one onely God, and that Chzist is absolutely called God. Lette vs remember that this was the principall pointe whereupon stode all hys disputacion, as by the whole processe thereof doeth appeare: and specially the. xlvi. Chapter of the seconde booke, that he is not called the father by darke similitude oz parable, whiche is not very God in dede. Moreouer in an other place he sayeth, that as well the Sonne as the father were iointly called God by the Prophetes and Apostles. Afterwarde he defineth howe Chziste whiche is Lorde of all, and king, and God, and iudge, receiued power from him whyche is the God of all, that is to saye in respecte of his subiection, because he was humbled euen to the death of the crosse. And a little after he affirmeth, that the Sonne is the maker of heauen and earth, whiche gaue the lawe by the hande of Moses and appeared to the fathers. Nowe if any manne doe prate that wyth Ireneus onely the father is the God of Israel, I will turne agayne vpon hym that whiche the same wyter playnly teacheth, that Chziste is all one and the same: as also he applyeth vnto hym the prophetic of Habacuc. God shall come oute of the South. To the same purpose serueth that whiche is red in the. ix. Chapter of the fourth booke. Chzyste hymselfe therfoze with the father is the God of the lyuinge. And in the. xii. Chapter of the same booke he expoundeth that Abraham beleued God, because Chzyste is the maker of heauen and earth and the onely God.

And wyth no moze trueth dooe they brynge in Tertulliane for theyz defender. For though he be roughe sometime and crabbed in hys manner of speache, yet doeth he playnlye teache the summe of that doctryne that we defende. That is to saye, whereas he is the one **G O D**, yet by disposicion and order he is hys Woorde: that there is but one **G O D** in vnitie of substaunce, and yet that the same vnitie by misterie of orderly distribution is disposed into Trinite, that there are thzee, not in state, but in degree, not in substaunce, but in foyme: not in power, but in order. He sayeth that he defendeth the Sonne to bee a seconde nexte to the father, but he meaueth hym to be none other than the father, but by way of distinction. In some places he sayeth that the Sonne is visibie. But when he hath reasoned on both partes he despyueth that he is inuisibie in so muche as he is the Woorde.

Finally

Lib. iii.  
cap. ix.

Cap. xii  
etuf. lib,  
Cap. xvi  
etuf. lib.

Ibid. ca.  
xviii. &  
xxiii,

is



Finally where he affirmeth that the Father is determined in his owne person, he proueth himselfe farre from that erroꝝ which we confute. And though he doth acknowledge none other God but the Father, yet in the next pece of his wꝛiting expounding himselfe, he saith, that he speaketh not exclusiue in respect of the Sonne, because he denieth that the Sonne is any other God beside the Father, and that therfoꝛe their sole gouernement is not broken by distinction of Person. And by the perpetual course of his purpose it is easy to gather the meaning of his woꝛds. For he disputeth against Hæreas, þ though God be distinguished into thꝛee persons, yet are there not made many gods noꝛ the vnitie toꝛne in sonder. And because by the imaginacion of Hæreas Chꝛyste coulde not be God, but he must also be the Father, therfoꝛe he somuche labourereth about the distinction. Whereas he calleth the Woꝛde and the Spirite a poꝛtion of the whole: although it be a hard kinde of speache, yet is it excusable, because it is not referred to the substaunce, but onely sheweth the disposicion and oꝛder that belongeth onely to the Persons, as Tertullian hymselfe witnesseth. And herof hangeth that. How many Persons thinkest thou there are, O moſte frowarde Hæreas, but euen so many as there be names: And so a little after that, they maye beleue the Father and the Sonne eche in their names and persons. Hereby I thynke may be sufficiently confuted their impudency that seke to begyle the simple with coloz of Tertullians authoritie.

And surely whosoever shal diligently compare together þ wꝛitinges of the olde authoꝛs, shal find no other thyng in Ireneus, than þ whiche hath ben taught by other that came after. Iustine is one of the auncientest, and he in al thynges doeth agree wyth vs. Yet let them obiect that he as the rest do, calleth the Father of Chꝛist the onely God. The same thyng doth Hilary teache, yea and speaketh moze hardely, that the eternitie is in the Father. But doth he that to take away the essence of God from the Sonne? And yet is he altogether in defense of the same Fayth that we folow. Yet are they not ashamed to picke out certaine mangled sentences wherby they would perswade that Hilarye is a Patrone of their erroꝛ. Where they bꝛyng in Ignatius: if they will haue that to bee of any authoritie, let them proue that the Apostles made a law foꝛ lent and suche lyke corruptions of religion. Nothing is moze vsauery than those sonde trifles that are publyshed vnder the name of Ignatius. Wherefoꝛe their impudence is so muche lesse tolerable that disguise themselves wyth suche bisers to deceiue. Moꝛeouer the consent of the aunciente Fathers is plainly perceiued by thys, that at the counsell of Nice, Arrius neuer durst allege foꝛ hymselfe the authoritie of any one allowed wypter. And none of the Grekes oꝛ Latines doeth excuse hymselfe and saye, that he dissenteth from them that were befoꝛe. It nedeth not to be spoken howe Augustine, whom those losells do moſte hate, hath diligently searched the wꝛitinges of them all, and how reuerently he did embrace them. Cruely euen in matters of leaste weighte he vseth to shewe what compelleth hym to dissent from them. And in thys matter, if he haue red any thing doubtfull oꝛ darke in other, he hydeth it not. But the doctryne that these menne strue agaynste, he taketh it as confessed, that from the farthest time of antiquitie it hath ben without controuersie receiued. And by one woꝛde it appeareth that.



he was not ignozant what other had taught before hym, wherre he saith that in the Father is vnitie, in the first boke of Christian doctryne, wyll they say that he then forgate hymselfe? But in an other place he purgeth himselfe from suche reproch, where he calleth the father the beginning of the whole Godhead, because he is of none: considering in dede wisely that the name of God is specially ascribed to the Father, because if the beginning should not be reckened at hym, the single vnitie of God cā not be conceiued. By this I trust the godly reader will perceiue that al the cauillacions are confuted wherwyth Satan hath hether to attempted to peruert oz darken the pure truth of doctryne. Finallye I trust that the whole summe of doctryne in this point is fully declared, if the readers will temper them of curiositie, and not moze gredely than mete is seke for combersome and entangled disputacions. For I take not in hande to please them, that do delite in an vntemperate desyre of speculation. Truly I haue omitted nothing of luttle purpose that I thought to make agaynst me. But whyle I study to edify the churche, I thought it best, to leaue many thinges vntouched whiche both smallye profited, and would greue the readers with superfluous tediousnesse. For to what purpose were it to dispute, whether the father do alway beget? Forasmuch as it is folly to faine a continual acte of begetting, sith it is euidente that from eternitie there haue ben thye Persons in God.

### The.iiii. Chapter.

That the Scripture euen in the creacion of the world and of al things: doth by certayne markes putte difference betwene the true God, and fayned Gods.

61a. r1. r1r.



Although Eua doeth worthily reproche the worshippers of false gods with slouthfulnesse, for that they haue not learned by the very foundations of the earth, and rounde compasse of the heauens, which is the true God: yet suche is the dulnesse and grossenesse of our witt, that least the faythful should fal away to the inuencions of the gēuis, it was necessary to haue god moze expzedy painted out vnto thē. For wheras y saying y God is y minde of y world, which is cōpted y most tolerable description that is founde among y Philosophers, is but vaine, it behoueth vs moze familiarly to know hym, least we alway wauer in doubtfulnesse. Therefore it was his pleasure to haue an histozy of y creacio remaining, wherupō the fayth of y church might rest, & seke for no other God but hym, whō Moses hath declared to be y maker & bildet of the world. There is first set forth y tyme, y by continual proceeding of yeres the faithfull myghte come to the first original of mankinde, and of al thinges. Which knowlledge is very necessary, not only to confute those monstrous fables that somtyme were spzed in Egipte and other partes of the world, but also, that the beginning of the world ones beyng knowen, the eternitie of God may more clerely shine forth and rauishe vs in admiracion of it. Neyther oughte we to be any thyng moued wyth that vngodly mocke, that



that it is maruel why it came no soner in þ mind of God to make þ hea-  
 uen & the earth, & why he syttig idle did suffer so immeasurable a space to  
 passe away, sith he mought haue made it many thousande ages befoze:  
 wheras þ whole continuance of þ world þ now draweth to an end, is  
 not yet come to sixe thousande yeres. For why God so long differred it,  
 is nether lawfull nor expediēt for vs to enquire. Because if mans mynd  
 wil trauaile to attaine thereunto, it shal faile a hundred tymes by the  
 way, nether wer it profitable for vs to know þ thing which God hym-  
 selfe to proue þ modestie of our fayth, hath of purpose wylled to be hyd-  
 den. And wel did that godly olde man speake, whiche when a wanton  
 felowe did in scozne demaunde of hym, what God had done befoze the  
 creation of the worlde, aunswered that he builded hell for curious  
 fooles, let this graue and seuerer warning repress the wantonnesse  
 that tickleth many yea and dzyueth them to euill and hurtfull specula-  
 cions. Finally lette vs remember that the same inuisible God whoes  
 wisdom power and iustice is incomprehensyble, doth sette befoze vs  
 the histozye of Moyses as a loking glasse, wherein hys liuely image  
 appeareth. For as the eyes that eyther are growen dimme with age,  
 or dulled wyth any disease, doe not discern any thyng playnly vnlesse  
 they be holpen with spectacles: so, suche is oure weakenesse, that vnlesse  
 the Scripture directe vs in sekynge of God, we do forthwith runne out  
 into vanitie. And they that folowe their owne wantonnesse, because  
 they be nowe warned in vaine, shall all to late fele with horrible de-  
 struccion, howe muche it had ben better for them reuerently to receiue  
 the secreete counsels of God, than to vomite oute blasphemies, to obs-  
 cure the heauen with all. And ryghtly doeth Augustyne complayne Lib. de.  
 that wrong is done to God whē further cause of thinges is sought for, gene. cō  
 than his onely will. The same mā in an other place doth wisely warne tra. Ma  
 vs, that it is no lesse euell to moue question of immeasurable spaces of Deciu.  
 tymes than of places. For howe bzyde soeuer the circuit of the heauen dei. li. ff  
 is, yet is there some measure of it. Howe if one shoulde quarell wyth  
 God for that the emptynesse wherē nothyng is conteyned, is a hun-  
 dred tymes more, shall not all the godly abhoze suche wantonnesse?  
 Into lyke madnesse runne they that busy them selues aboute Gods  
 sitting stil, because at their apointment he made not the world innume-  
 rable ages soner. To satisfie their own gredynesse of minde, they couet  
 to passe wout the cōpasse of the world, as though in so large a circuite of  
 heauen & earth, they could not finde things enough þ to their inestima-  
 ble bryghtnesse may ouerwhelme al our senses: as though in six thousand  
 yeres God hath not shewed examples in cōtinual cōsideracion, wherof  
 our myndes may be exercised. Let vs therfore willingly abide enclosed  
 within those boundes wherw it pleased God to enuirt vs, & as it were  
 to pen by our myndes þ they shold not stray abrod w liberty of wādyng.  
 For like resō is it þ Moyses declareth, þ the woꝝk of God was not ended  
 in a momēt but in. vi. dayes. For by this circūstāce we ar wdzawen frō  
 forged inuencions to the one onely God that deuyded hys woꝝke into  
 vi. dayes, that it shoulde not grene vs to be occupied all the tyme of our  
 lyfe in considering of it. For though our eyes, what waye soeuer we  
 turne them, are compelled to loke vpon the woꝝkes of God, yet see we  
 howe fyckle oure hede is, and if any godly thoughtes doe touche vs,  
 J.iiii. hōb



howe sone they passe away. Here againe mans reason murmureth as though suche proceedinges were disagreeing from the power of God, vntill suche time as being made subiecte to the obedience of fayth, he learne to kepe that rest wherunto the hallowing of the .vii. day calleth vs. But in the very order of thinges, is diligently to bee considered the fatherly loue of God towarde mankinde, in this: that he did not create Adam vntill he had stozed the worlde with al plenty of good thinges. For if he had placed him in the earth while it was yet barren and emptye, if he had geuen him life befoze that there was any lighte, he should haue semed not so wel to prouide for his commoditie. But nowe where he first disposed the motions of the Sunne and the Planets for the ble of man, and furnished the earth, the waters and the aire wth living creatures, and brought forth aboundaunce of frutes to suffyce for fode, taking vpon him the care of a diligent & prouidēt householder, he shewed his maruellous bountie towarde vs. If a man do moze hede-fully weye with himselfe those thinges that I doe but shortly touche, it shall appeare that Moses was the sure witnessse and publisser of the one God the creator. I omit here that which I haue already declared, that he speaketh not there onely of the bare essence of God, but also setteth forth vnto vs his eternall Wisedome and Spirite, to the ende we should not dreame that God is any other, than such as he wil be knowē by the image that he hath there expressed.

3  
 But befoze that I begin to speake moze at large of the nature of mā, I must say somewhat of Angels. Because though Moses applying himselfe to the rudenesse of the common people reciteth in his history of the creation no other woorkes of God but such as are seen with oure eyes, yet wheras afterwarde he byngeth in Angels for ministers of God, we may easily gather that he was the creator of them in whoes scrupce they employ their trauaile and offices. Though thercoze Moses speaking after the capacitie of the people doth not at the very beginning rehearse the Angels among the creatures of God: yet that is no cause to the contrary, but that we may plainly and expressely speake those thinges of them, which in other places the Scripture commonly teacheth. Because if we desire to knowe God by his woorkes, so noble and excellent an example is not to be omitted. Beside that this pointe of doctryne is very necessary for the confuting of many errozs. The excellence of the nature of Angels hath so dafelled the myndes of many, that they thought the Angels had wzong offered them, if they should be made subiect to the authoritie of one God, and brought as it were in obedience. And here- vpon were they fained to be Gods. There rose vp also one Manicheus with his secte, whiche made themselues two originall beginnings of thinges, God, and the Deuill, and to God he assigned the beginning of good thinges, and of thinges of euil nature, he determined the Deuill to be the author. If our mindes should be entangled with this erroz, God should not kepe whole hys glozy in the creation of the worlde. For wheras nothing is moze proper to God than eternitie and a being of hymselfe as I maye so terme it, they which geue that vnto the Deuill, dooe they not in a maner geue hym the tytle of Godhead? Now where is the almightinesse of God become, if such authoritie be graūted to the deuill, & he may put in execucio what he wil though God say nay & withstāde it?



As for the onely fundation that the Manichees haue, that it is vnlabo-  
 full to ascribe vnto God that is good, the creation of any thyng that is  
 euill: that nothyng hurteth the true Faith, whiche admitteth not that  
 ther is any thing naturally euil in the whole vniuersalitie of the world,  
 because neither the frowardnesse and malice bothe of man and the de-  
 uell, nor the sinnes that procede therof, ar of nature, but of the corrup-  
 tion of nature. Neyther was there any thyng from the begynnyng,  
 wherin God hath not shewed an example bothe of his wisdom and  
 iustice. Therfore to answer these peruerse deuises: it behoueth vs to  
 lifte vp our myndes hyer than our eyes can atteyne to see. For whiche  
 cause it is likely, that where in the Nicene crede God is called the crea-  
 tour of all thynges, thynges inuisible are expessed. Yet will we be care-  
 full to kepe the measure that the rule of godlynesse appointeth, least the  
 readers with searchyng to vnderstande further than is expedient, shuld  
 wander abzoad, beyng ledde awaye from the simplicite of Faith. And  
 surely for as muche as the Holy ghoſte teacheth vs alway for oure pro-  
 fite, and suche thynges as are smally auaylable to edifie, he doothe ey-  
 ther leaue wholly vnspoken, or but lightly, & as it were ouerrunningly  
 touche them: it shall be also our duetic to be content not to know those  
 thynges that doo not profite vs.

That the Angels, for as muche as they are the ministers of God or-  
 deyned to execute his comaundementes, are also his creatures, it ought  
 to be certainly out of all question. To moue doute of the tyme and or-  
 der that they were created in, shoulde it not rather be a busy wayward-  
 nesse than diligence: Moses declareth that the earthe was made, and  
 the heauens were made, with all theyr armies, to what purpose than  
 is it, curiously to search, what day the other moze secrete armies of hea-  
 uen beside the starres and planettes fyrst began to be: But, because I  
 will not be long: let vs, as in the whole doctrine of religion, so here al-  
 so remembze that we ought to kepe one rule of modestie and sobrietie,  
 that of obscure thynges we neither speake, nor thynke, nor yet desyre to  
 knowe any other thynges than that hath ben taught vs by the woorde  
 of God: and an other poynt, that in readdyng of Scripture we continu-  
 ally rest vpon the searchyng and studyng of suche thynges as pertaine  
 to edification, and not geue our selues to curiositie or study of thynges  
 vnprofitable. And because it was Gods pleasure to instruct vs, not in  
 triflyng questions, but in sounde godlynesse, feare of his name, true  
 confidence, and duties of holynesse: let vs rest vpon suche knowledge.  
 Wherfore, if we wil be rightly wise, we must leaue those vanities y<sup>e</sup> ydle  
 men haue taught without warrant of the woorde of God, concernyng  
 the nature, degrees, and multitude of Angels. I knowe that suche  
 matters as this, are by many moze greedily taken holde of, and are moze  
 pleasant vnto them than suche thynges as lye in dayely vse. But if it  
 greue vs not to be the scholers of Chziste, let it not greue vs to folowe  
 that order of learnyng that he hath appoynted. So shall it so come to  
 passe, that beyng contented with his scholyng, we shall not onely for-  
 beare but also abhorre superfluous speculations, from whyche he cal-  
 leth vs away. No man can deny, that the same Denyse, what soeuer mā  
 he was, hath disputed many thynges bothe subtilly and wittily in his  
 Hierarchie of heauen: but yf a man examine it moze neerely, he shall  
 fynd

4

Gen. i. ii.

\* note i. ii.



fynde that for the moſte parte it is but mere babblyng. But the dutifull purpose of a diuine is, not to delite eares with pratyng, but to ſtabliſhe conſciences with teachyng thynges true, certayne, and profitable. If one ſhould reade that boke, he would thinke that the man were ſlypped downe from heauen, & did tell of things not that he had lerned by hereſay, but that he had ſeen with his eies. But Paule whiche was rauished aboute the thirde heauen, hath vttered no ſuche thyng, but alſo proteſteth, that it is not lawfull for man to ſpeake ſecreteſ that he had ſene. Therfoze bidding farewell to that triſlyng wiſedome, lette vs conſider by the ſimple doctrine of the Scripture, what the Worde wold haue vs knowe concernyng his angels.

It is commonly red in the Scripture, that the Angels are heauenly Spirites, whoſe miniſtration and ſeruiſe God vſeth for putting in execution of thoſe thinges that he hath decreed. For which reaſon ſ name is geuen them, becauſe God vſeth them as meſſengers, to ſhewe hym ſelſe vnto men. And vpon like reaſon are deriued the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, becauſe they do like a garde enuiron their prince, and doo adoꝛne and ſet forth the honourable ſheve of his maieſtie, and like ſouldiours they are alway attendyng vpon the enſigne of their capitaine, and are euer ſo prepared and in readynelle to do his commaundementes, that ſo ſoone as he doth but becken to them, they prepare them ſelues to worke, or rather be at their worke alreedy. Suche an image of the thꝛone of God to ſet out his roialtie, the other prophetes doo deſcribe, but principally Daniel wher he ſaith, that when God ſate him downe in his thꝛone of iudgement, there ſtoode by a thouſande thouſande, and ten thouſand companies of ten thouſands of angels. And becauſe God doth by the meruailouſly ſhewe forth & declare the might and ſtrength of his hand, therfoze they are named ſtrengths, becauſe he exerciſeth and vſeth his authozite in the world by them, therfoze they are ſomtime called Principalityes, ſomtime powꝛes, ſomtime Dominions. Finally becauſe in them as it wer ſitteth the gloꝛy of God, for this cauſe alſo they are called Thꝛones: though of this laſt name I wil not certainly ſay, becauſe an other expoſition doeth either as wel or better agree with it. But (ſpeakyng nothing of that name) the Holy ghhoſt often vſeth thoſe other former names to auance the dignitie of the miniſterie of angels. For it were not reaſon that thoſe inſtruments ſhould be let paſſe without honoz, by whom God dooth ſpecially ſhewe the preſence of his maieſtie. Yea for that reaſon they are many tymes called Gods, becauſe in their miniſtery as in a loking glaſſe, they partly repreſent vnto vs the godhead. Although in dede I myſlike not this that the olde wꝛiters doo expound, that Chꝛiſt was the Angel, wher the Scripture ſaith, that the angel of God appered to Abꝛahā, Iacob, Moſes, & other, yet oftentimes wher mention is made of al ſ Angels in dede this name is geue vnto them. And ſ ought to ſeme no meruaile. For if this honoz be geue to princes & gouernozs, ſ in their office they ſtād in the ſtede of God that is ſoueraigne kynge & iudge, inuche greater cauſe there is why it ſhuld be geue to ſ Angels, in whom the brightnes of the gloꝛy of God much moze abundantly ſhineth.

But the Scripture ſtandeth moſte vpon teachyng vs that, whyche myght moſte make to our comfoꝛte and confirmacion of faith: that is to

1. Coꝛ. xlii.  
ii.

Da. vii. r.

Coloſſ. i.  
xvi.  
Ep. i. xxi.

Ge. xviii.  
lxxvii.  
Iob. vi. xlii  
Iude. vi.  
Et ii. and  
xii. xlii.  
Iſ. lxxvii  
vi.



is to wote, that the Angels are the distributers and administratours of Goddes bountie towarde vs. And therfoze the Scripture reciteth, that they watche for our safetie: they take vpon them the defence of vs, they direct our waies, they take care that no hurtfull thyng betide vnto vs. The sentences are vniuersall, which principally pertayne to Christ the head of the church, and then to all the faithful. He hath geuen his angels charge of thee, to kepe thee in all thy waies. They shall beare thee vp in their handes, least thou chaunce to hitte thy feete agaynst a stone. Agayne, The angell of the Lorde standeth rounde about them that feare hym, and he doo the delpueer them. Wherby God sheweth that he apoynteth to his angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to kepe. After this order, the angel of the Lorde doth comfort Agar when she fled away, & comandeth her to be reconciled to her maistresse. God promisseth to Abraham his seruant an Angel to be the guide of his iourneye. Jacob in blessing of Ephraim and Manasses praieth, that the Angell of the Lorde by whom he himselfe had bene deliuered from all euell, may make them prosper. So the Angell was set to defende the tentes of the people of Israell. And so ofte as it pleased God to reskue Israell out of the handes of their enemies, he raised vp reuengers by the ministerie of Angels. So finally (to the ende I neede not to reherse many mo) the Angels mynistrd to Christ, and were ready assistant to hym in all necessities. They brought tydynges to the wolmen of his resurrection, and to the disciples of his gloriois comynng. And so to fulfill their office of defendyng vs, they fyght agaynst the deuill and all enemies, and doo execute the vengeaunce of God vpon them, that are bent agaynst vs. As we reade that the angell of God so deliuer Hierusalem from siege, slewe in one nyghte a hundred fowertscore and fife thousande in the campe of the kyng of Myzia.

But whether to every of the faithfull bee a severall Angell assigned for their defence, I dare not certainly affirme. Surely when Daniell byngeth in the angel of the Persians, and the Angel of the Grecians, he sheweth that he mente, that there are to kyngdomes and prouinces certayn angels appointed as governours. And when Christ saith that the angels of children doo alway beholde the face of the Father, he seemeth to meane, that there are certaine angels to whom the preseruati- on of them is geuen in charge. But I can not tell whether we oughte therby to gather, & every one hath his Angell set ouer him. But this is to be holden for certaintie, that not one angell onely hath care of every one of vs, but that they all by one consent doo watche for oure safetie. For it is spoken of all the angels togither, that they moze reioyce of one sinner conuerted to repentance, than of nyntie and nyne iust that haue stande styll in their ryghtuousnesse. And it is sayd of mo angels than one, that they conueyed the soule of Lazarus into the bosome of Abrah- am. And not without cause did Elizeus shewe to his seruant so many spery chariots that were peculiarly appointed for hym. But one place there is that seemeth moze playne than the rest to proue this poynt. For when Peter being brought out of prison knocked at the doozes of the house, where the brethren were assembled, when they coulde not ima- gine that it was he, they said it was his Angel. It shuld seme that this came in their mynde by the common opinion, that to every of the faith- full

Pl. xci. xi.

Pl. xxxviii  
vii.Gen. xvi.  
ii.Ge. xxxiii  
vi.Ge. xlvi  
xvi.Ezo. xlii  
xi. & xliii  
xi.Jud. ii. i.  
& vi. xi. cc

xii. x.

Mar. iiii.  
ii.Luc. xxi.  
xliii.Math.  
xxviii. v.Lu. xliii  
v.

Act. i. x.

ii. King.  
xix. xxv.Ez. xxxvii  
xxvi.

7

Dant. x.  
viii. & xii.Mathel.  
xviii. x.Luc. xv.  
vii.Luc. xvi.  
viii.ii. Kings.  
xvi. xvii.Act. xxi.  
xv.



full are assigned their angels for governours. Albeit yet here it may be answered that it may well be, nor withstanding any thing that there appeareth, that we may thinke it was any one Angell; to whome God had geuen charge of Peter for that time, and yet not to be his continuall keeper: as the common people do imagin that there are appointed to every one two Angells, as it were diuers ghostes, a good Angell and a badde. But it is not worthe trauaile, curiously to searche for that which dooth not muche importe vs to knowe. For if this doo not contente a man, that all degrees of the army of heauen do watche for his safetic: I doo not see what he can be the better, if he vnderstande that there is one Angell peculiarly appointed to kepe hym. And they which restraine vnto one Angell the care that God hath to every one of vs, doo greate wronge to them selues, and to all the membes of the church: as if that power to succour vs had ben vaine promised vs, wherwith beyng environed and defended, we should fight the more boldly.

They that dare take vpon them to define of the multitude and degrees of Angells, let them looke well what foundation they haue. I graunt Michael is called in Daniel, the Great prince, and with Jude, the Archangell. And Paule sayth, it shall be an Archangell that shall with sounde of trumpet call men to the Iudgement. But who can thereby appoynt the degrees of honours betweene Angells, or discern one from an other by speciall markes, and appoynt every one his place and standing? For the two names that are in Scripture, Michaell, and Gabziell: and if you list to adde the thirde out of the hystorie of Chobie, may by their signification seme to be geuen to the Angells, accordyng to the capacite of our weakenesse, although I had rather leane that exposition at large. As for the numbze of them, wee heare by Christes mouth of many Legions, by Daniell many companies of ten thousandes, the seruant of Elizeus sawe many chariottes full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is saide, they doo campe rounde aboute them that feare God. As for shape, it is certaine, that Spirites haue none, and yet the Scripture for the capacite of our wit dooth not in bayne vnder Cherubin and Seraphin paint vs out Angells with wynges, to the intent we should not doute that they will be euer with incredible swiftnesse, ready to succoure vs, so soone as neede shall require, as if the lightning sent from heauen should flie vnto vs with suche swiftnesse as it is wonted. What soeuer more than this may be sought of both these pointes, let vs beleue it to be of that sort of mysteries, wherof the full reuelation is differred to the laste day. Wherfore let vs remembre to take hede both of to muche curiositie in searchyng and to muche boldnesse in speakyng.

But this one thing whiche many troublesome doo call in doubt, is to be holden for certaintie, that Angells are ministryng spirites, whose seruice God bleseth for the defence of his, & by whom he both distributeth his benefites among men, and also putteth his other workes in execution. It was in the old tyme the opinion of the Sadduces, that by Angells is meant nothyng els, but eyther the motions that God dothe inspire in men, or the tokens that he sheweth of his power. But agaynste this errour crie out so many testimonies of Scripture, & it is meruaile that so grosse ignozance coulde be suffred in that people. For to omitte those

8  
Da. xii. 1.  
Judi. i. 10.  
1. Thessa.  
iii. 13.

Mat. xxvi  
16.  
Dan. xii.  
1.  
Psalm.  
xviii.  
viii.



those places that I haue befoze alledged, where are recited thousandes and Legions of Angels: where ioy is geuen vnto them: where it is said that they bpholde the faithful with their handes, and cary their soules into reste: that they see the face of the father, and luche lyke: there are other places whereby is clerely proued, that they are in deede Spiritues of a nature that hath substance. For where as Stephen and Paule doo say, that the lawe was geuen by the hande of Angels, and Chziste sayth, that the electe after the resurrection shall bee lyke vnto Angels: that the day of iudgement is not knownen to the very Angels: that he shall then come with his holy Angels: howe soeuer they be wozithed, yet must they so be vnderstanded. Likewise when Paule chargeth Timothe befoze Chzist and his chosen Angels, to keepe his commaundementes, he meaneth not qualities oz inspirations without substāce but very spiritues. And otherwise it standeth not togither that is woziten in the Epistle to the Hebzues, that Chzist is become moze excellent than Angels, that y world is not made subiect to them: that Chzist toke vpo him not their nature, but y natur of man. If we meane not y blessed spirits, to whome may these comparisons agree: And the authoz of that Epistle expoudeh him self where he placeth in y kingdom of heuē y soules of y faithful & y holy angels together. Also the same that we haue already alledged, that the Angels of childzen do alway behold the face of god, that they do reioyce at our safetie, that they maruel at the manifold grace of God in the churche, that they are subiect to Chzist, the hedde. To y same purpose serueth this, that they so oft appered to the holy fathers in the forme of men, that they talked with them, that they were lodged wyth them. And Chzist him selfe for the principall pzeminence that he hath in the person of the mediator is called an Angel. Thys I thought good to touche by the way, to furnish the simple wyth defence against those foolish and reasonlesse opinions, that many ages agoe rayled by Sathan do now and then spring vppe agayne.

Now it resteth, that we seke to mete with that superstition which is cōmonly wont to crepe in, where it is said: that Angels ar the ministers & deliuerers of all good thinges vnto vs. For by & by mans reason falleth to this point, to thinke y therfoze al honour ought to be geuē them. So cometh it to passe y those things which belōg only to God & Chzist, are conueied away to Angels. By this mean we se that in certaine ages past, the glozy of Chziste hath been many wais obscured, when Angels without warrant of Gods worde were loden with immeasurabable titles of honoz. And of all the vices that we speake against, there is almoste none moze auncient than this. For it appereth, that Paule himselve had muche to doo with some which so auauenced Angels, that they in maner would haue bzought Chzist vnder subiectiō. And therfoze he doth so carefully presse this point in his epistle to the Colossians, that Chzist is not only to be preferred befoze al angels, but y he is also the authoz of al the good things y thei haue: to the end we shuld not forsake him & turn vnto them, whiche can not sufficiently helpe them selues, but are faine to drab out of y same fountain y we do. Surely forasmuche as there shyneth in them a certain bzightnesse of y maiestie of God, there is nothing wherunto we ar moze easily enclined, than with a certain admiratiō to fall down in woꝛshipping of them, & to geue vnto them all thinges y ar due

Act. vii.  
liii.  
et Ga. iii.  
rii.  
Mat. xxi.  
xii.  
et xxxiii.  
xxxvii.  
xxxviii.  
Luc. ix.  
xxvii.  
i. Tim. vi.  
xii.  
Heb. i. iiii  
& ii. xvi.

Heb. xii.  
xvii

Gal. iii.  
i

10

Col. i.  
xvi.



due only to God. Which thing John in the Revelation confesseth to haue chaunced to hymselfe, but he addeth withal, that he receiued this answer. See thou doo it not. For I am thy felowe seruant, Worshipp God.

11

But this daunger we shall well beware of, if we doo consyder why God bleseth rather by them than by hymselfe without their seruice to declare his power, to prouide for the safetie of the faithfull, and to communicate the giftes of his liberalitie among them. Surely he doth not this of necessitie, as though he coulde not be without them: for so oft as pleaseth hym, he letteth them alone, and bringeth his woozke to passe with an onely becke: so farre is it of, that they be any aide to hym, to ease hym of the hardnesse therof. This therfore maketh for the comforte of our weakenesse, so that we want nothyng that may auaille our myndes, eyther in raisyng them vp in good hope, or confirmyng them in assurance. This one thyng ought to be enough and enough agayn for vs, that the Lorde affirmeth that he is our protectour. But while we se our selues besieged with so many daungers, so many hurtful thynges, so many kyndes of enemies: it may be (suche is our weakenesse and frailtie) that we be sometyme filled with tremblyng feare, or fall for despaire, onlesse the Lorde after the propoztion of our capacitie do make vs to conceiue his presence. By this meane he not onely promisseth that he wyll haue care of vs, but also that he hath an innumerable garde to whom he hath geuen in charge to trauaile for our safetie, and that so longe as we be compassed with the garrison and suppozte of them, whatfoeuer daunger betideth, we be without all reache of hurte. I graunt we doo amisse that after this simple promise of the protection of God alone, we still looke about from whense other helpe maye come vnto vs. But for as muche as it pleaseth the Lorde of his infinite clemencie and gentleness to helpe this our fault, there is no reason why we shoulde neglect his so great benefite. An example therof we haue in the seruant of Elizeus, whiche when he sawe the hill besieged with the army of the Syrians, & that there was no way open to escape, was stricken downe with feare, as if his maister and he were then vtterly destroyed. Then Elizeus prayed God to open his seruantes eyes, and by and by he sawe the hill furnished with hozses and fiery chariots, that is with a multitude of angels to kepe hym and the prophet safe. Encouraged with this vision he gathered vp his hart again, & was able with a dredelesse mynde to loke down vpon his enemies, with sight of whom he was befoze in a maner driuen out of his witte.

ii. Kin. vi. vii.

12

Wherfore what soeuer is saide of the ministerie of Angels, let vs applie it to this ende, that ouercommyng all distrust oure hope may bee the moze strongly stablished in God. For these succours are herefoze prouided vs of God, that we shoulde not be made afrayde with multitude of enemies, as though they coulde preuaile against his helpe, but shuld flie vnto that saying of Elizeus, that there be mo on our side than be against vs. Howe muche then is it against order of reason, that we shoulde be ledde away from God by Angels whiche are ordeined for this purpose, to testifie that his helpe is moze present amonge vs: But they doo leade vs away in dede, if they doo not streight leade vs as it were by the hande to hym, that we may haue eie vnto, call vpon, and publiche hym for our onely helper: if we consider not them to be as his handes that



that moue them selues vnto worke but by his direction: if they do not holde vs faste in the one Mediatoure Christe, so that we maye hang wholly of hym, leane all vpon hym, be caried to hym, and reste in him. For that whiche is described in the vision of Jacob ought to sticke and be fastened in our myndes; howe Angels descende downe to the earth vnto men, and from men doo go vp to heauen by a ladder, wherbypon standeth the Lorde of hostes. Wherby is meant, that by the only intercession of Christe it cometh to passe, that the ministeries of the Angels doo come vnto vs, as he hym selfe affirmeth, saying: Hereafter ye shall see the heauens open and the Angelles descendynge to the Sonne of man Joh. i. li. Therfore the seruant of Abraham beyng comitted to the custody of the Angell; dooth not therfore call vpon the Angell to helpe hym, but holpen with that commendation, he praieth to the Lord, and besecheth hym to shewe his mercy to Abraham. For as God doeth not therfore make them ministers of his power and goodnesse, to the intēt to parte his glozy with them: so dooth he not therfore promise vs his helpe in their ministracion, that we shoulde diuide our confidence betwene hym and them. Let vs therfore forsake that Platonickal philosophie, to seeke the way to God by Angels, and to honour them for this purpose that they may make God more gentill vnto vs: whiche superstitious and curious men haue from the begynnyng gone about, and to this day doo continue to byrnyng into our religion.

As for suche thynges as the Scripture teacheth concernyng deuilles, they tende in a maner al to this ende, that we may be careful to beware afozhande of their awaites and preparations, and furnishe our selues with suche weapons as ar stronge and sure enough to diue away euen the strongest enemies. For where as Sathan is called the God and prince of this worlde, where as he is named the strong armed man, the Spirite that hath power of the ayre, and a roaryng lyon: these descriptions serue to no other purpose: but to make vs more ware and watchefull, and readier to entre in battayle with hym. Whiche is also somtyme set out in expresse woordes. For Peter after he had sayd, that the diuell goeth about like a roaryng lyon, sekynge whom he may deuoure, by and by addeth this exhortation, that we strongly resiste hym by Faith. And Paul after he had geuen warnyng that we wrestle not with fleshe and bloud, but with the princes of the ayre, the powers of darkenesse, and spirituall wickednesse, by and by biddeth vs put on suche armour as may serue for so greate and daungerous a battayle. Wherfore lette, vs also applie all to this ende, that beyng warned howe there dooth continually approche vpon vs an enemy, yea an enemy that is in courage most hardy, in strength most mighty, in policies most suttile, in diligence & celeritie vnueriable, with all sortes of engins plentiously furnished, in skill of warre most ready, we suffer not our selues by slouthe and cowardise to be surprisid, but on the other syde with bolde and hardy myndes set our foote to resist him: and (because this warre is only ended by Death) encourage our selues to continue. But specially knowyng oure owne weaknesse and unskilfulnesse let vs call vpon the helpe of God and enterpryse nothyng but vpon trust of hym, for as muche as it is in hym onely to geue vs policie, strengthe, courage and armour.

And that we shoulde be the moze stirred vp and enforced so to do, the

Scrip-

Genel.  
xxviii. xii.

Ge. xxxiii  
vii.

plato in  
epynoz,  
nide &  
Crahlo.

13

14



Scripture warneth vs, that ther are not one or two or a fewe enemies, but great armiees that make warre with vs. For it is sayde, that Mary Magdalene was deliuered from seuen deuyls, wherwith she was possessed. And Christe sayth, that it is the ordinary custome, that if after a deuill bee ones caste out, a man make the place open agayne, he bynggeth seuen spirites worse than him self, & retourneth into his possession, fynding it empty. Yea it is laide that a whole legion besieged one man.

Mat. xvi.  
ii.  
Mat. xxi.  
xli.  
Luc. xiii.  
xxx.

Hereby therefore we are taught, that we muste fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, least despising the fewenesse of them we shulde be more slacke to enter in bataile, or thinkyng that we haue som respite in the meane tyme graunted, we shoulde geue our selues to idelnesse. Where as many tymes Sathan or the diuell is named in the singular numbze, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse whiche standeth agaynste the kyngdome of Justice. For as the Church and the fellowship of saintes haue Christe to their head, so the faction of the wycked is paynted out vnto vs with their prince, that hath the chiefe authoritie among them. After which maner this is spoken. Go ye cursed into eternall fyre that is prepared for the deuill and his angels.

Mat. xxv.  
xli.

15

Here also this oughte to stirre vs by to a perpetuall warre with the diuell, for that he is euery where called the enemy of God and of vs. For if we haue regarde of Goddes glozy, as it is mete we shoulde, then ought we with all our force to bende our selues against hym, that goeth about to extinguishe it. If we be affectioned to maintain the kingdome of Christ as we ought, then must we nedes haue an vnappeasable war with him that cōspireth the ruine therof. Again, if any care of our own safetie do touch vs, then ought we to haue neither peace nor truce with hym that continually lieth in waite for the destruction of it. Such a one is he described in the.iii.chap.of Genesis where he leadeh man awaye from the obedience that he did owe to God, that he bothe robbeth God of his due honoz, and thzoweth man him self headlong into destruction.

Mat. xliii.  
xxviii.  
Joh. viii.  
xliii.

Suche a one also is he set foorth in the Euangelistes, where he is called an enemy, and is said to scatter tares, to corrupt the sede of eternall life. In a summe, that whiche Christe testifieth of hym, that from the begynnyng he was a murtherer, and a lyer, we fynde by experience in al his doynges. For he assaileth the trueth of God with lies, obscureth þ light with darknesse, entangleth the mindes of men with errozs, raiseth by hatredes, kindleth contentions and strifes, doeth all thynges to this ende to ouerthrow the kingdome of God, and drowin men with himself in eternall destruction. Wherby appereth, that he is of nature froward, spitefull and malicious. For nedes must there be great frowardnesse in that wit, that is made to assaile the glozy of God and saluation of men. And that doeth John speake of in his epistle, when he writeth, that he sinneth from the beginnyng. For he meaneth that he is the authoz, captaine and princpall workman of all malice and wickednesse.

But forasmuch as the deuill was created by God, let vs remembze that this malice which we assigne in his nature, is not by creation but by deprauation. For what so euer damnable thyng he hath, he hath gotten to him selfe by his owne reuoltyng and fall. Whiche the scripture therefore geueth vs warnyng of, least thinkyng that he came out suche a one frō God, we shulde ascribe that to God himselfe whiche is farthest frō him:



For this reason doeth Christ say y<sup>e</sup> Satan spebeth of his owne whē he spebeth lies, & addeth a cause why, for that he stode not stil in the trueth. Now whē he sayth y<sup>e</sup> he stode not stil in the truth, he sheweth y<sup>e</sup> ones he had ben in the trueth. And when he maketh him the father of lyeng, he taketh thys from him, that he can not lay that fault to God whereof he hymselfe is cause to himselfe. Although these thinges be but shortlye and not very plainly spoken, yet this is enough for this purpose to deliuer the maiestie of God from al sleaunders. And what maketh it matter to vs, to know moze or to any other purpose concerning deuils? Many perhaps doo grudge, that the Scripture doth not ozderly and distinctly in many places set forth that fall and the cause, manner, time, and fashion thereof. But because these thinges do nothing pertaine to vs, it was better, if not to be suppressed wholly, yet to be but lightly touched, and that partly, because it was not belesming for the Holy ghost to fede curiositie with vaine histoziēs without any frute: and we se that it was the Lordes purpose to put nothing in his holy ozacles but that whiche we should learne to edification. Therfoze, lest we our selues should tarry long vpon thinges superfluous, let vs be content shortly to know thus much concerning the nature of deuils, that at the first creatiō they wer the Angels of God: but by swaruing out of kinde they both destroyed themselues and are become instrumentes of destruction to other. Thus much, because it was profitable to be knowen, is playnly taught in Peter and Jude. God spared not (say they) his Angels which had synned, and not kept their beginning, but had forlakē their dwelling place. And Paule naming the elect Angels doth without dout secretly by implication set the reprobate Angels in comparison against them.

Joh. viii. ciii.

ii. Pet. ii. iiii.

Jud. i. vi. i

Ti. v. xx

As for the discorde and strife that we saye is betwene God and Satan, we muste so take it that styll we holde thys for certayne, that he can doe nothyng but by the wyll and sufferaunce of God. For we rede in the histozye of Job, that he presented hymselfe befoze God to receyue hys commaundementes, and durst not goe forwarde to doe any enterprize till he had obtained licence. So when Achab was to be deceiued, he toke vpon him that he woulde be the Spirite of lying in the mouth of all the Prophetes, and so being sente of God he perfozmed it. For thys reason is he called the euill Spirite of the Lord that tormented Saul, because by him as with a scourge the sinnes of the wicked king wer punished. And in an other place it is wrytten, that the plages were laied vpon the Egyptians by the euil Angels. According to these particular examples Paule doeth generally testifie, that the blinding of the wycked is the wozke of God, wheras befoze he had called it the wozking of Satan. It is euident therfoze that Satan is vnder the power of God, and so gouerned by his authozitie that he is cōpelled to do him sernice. Nowe when we say that Satā resisteth God, that the wozkes of Satan disagree with the wozkes of God, we do therewithall affirme that this disagreement and strife hangeth vpon the sufferaunce of God. I speake not now of his wil, noz of his endeuour, but of the effecte onely. For sith the deuill is wicked of nature, he is not enclined to obeye the wyll of God, but is wholly carryed to stubboznesse and rebellion. This therfoze he hath of hymselfe and of hys owne wyckednesse, that of Desire and purpose he wythstandeth God, And by this wickednesse

17

Job. i. vi. et. ii. i.

i. Km. xxi. rr.

i. Sa. xvi. riiii, et. xviii. r.

Pl. xxxviii

ii. The. ii. ii.

ii.



he is stirred by to the enterprising of those things that he knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tied & restrained with the bridle of his power, he executeth only those things that are graunted him from God. And so doth he obey his creator whether he wil or no, because he is constrained to applie his seruice whether soeuer God compelleth him.

18

Now because God boweth the vncleanz Spirites hether & thether as pleaseth him, he so tempereth this gouernemēt, y they exerceyse y faithful w battail, they set vpon thē out of ambushes, they assaile them wyth inuasions, they presse them with fighting, and oftentimes werry them, trouble them, make thē afraied, & somtime woūde thē, but neuer overcome noz oppresse thē. But the wicked they subdue and drawe awaye, they reigne vpon their soules and bodie, and abuse thē as bondslaues to al mischeuous doinges. As for the faythful, because they are vquieted of such enemies, therfoze they heare these exhortations. Dooe not geue place to the deuil. The deuil your enemy goeth about as a roring lion sekynge whom he may deuoure, whō resist ye beyng strong in faith and suche like. Paule confesseth that he him selfe was not free from this kynde of stryfe when he sayeth, that for a remedy to tame pryde, the Angel of Satan was geuen to hym, by whom he myght be humbled. This exerceyse therfoze is common to all the children of God. But because that same promyse of the breakyng of Satans head pertyneth generally to Chryst and to all his members, therfoze I saye that the laithfull can neuer be overcome noz oppressed by him. They are many times stryken down, but they are neuer so astomied withall but that they recouer thēselues. They fal down many tymes wyth violence of strokes, but they are after rayled by agayne: they are wounded but not deadly. Finally they so laboz in all the course of theyz lyfe that in the ende they obteyne the victozye: but I speake not this of euery doing of theyz. For we knowe that by the iuste vengeance of God Dauid was for a time geuen ouer to Satan, by his motion to nomber the people: and not without cause Paul sayth there is hope of pardon least if any haue been entangled with the snares of the deuil. Therfoze in an other place the same Paule sayeth, that the promise aboue alleged is begon in this lyfe, wherin we must wraastle, and is perfozmed after our wraastlyng ended: when he sayeth the God of peace shall shortly beate downe Satan vnder your fete. This victozy hath alway fully been in our hed Chryst, because the Prince of the world had nothing in him, but in vs that are his members it doth now partly appeare and shalbe perfited, whē being vnclothed of our fleche by whiche we are yet subiecte to weaknesse, we shalbe ful of the power of the Holy ghoſte. In thys manner when the kyngdome of Chryst is rayled by and aduanced, Satan with his power falleth down as the Lord hymselfe sayeth. I saw Satan fall as a lightening down from heauen. For by this answeere he confirmeth that which the Apostles had reported of y power of his preachyng. Agayne, When y Prince possesseth his own palace, al thinges that he possesseth are in peace, but when there cometh a stronger, he is thzowen out. &c. And to this ende Chryst in dying ouercome Satan which had y power of death, & triumphed vpo al his armie, y they shuld not hurt the church, For otherwyse they would euery momente a hundred times destroye it.

For

Eph. liii.  
r. bii.  
i. Petr. v.  
biii.  
ii. Cor. xxi  
bii.

Ec. iii. xv

li. Sam  
xviii. i.  
Rom. xvi  
rr.

Luke. x.  
rbiii.  
Lu. i. rxi



For (considering what is our weakenesse, & what is his furious strength) howe coulde we stande, yea neuer so litle time against his manifolde & continuall assaultes, but being supported by the victoꝝ of our captaine: Therefore God suffereth not the deuil to reigne ouer the soules of the faythfull, but onely deliuereth him the wicked and vnbeleuing to gouerne, whom God doth not bouchesaue to haue reckened in hys flocke. For it is said that he possesseth thys world without controuersy till he be thrust out by Christ. Againe, that he doth blinde all them that beleue not the gospell, agayne, that he performeth hys worke in the stubboꝝne children, and woꝝthily, for all the wicked are the vessels of woꝝath. Therefore to whom should they be rather subiecte than to the minister of Goddes vengeance: Finally they are saied to be of their father the deuill, because as the faythfull are hereby knowen to be the children of God because they beare his image: so they by the image of Satan into which they are gone out of kind, ar properly discerned to be his childꝝe.

As we haue befoꝝe confuted that trifling philosophie concerning the holy Angels, which teacheth that they ar nothing els but good inspirations oꝝ motiõs, which God stirreth by in the mindes of men: so in this place must we confute them that fondly say that deuils ar nothing els but euil affections oꝝ perturbations of minde, that are thrust into vs by oure fleshe. That maye we shortly doe, because there be many testimonies of Scripture, & those playne enough vpon this poynt. First where the vncleane Spirites ar called, Angels Apostataes, which haue swarued out of kind from their beginning, the very names do sufficiently expresse that they are not motions oꝝ affections of myndes, but rather in dede as they be called mindes oꝝ Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding. Likewise wheras both Christ and John do compare the children of God with the children of the deuill: wer it not an vnfit comparisõ, if the name of the deuill signified nothing els but euil inspirations: And John addeth somwhat moꝝe plainly, that the deuill synneth from the beginning. Likewise when Jude bringeth in Michael the archangel syghtyng with the deuill, doubtlesse he setteth agaynste the good Angel an euil and rebellious Angel. Wherwith agreeth that which is red in the hostoꝝy of Job, that Satan appeared with the Holy Angels befoꝝe God. But most plaine of al are those places that make mention of þe punishment which they begin to fele by the iudgement of God, and specially shal fele at the resurrection. Sonne of Dauid why arte thou come befoꝝe the time to toꝝment vs: Againe, Go ye cursed into the eternal fyꝝe that is prepared for the deuill & his Angels. Agayne, If he spared not his own Angels that had synned, but cast them down into hell and deliuered the into cheines of darkenesse to be kept vnto damnaciõ. &c. How fonde should these speches be, that þe deuils are ordeined to eternal iudgement, þe fier is prepared for them, that they are now already toꝝmented & vered by the gloꝝy of Christ: if there woere no deuils at all. But because this matter nedeth no disputation among them þe beleue the word of the Lord, & litle good is done w testimonies of Scripture among those vaine studentes of speculation, whõ nothing pleaseeth but that which is new: I suppose I haue performed þe which I purposed, that is that þe godly mindes should be furnished agaynste such fonde errors, wherew vnquiet men do trouble both theselues and other þe

ff. Coziij.  
iij. iij.  
Eph. i. iij.

Joh. viij.  
iij. i.  
i. Joh. iij.  
viii.

19

i. Joh. iij.  
v. ii.

Joh. i. vi.

Mat. viij.  
xxij.  
Mat. xxij.  
xli.  
Jud. i. ij.



more simple. But it was good to touche this, least any entangled w<sup>th</sup> that erroz, while they thinke they haue none to stande againste them, should ware more slowe and vnprouided to resist.

20

In the meane time let it not be werisom vnto vs, in this so beautiful a stage to take a godly delight of the manifest and ordinary woorkes of God. For, as I haue els where already said, though this be not y<sup>e</sup> these, yet is it in order the first doctrine of Faith, to remember that what way soeuer we turne our eyes, al that we see are the woorkes of God, & wyth godly consideration to wey for what end God did make the. Therefore that we may conceiue by Faith so muche as behoueth vs to knowe of God, it is good first of al to learne the history of the creation of y<sup>e</sup> world, how it is shortly rehearsed by Moses, and afterwarde more largely set out by holy men, specially by Basile and Ambrose. Oute of it we shall learne that God by the power of his worde and Spirite created heaue and earth of nothing, and therof brought forth all liuing creatures and thinges without lyfe, with maruellous order disposed the innumerable varietie of things, to euery thig he gaue y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>ro</sup>ppe nature, assigned their offices, appointed their places and abidinges, and where all things are subiecte to cozzruption, yet hath he so p<sup>ro</sup>vided that of all sortes some shall be p<sup>re</sup>served safe to the last day, and therfoze some he cherysheth by secrete meanes, and pouteth now and then as it were a new liuelinesse into them, and to some he hath geuen the power to encrease by generation, that in their dying that whole kinde should not die together. So hath he maruellously garnished the heauen and the earth, with so absolutely perfect plentie, varietie & beauty of al thinges as possibly might be, as it were a large and gorgeous house furnished and stozed wyth aboundaunce of most finely chosē stufte, last of all how in framing man and adozning him with so godly beautie, and with so many and so great gistes, he hath shewed in him the most excellent exāple of al his woorks. But because it is not my purpose at this p<sup>re</sup>sent to set forth at large the creation of the world, let it suffice to haue ones agayne touched these few thinges by the way. For it is better, as I haue already warned the readers, to fetch a fuller vnderstanding of this matter oute of Moses and other, that haue faithfully and diligently conueied the history of the world by wyting to perpetuall memozy.

21

It is to no purpose, to make much a do in disputing, to what end this consideration of the woorkes of God ought to tend, oz to what marke it oughte to be applyed: forasmuch as in other places already a great part of this question is declared, and so muche as belongeth to our p<sup>re</sup>sente purpose maye in fewe woordes be ended. Truly if we were minded to set out as it is woorthye, howe inestimable wisdome, power, iustice and goodnesse of God appeareth in the framing of the world, no eloquence, no garnishment of speche, could suffice the largenesse of so great a matter. And no dout it is gods pleasure that we should be continually occupied in so holy a meditation, that while we beholde in his creatures as in loking glasses the infinite richesse of his wisdome, iustice, bountie and power, we should not runne ouer them as it were with a fleeing eye, oz with a vaine wandzyng looke as I maye so call it, but that we should wyth consideration rest long vpon them, cast them vp and downe earnestlye and saythfully in oure myndes, and ofte repeate them



them with remembrance. But because we are now busied in that kinde that pertaineth to order of teaching, it is mete þ we omit those thinges that require long declamations. Therefore, to be short, let the readers knowe, that then they haue conceyued by fayth, what thys meaneth, that God is the creator of heauen and earth, if they firste folowe thys vniuersall rule, that they passe not ouer with not considerynge oz forgetfulnesse of those vertues, that God presenteth to be seen in his creatures, then, that they so learne to apply them selues that they may therewith be thoroughly moued in their hartes. The first of those we do when we consider howe excellent a workemans worke it was, to place and aptly set in so well disposed order the multitude of the starres that is in heauen, that nothyng can be deuised moze beautifull to beholde: to sette and fasten some of them in theyr standinges so that they can not moue, and to other some to graunte a free course, but so that in mouing they wander not beyonde theyr appoynted space, so to temper the motion of them all that it maye deuide in measure the dayes and nyghtes, monethes, yeres and seasons of the yere, and to byng thys inequalitye of dayes whiche we dayly see to suche a tempered order that it hath no confusyon. Likewyse, whē we marke hys power in sustentynge so great a body, in gouernynge the so swifte whirling aboute of the engyne of heauen, and suche lyke. For these fewe examples doe sufficientlye declare what it is to recorde the power of God in þ creatiō of the world. For els if I shoulde traouayle as I sayed to expresse it all in wordes, I shoulde neuer make an ende, forasmuch as there are so many miracles of the power of God, so many tokens of hys goodnesse, so many examples of hys wysedome, as there be formes of thynges in the worlde, yea as there be thynges eyther great oz small.

Now remayneth the other part which commeth nerer to fayth, that whyle we consyder that God hath ordayned all thynges for oure garde and safetie, and therewithal doe fele hys power and grace in our selues, and in so great good thynges that he hath bestowed vpon vs: we maye thereby stre by our selues to the trust, innocaton, prayse and loue of hym. Nowe as I haue before sayed, God hymselfe hath shewed in the very order of creatiō, that for mans sake he created al thynges: for it is not without cause that he deuided þ making of þ world into six daies, wheras it had ben as easy for hym in one moment to haue in al pointes accomplished his whole worke, as it was by suche proceeding from pece to pece to come to the ende of it. But then it pleased hym to shewe hys prouidence and fatherly carefulnesse towarde vs, that before he made man he prepared all that he foresaw shoulde be profitable for hym, and fyt for hys preservation. How great vnthankfulnesse now should it bee to dout whether this good Father do care for vs, whom we see to haue been careful for vs ere that we wer bozne: How wycked wer it to tremble for distrust least hys goodnesse woulde at any tyme leaue vs destitute in necessitie, which we se was dysplaied for vs being not yet bozne, wyth great aboundaunce of all good thynges. Besyde that we heare by *Gene. 1. 1. et, 12, 13.* Moses that by hys liberalitie al that euer is in the worlde is made subiecte to vs. Sure it is that he did it not to mocke vs wyth an emptye name of gifte. Therefore we shall neuer lacke any thyng, so farre as it shall be auaylable for our preservation. Finally, to make an end, so oft



as we name God the creator of heauen and earth, let this come in our mindes withall, that the disposition of al thinges which he hath create, is in his hande and power, and that we are his childzen whom he hath taken into his own charge and keping to foster and byng bp: that we may loke for all good thinges at his hande, and assuredly trust that he will neuer suffer vs to lacke thinges nedefull for our safetie, to the ende our hope shoulde hang vpon none other: that whatsoeuer we desire our praiers may be directed to him: of what thing soeuer we receiue profite we may acknowledge it to be his benefite, and confesse it with thankes geuing: that being allured with so greate swetenesse of his goodnesse and liberalitie, we maye studie to loue and honoz him withall oure harte.

**C**The.xv.Chapter.

What a one man was created: wherin there is entreated of the powers of the soule, of the image of God, of free wyll and of the first integrity of nature.



**M**ow must we speake of the creation of mā, not only because he is among all the woorkes of God the moste noble and most excellent example of his iustice, wisdom and goodnesse: but also because as we said in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, vnlesse we haue wall a mutuall knowldege of our selues. Although the same knowldege be of two sortes, the one to knowe what we were created at the first beginning, y other to knowe what our estate began to be after the fall of Adam (for it were but to smal profit for vs to knowe our creation, vnlesse we did also in this lamentable fall knowe what is the corruption and defozmitie of our nature:) yet at this time we wil be contente with descriptio of our nature when it was pure. And befoze we descende to this miserable estate wherunto man is nowe in thzal dome, it is good to learne what a one he was created at the beginning. For we must take hede that in precisely declaring only the natural euils of man, we seme not to impute them to the authoz of nature. For vngodlinesse thinketh her self to haue sufficient defense in this coloz, if it may lay for her selfe that whatsoeuer fault she hath, the same did after a certaine maner procede from God, & sticketh not if she be accused, to quarell with God, and to lay y fault bpō him wherof she is woorthely accused. And they y would seme to speake somwhat moze reuerently of the maiestie of God, yet do willingly seke to excuse their own wickednesse, by nature, not considering that therein though not openly they blame God also, to whoes reproche it shoulde fall if it were pzoued that there is any fault in nature. Sirh then we see that our flethe gapeth for all the wayes to escape, wherby she thynketh the blame of her own euils may any way be put of frō her, we muste diligently trauail to mete with this mischiefe. Therefore we must so handle the calamitie of mankinde that we cut of all excuse, and deliuer the iustice of God from al accusation. Afterwarde in place conuenient we shall



Shall see howe far men be nowe from that purenesse that was geuen to Adam. And first we must remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and claye, a bzidle was putte bypon his pride, for there is no greater absurditie, than for them to glozy in their excellencye that do not onely dwell in a cotage of clay, but also are themselues in parte but earth and ashes. But forasmuche as God did not onely vouche- saue to geue life vnto an earthen vessell, but also it was his pleasure that it shoulde be the dwelling house of an immortall Spirite, Adam might iustly glozy in so great liberalitie of his maker.

Now it is not to be doubted that man consisteth of soule & body, and by the name of soule I meane an immortall essence, and yet created, whiche is the nobler parte of him. Sometime it is called the Spirite. Albeit whē these two names Soule and Spirite are ioyned together, they differ one from the other in signification, yet when Spirite is sett by it selfe it meaneth as muche as Soule. As, when Salomom spea- king of death, sayeth that then the Spirite returneth to him that gaue it. And Chryste commending his Spirite to his Father, and when his Spirite to Chryst doe both meane none other thing but that when the soule is deliuered from the prison of the flethe, God is the perpetual keper of it. As for them that imagine that the Soule is therfore called a Spirite because it is a bzeath or a power by god inspired or pou- red into bodyes which yet hath no essence: both the thing it selfe and all the Scripture sheweth that they do to much grossly erre. True it is that while men are fastened to the earth moze than they oughte to bee, they ware dull, yea because they are estranged from the father of lightes they are blinded with darkenesse, so that they do not thinke vpon thys, that they shal remaine aline after death. And yet is not that lighte so quēched in darkenesse, but that they be touched with some feling of im- mortalitie. Surely the conscience which discerning betwene good and euil answereth the iudgement of God, is an vndouted signe of an im- mortal Spirite. For how could a motion without effeere attein to come to the iudgement seate of God, and thzowe it selfe into feare by finding her olon guiltinesse: for the body is not moued with feare of a Spiritu- al peine, but y falleth only vpo the soule. Wherby it foloweth y the soule hath an essence. Mozeouer the very knowledge of God doth proue that the soules which ascende by aboue the world are immortal: for a vani- shing liuelinesse wer not able to attein to the fountaine of lyfe. Finalli forasmuch as so many excellent giftes wherwith mans minde is endo- wed, do cry out y there is some diuine thing engrauen it, there are euen so many testimonies of an immortal essence. For that sense which is in bzute beastes, goeth not out of the body, or at lest extendeth no further than to thynge presently set befoze it. But the nimblenesse of the minde of man which beverth the heauen and earth & secretes of nature, and comprehending all ages in vnderstandyng and memozy, digesteth eue- ry thynge in order and gathereth thynge to come by thinges past, doth playnly shewe that there lyeth hydden in man a certayne thing seuerall from the body. We conceiue by vnderstanding the inuisible God and Angelles, which the body can not doe. We know thynge that be right, iuste, and honest, which are hidden from the bodily senses. Therefore it muste nedes be that the Spirite is the seate of thys vnderstandyng.



Yea and our slepe it selfe, which astonieth a man and seemeth to take life away frō him, is a plaine witnesse of immortallitie, forasmuch as it doth not only minister vnto vs, thoughtes of those thinges that neuer were done, but also foreknowinges of thinges for time to come. I touch these thinges shortly which euen prophane writers do excellently sette oute with more gorgeous garnishment of wordes: but with the godly reders a simple putting in minde of them shall be sufficient. Nowe if the soule were not a certayne thing by it selfe generall from the body, the Scripture would not teache that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death we remoue out of the Tabernacle of the flesh, that we do put of that which is corruptible, that finally at the last day we may receiue rewarde enery man as he hath behaued hymselfe in hys bodye. For these places and other that we do eche where cōmonly light vpon, do not only manifestly destinguish the soule from the body, but also in geuing to the soule the name of man do shew that it is the principall parte. Nowe wheras Paul doth exhort the faithfull to cleanse theselues from al defiling of the flesh and the Spirite, he maketh two partes of man wherein abydeth the filthinesse of sinne. And Peter where he calleth Christ the shepherde & bishop of soules, shold haue spoken fondly if there wer no soules about whom he might execute that office. Neyther would that conuenientlye stande together which he saieyth of the eternal saluation of soules, and where he biddeth to cleanse our soules, and where he sayeth that euil desires do fight against the soule, and where the authoz of the Epistle to y<sup>e</sup> Hebzues sayeth, that the Pastozs do watch that they may yelde accōpte for our soules, vnlesse it were true that soules had a proper essence. To the same purpose serueth it that Paule calleth God for witnesse to hys own soule, because it could not be called in iudgemente before God vnlesse it were subiect to punishment. And this is also more plainly expressed in the words of Christ, when he biddeth vs to feare him which after that he hath killed the body, can throw y<sup>e</sup> soule into hel fier. Nowe where the authoz of the Epistle to the Hebzues doth distinguish the fathers of our flesh from God, which is the only father of Spirites, he woulde not otherwise more plainly affirme the essence of soules. Moreover, if y<sup>e</sup> soules remained not aliuie being deliuered from the prisons of their bodies, Christ shold very fondly haue broughte in the soule of Lazarus ioying in the bosome of Abraham, and againe the soule of the richman subiect to horrible tormentes. The same thing doth Paul confirme whē he teacheth that we wander abrod from God, so long as we dwel in the flesh, and that we enioy his presence being out of the flesh. But, because I wil not be long in a matter that is not obscure, I wil adde only thys out of Luke, that it is reckened amōg the errors of the Sadduces that they did not beleue that there were any Spirites and Angels.

Also a strong profe herof may be gathered of this where it is sayed, that man is create lyke to the image of God. For although the glozy of God do appeare in the outwarde shape of man, yet is it no doubtte that the proper seate of the image of God is in the soule. I do not deny that as concernyng our outwarde shape, in asmuch as the same doeth distinguish and seuer vs from brute bestes, we doe also therein more ncrely appoche to God than they: nether wil I much stand against the which thinke that thys is to be accōpted of the image of God, y<sup>e</sup> where al other

lyuing

1. cor. vii. 1

1. Peter. ii.

1. Peter. i. 17.

1. Peter. xiii.

1. Heb. xiii.

1. Heb. vi.

1. Math. r.

1. 1. u. xii. 6.

1. Heb. xii. 17

1. Luk. xvi.

1. 1. i. 17.

1. Act. xiii.

1. 1. i. 17.

3

1. 1. i. 17.



lyuyng creatures doo gronellyngwise beholde the grounde, to man is geuen an byright face, and he is commaunded to loke vpon the heaue, and to aduaunce his countenaunce towarde the starres: so that this remainn certain, that the image of God whiche is seene appereth in these outward signes, is spiritual. For Oslander (whom his wrytyngs declare to haue ben in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referring the image of God without difference as well to the body as to the soule, minglet h heauen and earth together. For he saith, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy ghost did settle their image in man, because though Adam had stande without fallng, yet Chuld Chryste haue become man. And so by their opinio the body that was appointed for Chryste, was but an example or figure of that bodily shape whiche then was formed. But where shall he fynde that Chryste is the image of the Spirite? I graunte in dedde that in the Person of the Mediatour shyneth the gloze of the whole Godheade. But howe shall the eternall woorde be called the image of the Spirite whom he goeth befoze in order? Finally it overthroweth the distinction betwene the Sonne and the Holy ghost, if he doo here call him his image. Moreouer I would fayne learne of hym how Chryste dooth resemble the Holy ghoste in the fleshe that he tooke vpon him, and by what markes and features he doth expresse the likeness of hym. And where as this saying: Let vs make man after our image, dooth also belong to the Person of the Sonne, it foloweth, that he must be the image of himselfe: whiche is against all reason. Beside that, if Oslanders inuention be beleued, man was fashioned onely after the figure & paterne of Chryste in that he was man, and so that forme out of whiche Adam was taken, was Chryste, in that that he was to be clothed with fleshe, where as the Scripture in a farre other meanyng teacheth, that he was create in the image of God. But their litle inuention is moze colourable whiche doo thus expounde it, that Adam was create in the image of God, because he was fashioned like vnto Chryste, whiche is the only image of God. But that exposition also is not sound. Also som interpreters make a great disputation about Image & Likeness, whyle they seke a difference betwene those two wordes, where is no difference at al, saying that this worde Likensse is added to expouid the other. First we knowe that amonge the Hebryues suche repetitions are common, wherin they expresse one thyng twise: and in the thyng it selfe there is no doubt, but that man is therfore caled the image of God, because he is like to God. Wherby appereth that they are to be laughed at, which doo so subtilly argue about the wordes, whether they appoint zelem, that is to say, Image in the substance of the soule, or Demuth, that is to say, Likensse in the qualities, or what other thyng soener it be y they teache. For where as God determined to create man after his own image, this being somwhat darkly spoken he doth as by way of explication repete it in this saying, After his likensse, as if he wolde haue said, that he wolde make man, in whom he would represent hym selfe, as in an image, because of the markes of likensse grauen in him. And therfore Moses a little after recityng the same thyng, dooth repete the Image of God twise, leauyng out the name of Likensse. And it is a trifyng obiection that Oslander maketh, that not a parte of man, or the soule onely with the giftes thereof, is called the Image of God, but

Genes. 6.  
vbi,

the



the whole Adam whiche hadde his name geuen him of the earth, from whense he was taken. Trislyng, I say, will all readers that haue theyz sounde witte iudge this obiECTION. For where whole man is called mortall, yet is not the soule thereby made subiect to mortalitie.

Again where he is called a liuyng creature endued with reason, it is not therby meant that the body hath reason and vnderstandyng. Although therfoze the soule is not the whole man, yet is it not inconuenient, that man in respecte of the soule be called the image of God, albeit I holde still that pꝛinciple whiche I haue befoze stablished, that the Image of God extendeth to the whole excellence, wherby the nature of man hath pꝛeeminence among all kyndes of liuyng creatures. Therefore in that worde is noted the integritie that man had when he was endued with ryght vnderstandyng, when he had his affection framed accoꝝdyng to reason, and all his senses gouerned in right order, and when in excellēt giftes he did truly resemble the excellence of his Creatour. And though the pꝛincipall seate of the image of God were in the mynde and hart, oz in the soule and the powers therof, yet was there no parte of man, not so muche as the body, wherin dyd not some sparkes therof appere. Certaine it is, that also in all the partes of the worlde, there doo thyn some resemblances of the gloꝝy of God: wherby we may gather that where it is said, that his Image is in man, there is in so saying a certain secret comparison, that auaunceth man aboue all other creatures, and doth as it were seuer him from the common soꝛt. Neither is it to be denied, that the Angels were create after the likenesse of God, siþe (as Chꝛist him selfe testifieth) our chiefe perfection shall be to become like vnto them. But not without cause doeth Moses by that peculiar title sette forth the grace of God towarde vs, specially where he compareth onely visibie creatures with man.

But yet it semeth that there is not geuen a ful definition of the image of God, vnlesse it plainlier appere in what qualities man excelleth: and wherby he ought to be compted a glasse, resembling the gloꝝy of God. But that can be by no other thyng better knowen, than by the repayryng of mans corrupted nature. First it is doubtlesse, that when Adam felle from his estate, he was by that departure estranged from God. Wherefoze althoughe we graunte that the Image of God was not altogether defaced and blotted oute in hym, yet was it so corrupted, that all that remaineth, is but vggly defoꝛmitie. Therefore the begynnyng of recouerie of safetie for vs, is in that restoyꝛng whyche we obteyne by Chꝛiste, whose is also for the same cause called the seconde Adam, because he restozed vs vnto trewe and perfecte integritie. For althoughe where Paule dooeth in comparyson set the quicknyng Spirit that Chꝛiste geueth to the faithfull, against the liuyng soule wherin Adam was created, he setteth foꝛth the moꝛe abundaunte measure of grace in the regeneration: yet doothe he not take awaye this other pꝛincipall poynte, that this is the ende of our regeneration, that Chꝛiste shulde newe fashon vs to the image of God. Therfoze in an oþer place he teacheth, that the newe man is renewed accoꝝdyng to the image of hym that created hym. Wherwith agreeth this saying: put on y new mā which is create accoꝝding to God. Now it is to be sene, what Paule doth principally cōprehēd vnder this rennyng. First he speaketh of knowlege

and

Mat. xxi.  
xxx.Colo. xii.  
ib.Eph. iii.  
viii.



and after of pure rightuousnesse and holynesse. Whereby we gather that the image of God was first of al to be sene in the light of the mynde, in vprightnesse of hart, and soundnesse of all the partes. For although I graunt that this is a figuratiue phrase of speeche to set the part for the whole: yet can not this principle be ouerthrowen, that that thynge whiche is the chief in the renewyng of the image of God, was also the principall in the creation of hym. And for the same purpose maketh it that in an other place he teacheth, that we beholdyng the glozy of God with open face, are transformed into the same image. Nowe doo we see howe Christe is the moste perfect image of God, accoꝝdyng to the whiche we beyng fashioned are so restored, that in true godlynnesse, rightuousnesse, purenesse and vnderstādyng, we beare the image of God. Whiche principle beyng established, Ostanders inagination of the shape of our body dooth easily vanishe away of it selfe. Where as the man alone is in Paule called the Image and glozy of God, and the woman is excluded from that degree of honour, it appereth by the reste of the text, that the same is to be applied only to ciuile ozder of pollicie. But that vnder the name of image, whereof we speake, is comprehended all that belongeth to the spirituall and eternall lyfe, I thinke it be alredy sufficiently proued. And the same thynge doeth John confirme in other wordes: saying that the lyghte whiche was from the begynnyng in the eternall worde of God was the light of men. For where his purpose was to praise the singular grace of God, whereby man excelleth all other linyng creatures to seuer him from the common sorte, because he hath attained no common life, but ioyned with the light of vnderstandyng, he therewithall sheweth howe he was made after the image of God. Therfore lithe the image of God is the vncorrupted excellence of the nature of man, whiche shyned in Adam befoze his fall, and afterwarde was so corrupted and almoste defaced, that nothyng remaineth sūns that ruine, but disozdered, mangled, and filthily spotted: yet the same dooth in some part appere in the electe, insomuche as they are regenerate, and shall obtayn her full brightnesse in heauen. But that we may knowe on what partes it consisteth, it shall be good to entreate of the powers of the soule. For that speculatiue deuise of Augustine is not sounde, where he saith that the soule is a glasse of the Trinitie, because that there are in it vnderstandyng, will, and memoꝝie. Neither is their opinion to bee approued, whiche sette the Image of God in the power of dominion geuen vnto hym, as if he resembled God onely in this marke, that he is appointed loꝝde and possessor of all thynge, where as in dede the Image of God is proprely to be sought within hym, and not without hym, and is an inward good gifte of the soule.

But befoze I go any further, it is nedefull that I meete with the dooing errour of the Manichees, whiche Seruetto hath attempted to bynge in agayne in this age. Where it is saide, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, they thought that the soule dyd conuey into man the substance of God, as if some porcion of the immeasurable God were come into man. But it is easye euen shortly to shewe howe many grosse and fowle absurdities this deuillish errour draweth with it. For if the soule be by derivation part of the essence of God, it shall folowe that the nature of God is subiect, not only to chaunge and

ii. Cor. iii. vbi.

i. Cor. xi. vbi.

Job. i. lxxx.

Libr. de tri. x. De ciui. dei. xi.

5 Genes. ii. vbi.

passions,



passions, but also to ignozance, euill lustes, weaknesse, and all kindes  
 of vices. Nothing is moze inconstant than man, because contrary mo-  
 tions do tolle and diuersely drawe his soule, oftentimes he is blynde by  
 ignozance, ofte he yeldeth as vanquished euen to small tentations, and  
 we knowe that the soule it self is the sinke and receiuer of al filthinesse,  
 all which thynges we must ascribe to the nature of God, if we graunte  
 that the soule is of the essence of God, or a secrete inflowyng of godhed.  
 Who would not abhorre this monstrous deuise? Truely in dede dooth  
 Paule alledge out of Aratus, that we are the offspryng of God, but in  
 qualitie and not in substance, in as much as he hath garnished vs with  
 godly giftes. But in the meane tyme to teare in sunder the essence of the  
 Creatour, as to say, that euery man doth possesse a part of it, is to much  
 madnesse. Therfoze we must certainly holde, that the soules, although  
 the image of God be grauen in them, were no lesse created than the an-  
 gels were. And creation is not a powzyng out of one substance into an  
 other, but a beginnyng of essence made of nothyng. And although the  
 spirite of man came from God, and in departyng oute of the flethe re-  
 tourneth to God, yet is not forthwith to be said, that it was taken out  
 of his substaunce. And in this pointe also of Olander, while he glo-  
 rieth in his illusions, hath entangled himselfe with an vngodly error,  
 not acknoledgyng the inage of God to be in man without his essen-  
 ciall iustice, as though God by the inestimable power of his holy spirite  
 coude not make vs like vnto him selfe, vnlesse Chziste should substan-  
 cially powze hym selfe into vs. With what soeuer colour many dooe go  
 aboute to disguise these dereiptes, yet shal they neuer so beguile the eyes  
 of the readers, that are in theyr right wittes, but that they will easilye  
 see that these thyngs sauour of the Manichees error. And wher saint  
 Paule entreateth of the restozpyng of this inage, it may be readily ga-  
 thered out of his wordes, that man was made of lyke forme to God,  
 not by inflowyng of his substaunce, but by grace and power of his  
 Spirite. For he saieith, that in beholdyng the glozy of Chziste, we are  
 transformed into the same Image, as by the Spirite of God, whyche  
 surely so worketh in vs, that it maketh vs of one substance with God.

It were but folly to borowe of the Philosophers a definition of the  
 soule, of whom almoste none, except Plato, hath perfectly affirmed it  
 to be an immortall substance. In dede some other also, that is the So-  
 cratians dooe touche it, but so as none doeth plainly teach that to  
 other, whiche him selfe was not perswaded. But therfoze is Plato of  
 the better iudgement, because he dooeth in the soule consider the image  
 of God. Some other doo so bynde the powers and vertues of the soule  
 to this present life, that beyng out of the body they leaue to it nothyng.  
 Nowe we haue already taught by the Scripture, that it is a bodyless  
 substance: nowe muste we adde that although propelye it is not  
 comprehended in place, yet it is sette in the bodye, and dooeth there  
 dwelle as in a house, not onely to minister lyfe to all the partes of  
 the body, and to make the instrumentes therof mete and fittly seruyng  
 for the actions that they are appoynted for, but also to beare the chiefe  
 office in gouernyng the life of man, and that not onely aboute the due-  
 ties in this earthely lyfe, but also to stirre vs by to the seruice of God.  
 Although this later print in this cozruption is not playnely perceived,



yet euen in the vices themselues there remain emprinted some leauyn-  
 ges therof. For whense cometh it but of shame, that men haue so great  
 care what be reported of them? And whense commeth shame, but of  
 regarde of honestie: Wherof the beginnyng and cause is, that they vnder-  
 stand that they are naturally bozne to obserue Justice, in which per-  
 suasion is enclosed the sede of religion. For as without all controuersy  
 man was made to meditation of the heavenly life: so is it certaine that  
 the knowledge therof was engrauen in his soule. And surely man shuld  
 want the principall vse of his vnderstandyng, if he shuld be ignozant of  
 his own felicitie, wherof y perfection is that he be ioynd with God, and  
 therfoze it is the chiefe actiō of y soule to aspire therbnto. And so y more  
 that euery man studieth to approche vnto God, the more he therby pro-  
 ueth hymselfe to be endued with reason. As for them that woulde haue  
 diuers soules in man, that is, a felyng soule, and a reasonable soule, al-  
 though they seme to say somewhat by reason prouenable, yet because there  
 is no stedfast certaintie in their reasons, we muste reiecte them, vnlesse  
 we list to accombre our selues in thynges triflyng and vnprofitable.  
 A great disagreement say they, there is betwene the instrumentall mo-  
 tions and the part of the soule endued with reason. As though reason  
 it selfe did not also dissent from it selfe, and some deuises of it doo strue  
 with other some, as they were armies of enemies. But forasmuche as  
 that troublesomnesse procedeth of the corruption of Nature, it were  
 amysse to gather therby, that there are two soules, because the powers  
 of the soule doe not agree together, in suche well framed ordet as they  
 ought. But as for more suttile disputation of the Powers them selues,  
 I leaue that to the Philosophers. A symple definition shall suffice vs  
 for edification of godlynesse. I graunt that the things that they teache  
 are true, and not onelye pleasaunte but also profytable to bee kno-  
 wen, and well gathered of theym, and I forbydde not suche as are  
 desyrous to learne to studye them. Fyyste therfore I admitte that  
 there are fyue Senses, whyche Plato better lyked to calle Instru-  
 mentes, whereby all Obiectes, are powored into Common sense, as  
 into a place of receypte: then foloweth Phantasye, whyche iudgeth  
 those thynges one from other that Common sense hath concey-  
 ued, nexte is Reason, to whyche beelongeth the vnyuersall iudge-  
 mente of thynges: laste, is the Understandyng mynde, which with  
 earnestly bente and quiete belwyng beholdeth all those thynges, that  
 Reason is wonte to discourse vppon, and consyder. And to the Under-  
 standyng mynde, Reason, and Phansy, whiche are the thze powers of  
 the soule, that rest in knowledge, there doo aunswere thzee other that  
 doo reste in Appetite, that is to saye, Wyll, the partes whereof are  
 to couete those thynges that the Understandyng mynde and Reason  
 dooe laye before it: the Power of Anger, whyche catcheth those thyn-  
 ges that Reason and Phansy do minister vnto it, The power of Desi-  
 ryng, whyche taketh holde of those thynges that Phantasy and Sense,  
 presenteth it. Although these things be true, or at least likely to be true,  
 yet because I feare that they shall more entangle vs with obscurenesse  
 than further vs, I thynke it beste to ouerpasse them. If any man lyste  
 otherwoyse to dyuide the powers of the soule, and to calle the one  
 the power of Appetite, whyche althoughe it be without reason it selfe,  
 yet

in The  
Acto.

Arist.  
Ethico  
rum lib.  
i. ca. vlt.  
Itē li. vi.  
cap. 2.



yet doeth obey reason; if it bee by other meane directed, and to call the other the power of vnderstandyng, whyche is by it selfe partaker of reason, I am not muche agaynst it, neither will I confute this opinion, that there are thre beginnyngs of doyng: that is to say, Sense, Vnderstandyng, and Appetite. But let vs rather choose a diuision; that is within the capacitie of all men, which can not be hadde of the Philosophers. For they when they meane to speake moste plainely, doo diuide the soule into Appetite and Vnderstandyng, but eyther of these they make of two sortes. Vnderstandyng, they saye, is sometyme Contemplatiue, which beyng contented with onely knowlege, hath no mouyng of action, whiche thyng Cicero thynketh to be expressed by this worde ingenium; witte. Sometime they saye it is practicall, whiche by conceyuyng of good or euill doeth diuersely moue the Will. And appetite they doo diuide into Will, and Lust. Will they cal that when Appetite which they call Horne, obeyeth to reason, and Lust they call that when the appetite shakynge of the yoke of reason, runneth out into intemperance. So alwaies they imagine reason to be that in man, wherby man may rightly gouerne hym selfe.

7 But we are constrayned somewhat to swarue from this maner of teachyng, because the philosophers whiche knewe not the corruption of mans nature, whiche came for punishment of his fall, doo wrongfully confounde the two very diuers states of man. Lette vs therefore thus thynke of it, that there are in the soule of man two partes, whiche shall serue at this tyme for our present purpose, that is to say, Vnderstanding and Will. And let it be the office of Vnderstandyng, to discern betwene objectes, or thynges sette before it, as eche of them shall seme worthy to be liked or misliked: and the office of Will to choose and folow that whiche Vnderstandyng sayth to be good, and to refuse and flee that whiche Vnderstandyng shall disalowe. Let vs not here bee staid at all with the nice subtelties of Aristotle, that the mynde hath of it selfe no mouyng, but that it is choise whiche mouerh it, whiche choise he calleth the desirynge vnderstandyng. But to the ende we bee not entangled with superfluous questions, let this suffice vs, that the Vnderstanding is as it were the guide and gouernoꝝ of the soule, and that Will hath alwaies regarde to the appointment of Vnderstandyng, and abideth the iugement therof in her desires. Accoꝝdyng wherewith, Aristotle hym selfe hath truely sayde, that fleeing or folowynge is in Appetite suche a lyke thyng, as in the vnderstandyng mynde is affirming and denyng. Now howe certaine the gouernement of Vnderstandyng is to direct the Will: that we will consider in an other place. Here we meane onely to shewe that there can be founde no power in the soule but that may wel be said to belong to the one of these two membes. And in this sort vnder Vnderstandyng we comprehend Sense, whiche other doo so distinguish, that they say Sense is enclined to Pleasure, for whiche Vnderstanding foloweth that which is good: and thus so it cometh to passe, that the Appetite of sense is Concupiscence and Lust, the affection of vnderstandyng is Will. Agayne in stede of the name of Appetite, whiche they better like, I sett the name of Will, whiche is moze commonly vsed.

8 God therefore hath furnished the soule of mā with an vnderstanding mynde, wherby he might discern good fro euill, and right from wrong, and ha-

Themistocles  
de anima  
lib.3. ca.  
49. De  
duplici  
intell. de  
finibus  
lib.3.

Etich. li.  
vi. cap. 2



and hauing the light of reason going befoze him, might se what is to be folowed or forlake. For which cause the Philosophers haue called this directing part the Guider. To this he hath adioyned will, to which belongeth choise. With these noble gyyses the first state of man excelled, so that he not onely had enough of reason, vnderstandyng, wisdom, and iudgement, for the gouernemēt of this erthly life, but also to cline by euen to God and to eternal felicitie. Then to haue Choise added vnto it, whiche myght directe the appetites, and order all the instrumental motions, and that so the Will myght be altogither agreable to the gouernement of reason. In this Integrity, man had free will, wherby if he would he myght haue attained eternall life. For here it is oute of place to moue question of the secreete predestination of God: because we are not nowe about to discusse what myght haue chaunced or not, but what at that tyme was the nature of man. Adam therfoze might haue stande if he wold, because he fell not but by his owne wil. But because his will was pliable to either side, and there was not geuen hym constancie to continue, therfoze he so easily fell. Yet his Choise of good and euill was free. And not that only, but also in his vnderstāding mynde, & in his will was most great vprightnesse, and all his instrumētall parts orderly framed to obedience, vntill by destroying himselfe he corrupted the good thynges that were in hym. From hense cometh it that all the Philosophers wer so blynded, for that in a ruine they sought for an vpright buildyng, and for strong ioyntes in an vnioynted ouerthrowe. This principle they helde, that man could not be a liuyng creature, endued with reason, vlesse there were in hym a free choise of good and euill: and they considered, that otherwise all the difference should be taken away betwene vertues and vices, vlesse man dyd order his owne lyfe by his owne aduise. Thus farre had they said well if there had ben no chaunge in man, whiche chaunge because they knewe not of, it is no meruaile though they confounde heauen and earthe togyther. But as for them whiche professyng them selues to be the disciples of Christ, doo yet seeke for free will in man, that hath bene loste and drowned in spiritual destructiō, they in going meane betwene y Philosophers opinions & the heauenly doctrine are plainly deceyued, so that they touche neither heauen nor earth. But of these thynges we shal better speake in place fitte for them: nowe onely this we haue to holde in mynde, that man at his fyrst creation was farre other than his posteritie euer sins, whiche takyng their beginnyng from hym beyng corrupted, hath from him receiued an infection deriued to them as it were by inheritaunce. For then all the partes of hys soule were framed to ryghte order, then stode safe the sounedenesse of his vnderstandyng mynde, and his will free to choose the good. If any doo obiecte that it stode but in slippy state, because his power was but weake, I answer that that state was yet such as sufficed to take from him all excuse, neither was it resonable to restraine God to this point, to make man suche a one as either could not or would not sinne at all, I graunt suche a nature had bene better, but therfoze precisely to quarellwith god, as though it had ben his dutie to haue geuen that vnto man, is to muche vniustice, forasmuche as it was in his owne choise to geue howe muche pleased hym. But why he dyd not vpholde him with the strength of stedfast continuance, that re-

steth

Aug. Ges  
ne. lib. xi.  
cap. vii.  
viii. ij.



De core  
rep. &  
grati. ad  
valenti-  
ni, ca. xi.

steth hidden in his owne secreete counsell: it is our parte onely to bee so farte wise as with sobrietie we may. Man receaved in dede to bee able if he wolde, but he had not to will that he might be able. For of this will shuld haue folowed stedfast continuance. Yet is he not excusable, which receiued so much that of his owne will he hath wroughte his owne destruction. And there was no necessitie to compell God to geue him any other then a meane will and a fraile will, that of mans fall he myghte gather matter for his owne glozy.

The .xvi. Chapter.

That God by his power dooth monishe and mainteyne the worlde, whiche hym selfe hath created, and by his prouidence dooth gouerne al the partes therof.



Ut it were veray sonde and bare to make God a creatour for a inoment, which doeth nothyng sins he hath ones made an ende of his worke. And in this poynte principally ought we to differ from the prophane men, that the presence of the power of God may shine vnto vs no lesse in the continuall state of the worlde, than in the first beginnyng of it. For though the myndes of the very wicked in only beholdyng of the heauen & earth are compelled to rise vp vnto the creatour, yet hath faith a certain peculiar maner by it self wherby it geueth to god the whole praise of creation. And therfore serueth that saying of the Apostle, which we befoze alleged, & we do not vnderstand but by fayth, that the worlde was made by the word of God. For vnlesse we passe forward euen vnto his prouidence, we do not yet rightly conceiue what this meaneth & God is the creatour, howe soeuer we do seeme to comprehend it in mynde, and confesse it with tongue. When the sense of the fleshe hath ones sette befoze it the power of God in the very creation, it resteth there, and when it proceedeth furthest of all, it dooeth nothyng but wey and consider the wylfulness, power, and goodnesse of the workeman in makinge suche a piece of worke (which thinges do of them selues offer and thrust them selues in sight of men whether they will or no) & a certain generall doying in preseruyng & gouerning & same, vpon which dependeth the power of mouyng. Finally it thinketh that the liuely force at the beginning put into all thinges by God, doth suffice to sustein them. But faith ought to perceper, that is to say, whom it hath lerned to be the creatour of al thinges, by and by to gather that the same is the perpetual gouernoz & preseruer of them: and that, not by stirryng with an vniuersall motion as wel the whole frame of the worlde, as all the partes therof, but by susteynyng, cherishing & caring for, with singular prouidence euery one of those thinges & he hath created euē to & least sparrow. So David after he had fyrst said that the worlde was created by God, by & by descendeth to the continuall course of his prouidence. By the worde of the Lorde (saith he) the heauens were stablised, & all the power therof by the spirite of his mouth. By and by he addeth, The Lorde looked down vpon the sonnes of men. & so the rest that he saith further to & same effect. For although they doo not al reason so orderly, yet because it were not likely to be beleued that God had care of mens matters, vnlesse he were the maker of  
the

Pl. xxxiii  
bi.



the worlde, noz any man doeth earnestly beleue that God made the worlde, vnlesse he be perswaded that God hath also care of hys workes: therefore not without cause Dauid doeth by good order conueye vs from the one to the other. Generally in dede both the Philosophers doe teach, and mens mindes doe conceiue that all partes of the worlde are quickened wyth the secrete inspiration of God. But yet they atteine not so farre as Dauid both hymselfe procedeth and carryeth all the godly wyth hym, saying: all thynges wayte vpon thee, that thou mayest geue them fode in due season. Thou geuest it to them and they gather it. Thou openest thy hand and they are filled with good things. But if thou hide thy face they are troubled. If thou take away theyz breath, they dye and returne to theyz dust. Againe if thou sende forth thy Spirite, they are created and thou renewest the face of the earth. Yea although they agree to the saying of Paul, that we haue our being and are moued, and do lyue in God, yet are they farre from that earnest fe-lyng of grace, which he commendeth vnto vs: because they taste not of gods speciall care wherby alone his fatherly fauoz is knowen.

That thys difference maye the better appeare, it is to be knowē, that the Prouidence of God, suche as it is taughte in the Scripture, is in comparison set as contrary to fortune and chaunces that happē by ad- uenture. Howe fozasmuche as it hath been commonly beleued in al ages, and the same opinion is at thys dave also in a manner in al men; that all thynges happen by fortune, it is certayne, that that which ought to haue been beleued concernyng Prouidence, is by that wzong opinion not onely darkened but also in manner buried. If a man light among theues, oz wylde beastes, if by wynde sodenly rpsen he suffer shipwzack on the sea, if he be kylled wyth the fall of a house oz of a tree: if an other wandzyng in deserte places fynde remedy foz hys pouertie, if hauing been tossed with the waues, he atteine to the hauē, if miraculously he es- cape but a fynger bredth from death: all these chaunces as well of prof- peritie as of aduerlitie the reason of the fleshe doeth ascrybe to fortune. But whosoener is taught by the mouth of Chyfst, that all the heares of hys hed are numbzed, will seke foz a cause further of, and wyll fymelye beleue that all chaunces are gouerned by the secrete counsell of God. And as concerning thinges without lyfe, thys is to be thought, that al- though euery one of them haue hys owne pzoportie naturally put into it, yet doe they not put forth their power but only so farre, as they be di- rected by the present hande of God. They are therefore nothing els but instrumentes, wherby God continually poureth in so much effecte as pleaseth him, and at hys will boweth and turneth them to thys oz that doyng. Of no creature is the powet moze maruellous oz moze glorious than of the sunne. Foz belyde that it geueth lyght to the whole worlde wyth hys bygthnesse, howe greate a thyng is thys that he cherysheth and quickeneth all lyuing creatures wyth hys heate: that he brea- theth frutefulnessse into the earth wyth hys beames: that out of sedes warmed in the bosome of the grounde, he draweth a budding grene- nesse, and susteyning the same wyth new nouryshmentes doth encrease and strengthen it, tyll it rpsen bp in stalkes: That he fedeth it with con- tinuall vapoure till it growe to a floure, and from a floure to fruite: That then also wyth bakynge it he byngeth it to rypenesse: That



Ex. l.iii.  
trees likewise and vines being warned by him, do first budde and shote forth braunches, and after sende out a flower, and of a flower do engender frute: But the Lord because he would claime the whole glozy of all these thinges to himselfe, made the lighte first to be, and the earth to be furnished with al kindes of herbes and frutes befoze that he created y sunne. A godly man therfoze wil not make, the sunne to be ether a principal oz a necessary cause of those thinges which were befoze the creati- on of y sunne, but only an instrumēt which God bleth because it so pleaseth him, wheras he might leaue it & do al thinges as easily by himselfe. Then when we rede y the sunne stode stil two daies in one degree at y pzaier of Iosua, and y the shadowe thereof went backe ten degrees for Ezechias his sake, by those fewe miracles God hath declared that the sunne doth not daily so rise and go down by blinde instincte of nature, but y he to renew the remēbraūce of his fatherly fauor toward vs, doth gouerne the course therof. Nothing is moze natural than spryng tyde to come immediatly after witer, somer after spryng, & haruest in course after sommer. But in this orderly course is plainly seen so great and so vnegal diuersitie, that it may easily appere that euery yere, moneth and day, is gouerned by a new and speciall Prouidence of God.

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And truely God doth claime and will haue vs geue vnto him an al- mightinesse, not such as the Sophisters do imagine, vaine, idle, and as it were sleeping, but waking, effectual, working and busied in continual doing. Noz such a one as is only a general beginning of a cōfused mo- tion, as if he would commaunde a ryuer to flowe by hys appointed cha- nels, but such a one as is bent and redy at al his particular mouinges. For he is therfoze called almighty, not because he can do and yet sytteth stil and doth nothing, oz by general instinct only continueth the order of nature that he hath befoze appointed: but because he gouernyng both heauen and earth, by his Prouidence so ordzeth all thynges y nothyng chaunceth but by hys aduised purpose. For whereas it is sayed in the Psalme y he doth whatsoener he will, therein is meant his certayn & de- termined will. For it were very fond to expound the Prophets wordes after the Philosopher's maner, y God is the first Agent oz doer, because he is the beginning and cause of al mouing: wheras the faithful ought rather in aduersitie to ease themselues with thys comfort, that they suf- fer nothyng but by the ordinaunce and commaundement of God, be- cause they are vnder hys hande. If then the gouernemente of God do so extende to al his wozkes, it is a very childishe cauillation to enclose it within the influence of nature. And yet they doe no moze defraude God of his glozy than themselues of a most profitable doctrine, whoso- ever do restrayn the Prouidence of God within so narrowe boundes, as if he suffred al thynges to be carryed wyth an vngouerned course ac- cording to a perpetual lawe of nature. For nothyng were moze misera- ble than man if he should be left subiect to euery motion of the heauen, the aire, the earth and the waters. Besyde y by that meane the singular goodnesse of God towarde euery man is to much vnhonozably dimini- shed. Dauid cryeth out that babes yet hāgyng on their mothers brestes are eloquent enough to magnify y glozy of God, because euē so sone as they be come out of the wombe, they fynde fode prepared for thē by his heauenly care. This is in dede generally true, so y yet our eyes & senses ouerpasse

Jos. r. xlii  
li. xlii. xx.  
ri,

Ps. cv. llii

Ps. llii.  
lii.



ouerpasse not that vnmarked which experyence playnly sheweth, that some mothers haue ful and plentifull brestes, some other almost dry, as it pleaseth God to fede one moze liberally, and an other moze scarcelye. But they which geue the due prayse to the almightynesse of God, do receiue double profit therby, the one that he hath sufficiently large abilitie to do them good, in whoes possession are both heauen and earth, and to whoes becke al creatures do attend vpon, to yeld themselues to his obedience: the other, that they may safely reste in his protection, to whoes wil are subiect al these hurtful thynges that may any way be feared, by whoes authozite as with a bydle Satã is restrained with al his furies and al his preparati on, vpon whoes becke doth hang all that euer is against our safetie. And no other way but this can the immesurable and superstitious feares be corrected oz appealed, which we oftentimes conceiue by daungers happening vnto vs. Superstitiously fearfull I saye we be, if where creatures do threaten vs oz geue vs any cause of feare, we be so afrayed therof, as if they had of themselues any force oz power to do vs harme, oz did vnfozeseen oz by chaunce hurt vs, oz as if against the hurtes that they do, there were not sufficient helpe in God. As for example. The Prophete fozyddeth the children of God that they hold not feare the sterres and sygnes of the heauen, as the vnbeleuers are wont to do. He condemneth not euery kynde of feare. But whẽ the vnbeleuers to geue away the gouernement of the worlde from God vnto Planets, do sayne þ their felicitie oz misery doth hang on þ decrees and fozekehwinges of the starres, and not on the wil of God, so commeth it to passe that their feare is withdrazwen away from that onely one, whõ they ought to haue regarded, vnto the starres and comets. Whoso therfoze wil beware of this vnfaithfulnesse, lette hym kepe alwayes in remembraunce that there is not in the creatures a wãdzyng power, wozyking oz motiõ, but that they are gouerned by the secrete counsel of God, so that nothing can chaunce but that which is decreed by hym both witting and willing it so to be.

Jer. x. ii.

First therfoze let the readers learne, that Prouidence is called þ, not wherewith God idelley beholdeth from heauen what is done in þ worlde, but wherewith as guiding the sterne he sitteth and ozdrezeth al thynges that come to passe. So doth it no lesse belong to his handes than to his eyes. For when Abraham sayed vnto hys sonne. God shal prouide, he meant not onely that God dyd fozknowe the successe then to come, but that he did cast the care of a thing to hym vnknown vpon the will of God, which is wont to bzing thinges doutful and confused to a certayne end. Wherby foloweth that Prouidence consisteth in doing: for to much fondely doo many trifle in talkyng of bare fozknowledge. Their erroz is not altogyther so grosse whiche geue vnto God a gouernement but disordered, and without aduised choise, (as I haue befoze sayd,) þ is to saye suche as whirleth and driueth aboute with a generall motion the frame of the worlde with all the partes therof, but doeth not peculiarly directe the doying of euery creature. Yet is this erroz not tollerable. For as they teache, it may be notwithstanding this Prouidence which they cal vniuersal that al creatures may be moued by chaũce, oz man maye turne hymselfe hether oz thether by fre choise of his wil. And so doe they part þ gouernemẽt betwene God & man, þ God by his power inspireth

Gen. xxi. viii.



into mā a motion wherby he may worke accoꝝding to y nature plantēd in hym, and mā oꝝdereth his own doinges by his own volūtary aduise: Briefely they meane that the woꝝld, mens matters, and mē themselues are gouerned by the power, but not by the appointmente of God. I speake not of the Epicureans (which pestilence the woꝝlde hath alwaye been fylled wyth) which dreame of an idle and slouthful God: and other as mad as they, whiche in old tyme imagined that God did so rule aboue the middle region of the ayꝛe, that he left thinges benethe to foꝝtune: foꝝ against so euident madnesse the dumme creatures themselues do sufficiently crye out. Foꝝ now my purpose is to confute that opinion that is in a manner commonly beleued, which geuing to God a certain blinde, and I wote not what vn-certayne motion, taketh from him the pꝛincipall thinge, that is by his incomprehenſible wiſedome to directe and diſpoſe al thinges to their ende: and ſo in name onely and not in dede it maketh God a ruler of the woꝝld, becauſe it taketh from him the gouernement of it. Foꝝ what (I beſeche you) is it els to gouerne, but ſo to be ouer them that are vnder thee, that thou mayeſt rule them by appointed oꝝder: Yet do I not altogether reiect that which is spokē of the vniuerſall Pꝛouidence: ſo that they will agayne graunte me this, that the woꝝld is ruled by God, not onely becauſe he mainteineth the oꝝder of nature whiche himſelfe hath ſet, but alſo becauſe he hath a peculiar care of euery one of hys woꝝkes. Trew it is that al ſoꝝtes of thinges are moued by a ſecret inſtinct of nature, as if they did obey the eteꝛnal commaundement of God, and that that which God hath ones determynd doth of it ſelfe procede foꝝwarde. And hereunto may y be applied which Chꝛiſt ſayeth, that he and his father were euen from the beginning alwaye woꝝkyng. And that which Paule teacheth that in him we liue, are moued & haue our beyng, and that which y anthoz of the Epyſtle to the Hebrues, meanyng to proue the Godhead of Chꝛiſt ſayeth, that by hys mightie commaundement al thinges are ſuſteyned. But they do woꝝong which by this coloz do hide & darken the ſpeciall Pꝛouidence, whiche is cōfirmed by ſo certain & plain teſtimonies of Scripture, that it is maruell that any man could dout of it. And ſurely they theſelues that drawe theſame veile which I ſpeake of to hide it, are cōpelled by way of coꝝrectiō to adde, that many thyngs ar don by y peculiar care of god, but then they do woꝝongfully reſtrayn theſame onely to peculiar doinges. Wherefoꝝe we muſte proue that God doth ſo geue hede to the gouernement of the ſucceſſes of al thyngs, and that they al do ſo procede from his determynd counſell that nothyng happeneth by chaunce.

5 If we graūt that y beginning of motiō beloꝝgeth to God, but that all things are either of theſelues oꝝ by chaūce caried whether y inclination of nature driueth the, y mutual ſucceeding by turnes of daies & nightes, of winter & ſōmer, ſhalbe y woꝝk of God, inſomuch as he appointing to euery one their duties hath ſet the a certaine law, y is if they ſhoulde alwaye kepe one meaſure in egal propoꝝtiō, as wel y dayes y come after y nightes, y moneths after monethes, & yeres after yeres. But whē ſometime immoderate hetes w dꝛynneſſe do burne by al y grain, ſometime vnſeaſonable raines do mar y coꝝrne, when ſodein hāꝛme cōmeth by hayle & tempeſtes: y ſhal not be y woꝝke of God, vnleſſe parhap it be becauſe the cloudes oꝝ faire wether oꝝ colde oꝝ heate haue their beginning of y  
meting

Act. xlii.  
xxviii.  
Heb. i. iiii.



meting of the planetes or other naturall causes. But by this meane is there no roune left, nether for þ fatherly fauour nor for the iudgemēt of God. If they say þ God is beneficial enough to mankinde because he poureth into the heaue & earth an ordinarie power, wherby they do find him nourishment: þ is to baine and prophane an inuention, as though the frutefulnessse of one yere wer not the singular blessing of God, and dearth and famine wer not his curse & vengeaunce: But because it wer to long to gather together al the reasons þ serue for this purpose, let the authozitie of God himselfe suffice vs. In the law & in the Prophetes he doth oftētimes pronouce, þ so oft as he watereth the earth with dew & rayne, he declareth his fauor, & that whē by his cōmaundemēt the heauen is hardened like irō, whē cozne is consumed w̄ blasting and other harmes, when the fieldes are stryckē w̄ hayle & tempestes, it is a tokē of his certayne & special vengeaūce. If we graunt these things, then is it assured þ there falleth not a drop of rain but by the certaine commaundement of God. Dauid prayseth the general Prouidēce of God, that he geueth meate to the rauening birdes þ cal vpon him: but when God himselfe threathneth famine to lyuing creatures, doth he not sufficiently declare þ he fedeth al liuing thinges somtime with scarce and sometime w̄ moze plenteful portio as he thinketh good: It is a childish thing as I said befoze, to restrain this to particular doiges, wheras Christ spekeþ w̄out exception, þ not a sparrow of neuer so smal a price doth fal to the ground w̄out the wil of his father. Surely if þ flyeng of birdes be ruled by the purpose of God, thē must we nedes confesse w̄ þ Prophet, þ he so dwelleth on hye, that yet he humbleth himself to loke vpo al thinges that chaunce in heauen and earth.

But because we know þ þ world was made principally for mākindes sake, we must therfoze cōsider this end in þ governāce of man. The prophete Hieremy cryeth out. I know, Lorde, þ the waye of man is not his own, nether belongeth it to man to direct his own steppes. And Salomon saiet, the steps of man are ruled by the lord, and how shall a man dispose his own waye? Now let thē say þ mā is moued by God according to þ inclinatio of his own nature, but þ man hymselfe doth turne þ mouing whether it pleaseth him. But if that wer truely sayd, then shoulde man haue the free choise of his own wayes. Paraduēture they wil deny that, because he can do nothing w̄out the power of God. But seing it is certain that the Prophetes and Salomon do geue vnto God, not onely power but also choise and appointment, they can not so escape away: But Salomō in an other place doth finely rebuke this rashnesse of men, that apoint vnto themselues an other ende w̄out respect of God, as though they were not led by hys hande. The preparatiōs (saith he) of the hart are in man, but the answer of the tong is of the Lord. It is a sonde madnesse that mē wil take vpon thē to doe thinges w̄out God, which can not so muche as speake but what he wil. And the Scripture to expresse moze plailly þ nothing at al is done in þ world but by his appointment, sheweth þ those things which seme most happening by chāce ar subiect to him. For what cā you moze ascribe to chāce, thā whē a brokē bowe falling frō a tre killeth a wayfaring mā passing bi it: But the lord saith far otherwise, which cōfelleth þ he hath deliuered hī into þ hād of the slaier. Likewise who doth not leaue the happening of lettes to the

Ps. cxlvi.  
ii.Math. x.  
xii.

Ps. ciii. v.

6

Hier. 2.  
xiii.  
Prou. x.  
xliii.

Prou. xli.

Ecc. i.  
xii.



blindnesse of fortune: But the Lord suffereth it not which claimeth the iudgement of them to hymselfe: for he sayeth that it cometh not to passe by a mans own power that stones are cast into the lap and drawen oute agayne, but that thyng which onely might be sayed to come of chaunce he testifieth to come from hym selfe. For the same purpose maketh that sayeng of Salomon. The pooze man and the vsurer mete together, God lyghtheneth both their eyes. For although pooze men and riche be mingled together in y<sup>e</sup> world, while euery one hath his state assigned him fro God, he admonisheth y<sup>e</sup> god which geueth light to al mē is not blind, and so he exhorteth y<sup>e</sup> pooze to pacience, because whosoever are not contented w<sup>th</sup> their own state, they seke to shake of y<sup>e</sup> burden y<sup>e</sup> god hath laied vpon thē. So an other Prophet rebuketh y<sup>e</sup> vngodly mē, whiche ascribe to the diligence of men oz to Fortune, that some lie in misery and some arylse bp to honoz. To come to pzeferment is neither from the easte noz from the west noz from the south, for God is the iudge, he maketh lobe and he maketh hie. Because God can not put of y<sup>e</sup> office of a iudge, ther vpon the Prophet proueth that by his secret purpose some ar in honoz, and other some remayne in contempt.

And also I say y<sup>e</sup> very particular succeses are generally witneses of gods singular prouidēce. God raised in y<sup>e</sup> desert a south wind to bzing the people plenty of foules: whē his pleasure was to haue Jonas thzowen into the sea, he sent out a winde to raise bp a tempest. But they that thinke y<sup>e</sup> God gouerneth not the world, will saye y<sup>e</sup> this chaunced beside common vse. But therby I do gather y<sup>e</sup> neuer any wind doth rise oz encrease but by the special cōmaundemēt of God. For otherwise it shoulde not be true, that he maketh the windes his messangers, and fiery flame his ministers, y<sup>e</sup> he maketh the cloudes his chariots and rideth bpō the winges of the wind, vnesse he did by his will dryue aboute the cloudes and windes, and shewe in them the singular presence of his power. So in an other place we are taught that so oft the sea swelleth with blast of windes, those violences do testifye a singular presence of God. He commaūdeth and raiseth bp the stozmy wyndes and it listeth bp the waues thereof, and then he turneth the stozme to calme, so that the waues thereof are still. As in an other place he saieith, that he scourged the people with burning windes. So wheras the power of engendring is naturally geuen to men, yet God willeth to it be imputed to his special grace, that he leaueth some in barrennesse, and vouchsaueth to graunt issue to other some, the frute of the wōbe is hys gift. Therfoze said Iacob to hys wyfe, am I as God y<sup>e</sup> I can geue thee children: But to make an ende: there is nothing moze ordinary in nature than that we be fed with bred. But the Holy ghost pronounceth that not only the growing of the frutes of the earth is the speciall gift of God, but also that men lyue not by onely bred, because it is not the very full feeding that nourisheth, but the secret blessing of God: as on the other syde he thzeteneth that he wil breake the stay of bred. Nether could we earnestly pray for our dayly bred, vnesse God did geue vs fode with hys fatherly hande. Therfoze y<sup>e</sup> Prophet, to perswade the faythfull, that God in feeding thē doth fulfil the office of a good father of household, doth put thē in minde that he geueth meate to al fleshe. Finally when we haue on y<sup>e</sup> one syde: The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, & hys eares bent to their prayers

Psa. xvi.  
viii.Psa. lxxv  
vii.7  
Ezo. xix.  
viii.  
Job. i. vi.Psa. ciii  
vii.Psa. cxi.  
vii.

Eccl. ii

Esa. lxi. i.

Psa. cxxvii  
Psa. cxxvii  
viii.  
vii.



prayers: on the other side: The eye of the Lord is vpon þ vngodly to destroy the memozy of thē out of þ earth: let vs know þ all creatures both aboue & beneth are ready to obedience þ he may apply them to what vfe soeuer he wil, wherupon is gathered þ not onely his general prouidēce remaineth in his creatures to cōtinue þ order of nature, but also by his maruellous counsell is applied to a certayne and proper ende.

They which would bring this doctrine in hatred, doe caull þ this is the learning þ the Stoikes teach of fatum or Destenie, which also was ones laied for reproch to Augustine. As for vs, although we be loth to striue about wordes, yet we allow not this word fatum, both because it is one of those whoes pzophane noueltie S. Paul teacheth vs to flee, and because some men go about with the odiousnesse therof to bring Gods truth in hatred. As for þ very opinion of þ Stoikes, it is wozōgfully laid to our charge. For we do not, as þ Stoikes do, imagine a necessitie by a certayne perpetual knot & entangled order of causes which is conteyned in nature: but we make God the iudge & gouernoure of al thinges, which accozding to his wisdom hath euen frō furthest ende of eternitie decreed what he would do, & now by his power patteth in execution þ which he hath decreed. Wherupō we affirme þ not only þ heauē & earth and other creatures without life, but also þ purposes & wilis of mē are so gouerned by his Prouidence, þ they be directly caried to þ end that it appointeth. What then: wil one say, doth nothing happen by fortune or by chaunce? I answere þ Basilius magnus hath truly said þ fortune and chaunce are heathen mens wordes, wyth the signification wherof the mindes of the godly ought not to be occupied. For if euery good successe be the blessing of God, & euery calamitie & aduersitie be his curse, now is there in mens matters no place left for fortune or chaūce. We ought also to be moued w thys saying of Augustine. In his bokes against the Academikes he saith. It doth displease me þ I haue so ofte named for tune, albeit my meaning was not to haue any goddesse meant therby, but only a chaūceable happening in outward things ether good or euil. Of which word fortune are deriued those wordes which no religio forbiddeth vs to vse, forre, forsan, forstiran, forrasse, forruico, þ is parhap, paraduenture, by fortune & by chaunce, which yet must al be applied to the Prouidēce of God. And þ did I not leaue, vnspoken when I sayd, for parchaunce euen the same þ is commonly called fortune is also ruled by secret order. And we cal chaūce in things nothing els but þ whereof the reaso & cause is vnknowen. I said this in dede, but it repenteth me that I did there so name fortune. Forasmuch as I se þ mē haue a very euil custome, þ where they ought to say, thus it pleased God, they say thus it pleased fortune. Finally he doth commonly in his bokes teach, that the world should be vnorderly whirled about if any thyng wer left vnto fortune. And although in an other place he determineth that al thyngs are done partly by the free wil of mā, & partly by the Prouidēce of God, yet doth he a little after sufficiently shew that men are subiecte vnto & ruled by Prouidence, taking this for a pzinciple, that nothing is moze agaynst conuenience of reason, than to say that any thyng chaunceth but by the ordinaunce of God, for els it should happē without cause or order by whiche reason he also excludeth that happening that hangeth vpon the will of men: and by and by after he playnlyer sayeth



Quest. that we oughte not to seke a cause of the will of God. And so ofte as he  
 .53. De maketh mention of sufferance, howe that is to be vnderstanded shall  
 .ri. li. very well appeare by one place where he proueth that the wyll of God  
 cap. 4. is the soueraigne and first cause of al thinges, because nothing happer-  
 neth but by his commaundemente or sufferance. Surely he faineth  
 not God to sit stil idle in a watch toure, when it is hys pleasure to suffer  
 any thyng, whereas he vseth an actuall wyll (as I may so cal it) whiche  
 otherwylse could not be called a cause.

But forasmuch as y<sup>e</sup> dullnesse of our vnderstāding can not by a great  
 way atteine to the height of gods prouidēce, we must vse a distinctiō to  
 helpe to lift it vp. I say therfore, how soeuer al thinges are ordeined by  
 the purpose and certayne disposition of God, yet to vs they are chaunsa-  
 ble, not that we thynke that fortune ruleth the world and men, and vn-  
 aduisedly tosseth all thynges vp and down (for suche beastlynesse ought  
 to be farre from a Chyristyan harte) but because the order, meane,  
 ende and necessitie of those thynges that happen, doeth for the moste  
 parte lye secreete in the purpose of God, and is not comprehended wyth  
 opinion of man, therfore those thinges are as it were chaūsaible, which  
 yet it is certaine to come to passe by the wil of God. For they seme no  
 otherwise, whether we cōsider them in their own nature, or whether we  
 esteeme them accordyng to our knowledg and iudgement. As for an ex-  
 ample, let vs put the case, that a merchaunte being entred into a wod  
 in company of true men, doeth vnwisely stray away from his felowes,  
 and in his wandring chaūceth vpon a denne of robbers, lighteth amōg  
 theues and is killed, his death was not only foreseen with goddes eye,  
 but also determined by his decree. For it is not saied that he did foresee  
 how farre ech mans life should extende, but that he hath set and appoin-  
 ted markes which can not be passed. And yet so farre as the capacitie of  
 our minde conceiueth, all thinges herein seme happening by chaunce.  
 What shall a Christian here thinke: euen this, whatsoeuer happened in  
 such a death, he wil thinke it in nature chauncyng by fortune as it is in  
 dede, but yet he will not doubt that the prouidence of God did gouerne  
 to directe fortune to her ende. In like manner are the happenynges of  
 thynges to come. For as al thinges that be to come are vncertaine vn-  
 to vs, so we hang them in suspense, as if they might fal on either parte,  
 yet this remaineth settled in our hartes, that nothing shall happen but  
 that which God hath already foreseen. In this meaning is the name  
 of chaunce oft repeted in Ecclesiastes, because at the first sight men doe  
 not atteine to see the first cause which is farre hidden from them. And  
 yet that which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the secret pro-  
 uidence of God, was neuer so blotted out of the hartes of men, but that  
 euen in the darkenesse there alway shined some sparkes therof. So the  
 sothsayers of the Philistians, although they wauer in doutfulnesse, yet  
 they ascrybe aduersitie partly to God partly to fortune. If (say they) the  
 arke go that way, we shall know that it is God that hath stryke vs: but  
 if it go the other way, then a chaunce hath light vpon vs. In dede they  
 did folishly, when their conning of soth saying deceiued them, to flee to  
 fortune, but in the meane whyle we see them constrayned, so that they  
 dare not thinke that the euil happe which chaunced vnto them did come  
 of fortune. But how God with the bydle of hys prouidence turneth al  
 succeses



successes whether pleaseth him, may appeare by one notable example. Beholde euen at one moment of time, whē David was founde out and nere taken in the desert of Mahon, euen then the Philistines inuaded the land, and Saul was compelled to depart. If God meaning to prouide for the safetie of his seruaunt did cast this let in Sauls way, surely although the Philistines going to armes were sodein and beside the expectation of men, yet may we not say that it came by chaunce. But those thynges that seme to vs to happen by chaunce, sayth wil acknowledge to haue been a secret mouing of God. I graunt there doth not alway appeare the like reason, but vndoubtedly we ought to beleue that whatsoeuer changes of thinges are seen in the worlde, they come by the secret sturring of the hand of God. But that which God purposeth is so of necessitie to com to passe, that yet it is not of necessitie precisely nor by the nature of it self. As therof is a familiar exāple in y bones of Christ, forasmuch as he had put on a bodie like vnto ours, no wise mā will deny that his bones were naturally able to be broken, yet was it impossible that they shuld be broken: whereby we see againe that not without cause were in scholes inuented the distinctions of necessitie in respect, and necessitie absolute, of consequent and consequence, where as God had subject to brycklenesse the bones of his sonne, which he had exempted from beyng able to be broken, and so brought to necessitie by reason of his owne purpose, that that thyng coulde not bee, whiche naturally myght haue ben.

i. Samu.  
r. iii.  
r. vi.

### The. xvii. Chapter.

Wherto and to what ende this doctrine is to be applied, that we may be certaine of the profite therof.



**N**owe forasmuche as mens wits are bent to vaine curious suttleties, it is scarcely possible but that they shall encombeze themselues with entangled doubttes, who soeuer doo not knowe the true and right vse of this Doctrine. Therfoze it shall be expedient here to touche shortly to what ende the Scripture teacheth, that all thynges are ordzed by God. And fyrste of all is to be noted, that the Prouidēce of God ought to be considered as wel for the tyme to come as for the tyme past: secundarily that the same is in suche sorte the gouernour of all thynges, that sometyme it woorketh by meanes, somtyme without meanes, and somtyme agaynst all meanes. Last of all, that it tendeth to this ende, that God maye shewe that he hath care of all mankynde, but specially that he doeth wathe in rulyng of his churche, which he vouchesaueth more nerely to loke vnto. And this is also to be added, that althoughe eyther the fatherly fauoure and bountyfulnesse of God, or oftentymes the seueritie of his iudgemente do brightly appere in the whole course of his Prouidence: yet somtyme the causes of those thynges that happen are secreete, so that this thought crepeth into our myndes, that mens matters are tourned and whirled about with the blynde sway of fortune, or so that the fleshe stirreth vs to murmure, as if God dydde to make him selfe pastyme to tolle menne lyke



like tennis balles. True it is that if we were with quiet and still imp-  
des ready to learne, the very successe it selfe woulde at length playnely  
shewe, that God hath an assured good reason of his purpose, either to  
traîne them that be his to patience, or to correct their euill affections &  
tame their wantonnesse, or to bryng theym downe to the renouncyng  
of theym selues, or to awake their drowsynesse: on the other syde to  
ouerthrowe the proude, to disappoint the suttletie of the wicked, to con-  
founde their deuises. But howsoeuer the causes be secrete and vnknow-  
wē to vs: we must assuredly hold that they ar layd by in hiddē stoze with  
him, & therefore we ought to crie out with Dauid, God, thou hast made  
thy wonderful woorks so many, that none can count in order to thee thy  
thoughts towarde vs. I would declare and speake of them, but they are  
moze than I am able to expresse. For although alwaies in our miseries  
we ought to thinke vpon our sinnes, that the verye punishment maye  
mouie vs to repentance, yet doo we see howe Chyriste geueth moze power  
to the secrete purpose of his father, than to punish the euery one accordyng  
to his deseruyng. For of hym that was bozne blynde he sayth: neither  
hath this man synned nor his parentes, but that the glozy of God may  
be shewed in hym. For here naturall sense murmureth when calamitie  
commeth euen befoze birth, as if God did vnnmercifully so to punish the  
sely innocente, that had not deserued it. But Chyriste dooth testifie that  
in this lokyng glasse the glozy of his father doeth shyne to our syght, if  
we haue cleere eyes to beholde it. But we must kepe modestie, that we  
drazwe not God to yelde cause of his dooynges, but lette vs so reue-  
rence his secrete iudgementes, that his wyll be vnto vs, a moste iuste  
cause of all thynges. When thicke cloudes doo couer the heauen, and a  
bisent tempest aryleth, then bycause bothe a heauysome mystynesse is  
caste befoze oure eyes, and the thunder troubleth oure eares, and all  
oure senses are amased with terrour, we thynke that all thynges are  
confounded and rumbled togyther: and yet all the whyle there remai-  
neth in the heauen the same quietenesse and calmenesse, that was  
befoze. So muste we thynke that whyle the troublesome state of  
thynges in the worlde taketh from vs abilitie to iudge, God by the pure  
lyghte of his ryghteousnesse and wysedome, dooth in well framed or-  
der governe and dispose euen those very troublesome motions them-  
selues to a ryght ende. And surely very monstrous is the rage of many  
in this behalfe, whiche dare moze boldly call the woorkes of God to ac-  
compte and examyne his secrete meanynges, and to geue vnauided  
sentence of thynges vnknowen, than they wyll dooe of the deedes of  
mortall men. For what is moze vnoorderly than to vse such modestie to-  
warde our selfe, that we had rather suspende our iudgement than to  
incurre the blame of rashenesse, and on the other syde proude-  
ly to triumph vpon the darke iudgementes of God, whiche it became vs to re-  
garde with reuerence.

Therefore no man shal wel & profitably wey the Prouidēce of God but  
he y considering that he hath to doo with his creatour and the maker of  
the worlde, dooeth with suche humilitie as he ought submitt himself to  
feare and reuerēce. Hereby it cometh to passe, that so many dogs at this  
day doo with benimed bitynges, or at leaste barkynge assaile this doc-  
trine, because they will haue no moze to be lawfull for God, than their  
owne

Psal. xl.

John. ix.

1615



own reason informeth them. And also they raile at vs both al the spite-  
 fulnesse that they are able, for that not contented with the commaunde-  
 mentes of the lawe, wherin the will of God is comprehended. We doo  
 further saie, that the worlde is ruled by his secreete counsels. As though  
 the thyng that we teache were an inuention of our owne bzayn, and as  
 though it were not true that the Holy ghost doth euery where expresse-  
 ly say the same, and repeteth it with innumerable formes of speeche.  
 But because some shame restraineth theim, that they dare not vomyte  
 out their blasphemies against the heauen: they sayn that they contende  
 with vs, to the ende they may the moze freely play the madmen. But if  
 they do not graunt that what soeuer happeneth in the worlde, is gover-  
 ned by the incomprehenible purpose of God, let them answer to what  
 ende the Scripture sayth, that his iudgementes are a depe bottomlesse  
 deapth. For where as Moses crieth out that the wyll of God is not to  
 be sought afarre of in the cloudes, or in the deapthes, because it is fa-  
 miliarly sette foorth in the lawe: it foloweth, that his other hidden will  
 is compared to a bottomlesse deapth. Of the whiche Paule also saith: **O**  
 deapth of the riches and of the wisdom and of the knowlege of God: **Rom. xi.**  
 howe vnsearchable are his iudgementes, and his waies passe fyndyng **xxxi.**  
 out: for who hath knowen the mynde of the Lorde, or who hath bene  
 his counsellour: And it is in dede true, that in the gospel and in the law  
 are conteyned mysteries whiche are farre aboue the capacitie of oure  
 sense: but for asmuche as God for the comprehendyng of these myste-  
 ries whiche he hath vouchesaied to open by his woorde, doeth lighten  
 the myndes of them that be his, with the Spirite of Understanding:  
 nowe is therein no bottomlesse deapth, but a way wherin we muste safe  
 walk, & a candell to guyde our feete, & the light of life, and the schoole of  
 certayn and plainly discernable trueth. But his meruailous order of  
 gouernyng the worlde is worthily called a bottomlesse deapthe: bicause  
 while it is hidden from vs, we ought reuerently to worshyp it. Ryghte  
 well hath Moses expressed theim bothe in fewe woordes. The secreete **Deu. xxxi.**  
 thynges (saith he) belong to the Lorde our God: but the thyngs reue- **xxii.**  
 led belong to vs and to oure chylzen for euer. We see howe he byddeth  
 vs not onely to studie in meditation of the lawe, but also reuerently to  
 looke by vnto the secreete Prouidence of God. And in the booke of Job **Job. xxi.**  
 is reherfed one title of this deapth, that it humbleth our myndes. For **xxiii.**  
 after that the authoz of that boke in surueying by and downe the frame  
 of the worlde, had honourably entreated of the woorkes of God, at  
 length he addeth: Lo, these be part of his waies, but howe littel a por-  
 tion heare we of hym: Accordyng to whiche reason in an other place he  
 maketh difference betwene the wisdom that remaineth with God, and  
 the measure of wisdom that he hath appointed for men. For after he  
 hath preached of the secretes of nature, he sayth that wisdom is kno-  
 wen to God onely, and is hidden from the eies of all liuyng creatures. **Job.**  
 But by and by after he saith further, that it is published to the ende it **xxviii. xli.**  
 should be serched out, because it is sayd vnto man, beholde the feare of  
 God is wisdom. For this purpose maketh the sayeng of Augustine:  
 Bycause we knowe not all thynges whiche God doeth concernyng vs  
 in moste good order, that therfoze in onely good wil we do accordyng to  
 the law, because his Prouidence is an buchaungeable lawe. Therefore  
 lithe



lithe God dooth claime vnto hym selfe the power to rule the worlde, whiche is to vs vnknowen, let this be to vs a lawe of sobzenesse and modestie, quietly to obey his soueraigne authoritie, that his wyll maye be to vs the only rule of iustice, and the most iust cause of all thynges. I meane not that absolute will, of whiche the Sophisters doo babble, separatyng by wicked and prophane disagremente his iustice from his power, but I meane that Prouidence, whyche is the gouernesse of all thynges, from whiche procedeth nothyng but right: although the causes therof be hidden from vs.

3

Whosoever shalbe framed to this modestie, they neyther for the time paste wil murmure against God for their aduersities, nor lay vpon him the blame of wicked dooynges, as Agamemnon in Homer dyd, saying, I am not the cause, but Jupiter and Destenie: nor yet agayn as caried awaie with Destenies, they wil by desperation throwe them selues into destruction, as that yong man in Plautus whiche saide: Unstable is the chaunce of thynges: the Destenies driue men at their pleasure, I will get me to some rocke there to make an ende of my goodes and life together. Neither yet (as an other did) they will pretende the name of God to couer their owne mischeuous dooynges: for so saith Apconides in an other comedie: God was the mouer. I beleue it was the will of the gods: for if it had not ben their will, I knowe it should not so come to passe. But rather they will searche and learne out of the Scripture what pleaseth God, that by the guiding of the Holy ghost they may trauallye to attayne thervnto. And also beyng ready to folowe God, whether soeuer he calleth, they shewe in dede that nothyng is moze profitable then the knowledge of his doctrine. Very foolishly doo prophane men turmoile with their fondnesses, so that thei in maner cofound heauen & earthe together as the saying is: If God haue marked the point of our death, we can not escape it: then it is labour vaine loste in taking hede to our selues. Therfore where as one man dareth not venture to go the way that he heareth to bee daungerous, least he be murdered of theues: an other sendeth for Physitians, and writieth himselfe with medicines to succour his life: an other forbeareth grosse meates for feare of appeiryng his feble health: an other dreadeth to dwell in a ruinous house: finally where as men deuise all waies and endeuour with all diligence of mynde wherby they may attayne that whiche they desire: either all these remedies are vaine, whiche are sought, as to reforme the will of God, or els life and death, health and sicknesse, peace and warre, and other thyngs, whiche men as they couete or hate them, doo by their trauaile endeuour to obteyne or escape, are not determined by his certain decree. And further they gather, that the praiers of the faithfull are disordered, or at the least superfluous, wherin petition is made that it will please the Lorde to prouide for those thynges whiche he hath already decreed from eternitie. To be short, they destroy all counsels that men doo take for tyme to come as thynges agaynst the Prouidence of God, whiche hath determined what he woulde haue doone, without calling them to counsell. And then what soeuer is already hapned, they so impute it to the Prouidence of God, that they winke at the man whom they knowe to haue done it. As hath a ruffian slaine an honest citezen: he hath executed the (say they) the purpose of God. Hathe one



one stollen, or committed fornication: because he hath doen the thyng that was forseeene and ordeined by the Lorde, he is a minister of his Prouidence. Hath the sonne carelesly, neglectyng all remedies, wayted for the death of his father: he coulde not resist God that had so befoze appointed from eternitie. So all mischeuous dooynges they call vertues because they obey the ordinance of God.

But as touching things to come, Salomon doth well bring in agreement together the purposes of men with the Prouidence of God. For as he laugheth to scozne their follye, whiche boldely doo enterprize any thyng without the Lorde, as though they were not ruled by his hande: so in an other place he speaketh in this maner. The harte of man purposeth his waie, but the Lorde doeth direct his steppes, meanyng that we are not hyndered by the eternall Decrees of God, but that vnder his will we may both prouide for our selues, and dispose all thynges belonging to vs. And that is not without a manifest reason. For he that hath limited our life within appointed boundes, hath therwithall left with vs the care thereof, hath furnished vs with meanes and healpes to preserve it, hath made vs to haue knowledge befoze hande of daungers, and that they shoulde not oppresse vs vnware, he hath geuen vs prouisions and remedies. Nowe it is plaine to see what is our duetie: that is to say: If God hath committed to vs our owne lyfe to defende, our duetie is to defende it. If he offer vs helpes, our duetie is to vse theim. If he shew vs daungers befoze, our duetie is not to runne rashly into theim. If he minister vs remedies, our duetie is not to neglect them. But no daunger shall hurt, vnlesse it be fatall, which by al remedies can not be overcome. But what if daungers be therfore not fatall, because God hath assigned thee remedies to repulse & overcome the? See how thy maner of reasoning agreeth with the order of Gods disposition. Thou gatherest that daunger is not to bee taken heede of, because forasmuch as it is not fatal, we shal escape it without takyng hede at all: but the Lorde doeth therfore enioyne thee to take hede of it, because he will not haue it fatall vnto thee. These madde men do not consider that whiche is plaine befoze their eyes, that the skil of taking counsell and hede is enspired into men by God, whereby they may serue his Prouidence in preserving of their owne life: as on the other syde by negligence and slouth they procure to them selues those euils that he hath appoynted for theim. For howe commeth it to passe, that a circumspecte man whyle he prouideth for him selfe, doeth wynde hym self out of euilles that hang ouer hym, and the foole perisheth by vnadvised rashnesse, but for that bothe folly and wisdom are the instrumentes of Gods disposition on bothe partes? Therfore it pleased God to hyde from vs all thynges to come, to this ende: that we shoulde mete with them as thynges doutefull, and not ceasse to sette prepared remedies against them, till either they be overcome or be past all helpe of care. And for this cause I haue befoze admonished that the Prouidence of God doeth not alwaye shewe it selfe naked, but as God by vlyng of meanes doeth in a certaine maner clothe it.

The same men doo vnorderly and vnadvisedly draw the chaunces of time past to y naked prouidence of god. For because vpo it do hag al thigs whatsoeuer happē, therfore (say thei) neither robberies, nor adulteries,



nor manlaughters are committed without the will of God. Why then (say they) shall a these be punished, for that he spoiled hym whome the Lordes will was to punish with pouertie? Why shall the murtherer be punished which hath slaine hym whoes life the Lord had ended? If all suche men doo serue the will of God, why shall they be punished? But I deny that they serue the will of God. For we may not say that he whiche is caried with an euill mynde doeth seruice to God as commaunder of it, where in dede he doeth but obey his owne wicked lust. He obeyeth God, which beyng enformed of his will doeth labour to that end, wherunto Gods will calleth him. But wherby are we enformed of his wil, but by his worde? Therfore in doying of thinges we must see that same wil of God, whiche he declareth in his worde. God requireth of vs onely that whiche he commaundeth. If we doo any thyng against his commaundement, it is not obedience but obstinacie and transgression. But vnlesse he wolde, we should not doo it. I graunt. But doo we euill thinges to this ende to obey hym? But he doeth not commaunde vs to do them, but rather we runne on headlong, not minding what he willet, but so raging with the intemperance of our owne lust, that of sette purpose we bende our trauayle against him. And by these meanes in euill doying we serue his iust ordinaunce, because accorpyng to the infinite greatnesse of his wisdom, he hath good skill to vse euill instruments to doo good. And see howe foolish is their manner of arguyng. They wold haue the doers vnpunished for mischeuous actes, because they are not committed but by the disposition of God. I graunt moze: that theues and murtherers & other euill doers are the instrumentes of Gods Providence, whom the Lord dooth vse to execute those iudgementes whiche he hath with himselfe determined. But I denye that their euill dooynges ought to haue any excuse therby. For why? shall they either entangle God in the same wickednesse with theym, or shall they couer their noughtynesse with his rightuousnesse? They can doo neyther of boeth. Because they should not be able to excuse themselues, they are accused by their owne conscience. And because they should not be able to blame God, they fynde all the euill in themselues, and in hym nothyng but a lawful vse of their euilnesse. But he woorketh by them. And whete I pray you, commeth the stinke in a dead carrion, which hath ben boeth rotted and disclosed by heate of the sunne? All men doo see that it is raised by the beames of the sunne. Yet no man dooth therefore saie, that the sunbeames doo stinke. So whē there resteth in an euil man, y mat- ter and gyltinesse of euill, what cause is there why it should be thought that God is any thyng defiled with it, if he vse their seruice at his pleasure. Away therfore with this doggish frowardnesse, whiche maye in dede asarre of barke at the iustice of God, but can not touche it.

But these cauillations or rather dotyng errorrs of phrenetike men, shall easily be shaken awaye, by godly and holy meditation of y Providence, whiche the rule of godlynesse teacheth vs, so that thereof maye growe vnto vs a good and mooste pleasant fruite. Therfore a Christian hart when it is mooste assuredly persuaded, that all thyngs come to passe by the disposition of God, and that nothyng happeneth by chaunce, wil alway bende his eyes to hym as to the principall cause of thynges, and yet will consider the inferiour causes in their place. Then he wyll not  
doute



doute that the singular Prouidence of God doeth watche for his preservation, whiche Prouidence will suffre nothyng to happen, but that whiche shall tourne to his good and saluation. And because he hath to doo first of al with men, & then with the other creatures, he will assure hym selfe that Gods Prouidence dooth reigne in bothe. As touchyng men, whether they be good or euill, he will acknowledge that all their counsellles, willes, enterprises and powers are vnder the hande of God, so that it is in Gods will to bowe them whether he list, and to restraine them so ofte as pleaseth hym. That the syngular Prouidence of God doeth kepe watche for the safetie of the faithfull, there are many & most euident promises to witnesse. Cast thy burden vpon the Lorde, and he shall nourishe thee, and shall not suffer the rightuous to fall for euer, because he careth for vs. He that dwelleth in the healpe of the hyst, shall abyde in the protection of the God of heauen. He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of myne eye. I will be thy shield, a brasen walle: I wil be enemye to thy enemies. Although the mother forget her children, yet will I not forget thee. And also this is the principall entent in the histories of the Bible, to teache that the Lord doeth with such diligence kepe the waies of the Sainctes, that they doo not so muche as stumble against a stone. Therfore as a little before we haue rightfully reiected their opinion whyche doo imagine an vniuersall Prouidence of God, that stoupeth not specially to the care of euery creature: yet principally it shall be good to reknowledge the same special care toward our selues. Wherbyppon Christ after he had affirmed that not the sparowe of leaste value, doeth fal to the ground without the will of the ffather, doeth by and by apply it to this ende, that we shoulde consider that howe muche we be more woorth than sparowes, with so much nyer care doeth God prouide for vs, and he extendeth that care so farre that we may be bolde to truste that the heares of our head are numbed. What can we withe our selues more, yf not so muche as a heare can fall from our head but by his will: I speake not onely of all mankynde, but bycause God hath chosen his churche for a dwelling house for himselfe, it is no doute but that he doeth by singuler examples shew his care in governing of it.

The seruant of God beyng strengthened with these both, promyses and examples, will ioyne with them the testimonies whiche teache that all men are vnder Gods power, whether it be to wynne their myndes to good will, or to restraine their malice that it may doo no hurt. For it is the Lorde that geueth vs fauour not onely with them that will vs well, but also in the Egyptians, and as for the maliciousnesse of our enemies, he knoweth howe by diuerse waies to subdue it. For somtyme he taketh away their wit from them, so that they can conceiue no sound or sobze aduise, like as he sent forth Sathan to fill the mouthes of all the Prophetes with lying to deceiue Achab. He made Rechabem mad by the yong mens counsell, that he myght be spoyled of his kyngdome by his owne folly. Many tymes when he graunteth them witte, yet he maketh them so afraide and astonished, that they can not will or goe about that whiche they haue conceiued. Somtyme also when he hath suffred them to go about that whiche luste and rage dyd counsell them, he doeth in conuenient tyme breake of their violences, & suffereth them not to procede to the end that they purposed, So dyd he before the time

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Psal. 118.  
vii.  
1. Pet. v.  
11.  
Psa. xci.  
1.  
zach. 11.  
viii.  
Esa. xxi.  
11.

Math. x.  
xiii.

7.

Esa. 111.  
11.

1. Kings  
xiii. xxi.  
1. Kings  
xii. x.



byng to nought the counsell of Archithophell that shoulde haue been to Dauids destruction. So also he taketh care to gouerne al his creatures for y<sup>e</sup> benefit & safetie of them y<sup>e</sup> be his, yea & to gouerne the deuill hym selfe, whiche as we see durst enterpryse nothyng againste Job withoute his sufferance and commaundement. Of this knowledgē necessarily ensueth both a thankfulness of mynde in prosperous successe of thynges, & also paciēce in aduersitie, and an incredible assurednesse against the time to come. Whatsoeuer therfoze shal betide vnto him prosperously and accoꝝdyng to his hartes desyre, all that he will ascribe vnto God, whether he fele the bountie of God by the ministerie of men, or be holpen by liuelesse creatures. For thus he wil thynke in his mynde: Surely it is the Lorde whiche hath inclined their myndes to me, which hath ioyned them vnto me to be instrumētes of his goodnesse toward me. In plentie of the frutes of the earth, thus he will thynke, that it is the Lorde whiche heareth the heauen, that the heauen may heare the earthe, that the earthe also may heare her frutes. In other thyngs he wil not dout that it is the only blessing of the Lorde, wherby all thyngs prosper, and being put in mynde by so many causes he wil not abide to be vnthākful.

If any aduersitie happen, he will by and by therein also lifte by his mynde to God, whos hande auaieth muche to empꝛint in vs a paciēce and quiete moderation of hart. If Ioseph had still continued in recoꝝdyng the falsehode of his bzethzen, he coulde neuer haue taken a brotherly mynde toward theim. But because he bowed his mynde to the Lorde, he forgat the iniurie, and inclined to mekenesse and clemency, so farrefoꝝth that of his own accoꝝde he comforted his bzethzen and said: It is not you that solde me into Egypte, but by the will of God I was sent befoze you to saue your lyues. You in dede thought euill of me, but the Lorde tourned it to good. If Job had had respect to the Chaldees, by whom he was troubled, he would foꝝthwith haue been kendled to reuenge. But because he did therwithall acknowledge it to be the work of God, he comforted hymselfe with this moste excellent saying: The Lorde hath geuen, the Lorde hath taken away, the Lordes name bee blessed. So Dauid: when Semei had railed and cast stones at hym, if he had looked vpon man, he would haue incouraged his souldiours to reacquite the iniurie. But because he vnderstode that Semei dyd it not without the mouyng of the Lorde, he rather appeased them. Lette hym alone (said he) for the Lorde hath commaunded hym to curse. With the same bridle in an other place doeth he restraine the intemperance of sorowe. I helde my peace (saith he) and became as donime, bycause thou O Lorde, diddest it. If there be moꝝe effectuall remedy agaynst wꝛath and impacience: surely he hath not a little profited whiche hath learned in this behalfe to thinke vpon the Prouidence of God, that he may alway call backe his mynde to this poynt. It is the Lordes will, therfoze it must be suffred, not onely because it is not lawfull to strue agaynst it, but also because he willet nothyng but that whiche is both iust and expedient. In summe this is the end, that beyng wꝛongfully hurt by men, we leauyng their malice (whiche would doo nothyng but enforce our sorowe, and wheate our mindes to reuenge) should remembꝛe to climbe vp vnto God, and learne to beleue assuredly, that what soeuer our enemy hath mischeuously doon against vs, was bothe suffered and sent by

Gods



gods disposition. Paule, to refraine vs from recompensing of iniuries doth wisely put vs in minde, that we are not to wraastle with fleshe and bloud, but with the spiritual enemy the deuill, that we may prepare our selues to strue with him. But thys is the most profitable lesson for the appeasynge of al rages of wraath, y<sup>e</sup> God doth arme as wel the deuill as al wicked men to stryue w<sup>th</sup> vs, and y<sup>e</sup> he sitteth as iudge to exercise oure patience. But if y<sup>e</sup> misfortunes and miseries y<sup>e</sup> oppresse vs, doe chaunce without y<sup>e</sup> woꝝke of men, let vs remeber the doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> law: whatsoeuer is prosperous floweth from the fountayne of gods blessing, and y<sup>e</sup> al aduersities are his cursinges: and let y<sup>e</sup> most terrible warning make vs afraid: If ye walke stubboznlly against me, I wil also walke stubboznlly agaynst you. In which is rebuked our sluggishnesse, when according to y<sup>e</sup> commo sense of y<sup>e</sup> flesh accompting al to be but chaunce y<sup>e</sup> happeneth; of both sortes we are nether encouraged by y<sup>e</sup> benefites of God to woꝝship him, noꝝ prycked forwarde w<sup>th</sup> his scourges to repetaunce. This same is y<sup>e</sup> reso, why Hieremy & Amos did so sharply rebuke y<sup>e</sup> Jewes, because they thought y<sup>e</sup> things as wel good as euil came to passe wout the commaundement of God. To y<sup>e</sup> same purpose serueth that sermon of Clay. I the God that create lpyht and fashyon darkenesse, that make peace and create euil. I God doe make all these thynges.

And yet in the meane time a godly man wil not winke at the inferioꝝ causes. Nether wil he, because he thinketh them the ministers of gods goodnesse bi whō he hath receiued benefite, therfoze let them passe vnconsidered, as though they had deserued no thanke by their getlenesse: but he wil hartily thynke hymselfe bounde vnto them, and wil willingly confesse hys bonde, & trauail as he shalbe able and as occasion shall serue, to recōpence it. Finally in benefites receyued he wyl reuerence & prayse God as the principlal authoꝝ, but he will honoꝝ men as y<sup>e</sup> ministers, and as y<sup>e</sup> truth is in dede he wil vnderstande y<sup>e</sup> he is by the wyl of God bounde to the, by whoes hand it was gods wil to be benefitial vnto hym. If he suffer any losse by negligence oz want of foresight, he wil determine in hys mind y<sup>e</sup> the same was done in dede w<sup>th</sup> the wil of God, but he wil impute it also to hymselfe. If any man be dead by sickenesse whō he hath negligently handled, wheras of duty he should haue taken good hede vnto him: although he be not ignoꝝaunt y<sup>e</sup> the mā was come to his appoynted tyme beyond whych he could not passe, yet will he not therby lessen hys offense, but because he had not faythfully discharged hys duty towarde hym, he wil so take it as if he had perished by fault of hys neglygence. Much lesse when there is bled any fraude, & conceiued malice of wynde in committing either murther oz theft, wil he excuse it vnder pretēce of gods Prouidence, but he wil in one selfe euil act seuerally behold both y<sup>e</sup> righteousnesse of God and the wickednesse of man, as both doth manifestly shew theselues. But principally in thynges to come he wil haue cōsideration of such inferioꝝ causes. For he wyl reckē it among the blessings of God if he be not disapoynted of y<sup>e</sup> helpes of men which he may ble for hys safety. And so he neither wil be negligēt in takynge of counsell, noꝝ slouthful in crauyng their helpe whō he seeth to haue sufficiēt wherof he may be succoured: but thinking y<sup>e</sup> whatsoeuer creatures can any thyng profyt him, y<sup>e</sup> same are offred into hys hand by

Ep. vi. xii

De. xviii

I am. iii. rrr viii.

Amo. iii. vi.

Cl. xv. vi.

9



uidence. And because he doth not certaynly know what successe þ̄ busi-  
 nesse wil haue that he goeth about, (saying þ̄ in al thynges he knoweth  
 that the Lord wil prouide for hys benefyete) he wil wyth study trauaile  
 to þ̄ which he shal thynke expedyent for hym selfe, so far as he cā cōceiue  
 in mynde & vnderstanding. And yet in takyng of counsels he wil not be  
 caried on by hys own wyt, but wyl cōmit & yeld hymselfe to þ̄ wisdom of  
 God, that by the guiding therof he may be directed to þ̄ ryght end. But  
 hys confydence shal not so stay vpon outward helpes, þ̄ if he haue them  
 he wyl carelesly rest vpon them, oz if he want them he wil be afraied as  
 lefte destitute, for he wyl haue hys mynde alway fastened bpō the Pro-  
 uydence of God, neyther wyl he suffer hymselfe to be drawē away frō  
 the stedfast beholdyng therof, by consideration of present thynges. So  
 though Joab acknowledged that þ̄ successe of battail is in the wil and  
 hand of God, yet he gaue not hymselfe to slouthfulnesse but did diligētly  
 execute þ̄ whych belonged to hys callyng, but he leaueth it vnto þ̄ Lord  
 to gouerne þ̄ end. We wil stand valiant (saith he) for our natiō, & for the  
 cities of our God. But þ̄ Lord do what is good in his eyes. This know-  
 ledge shal despoyle vs of rashnesse & wzongful cōfydēce, & shal dryue vs  
 to cōtinual calling bpō God: & also shal bpholde our mindes wyth good  
 hope, so as we may not doute assuredly and boldly to despysse those dan-  
 gers that compasse vs about.

11. Ser.  
rit.

10

In this point doth þ̄ inestimable felicitie of a godly minde shew forth  
 it selfe. Innumerable are the euils þ̄ do besege mans lyfe, & do threaten  
 hym so many deathes. As, not to go further thā our selues: for asmuche  
 as our body is a receptacle of a thousand diseases, yea hath enclosed and  
 doth nourishe within it the causes of diseases, man can not carrye him  
 selfe but he must nedes also cary about wyth hym many formes of hys  
 own destruction, & draw forth a lyfe as it were entangled w death. For  
 what may it els be called, where he neyther is cold, nor sweateth with-  
 out peril: Now whether soeuer þ̄ turne thee, al thynges þ̄ are about thee  
 are not only vntrusty frendes to thee, but do in maner opely threaten &  
 seme to shew thee present death. Go into a ship, there is but a fote thick-  
 nesse betwene thee & death. Sit on horsebacke in þ̄ slippyng of one fote  
 thy lyfe is in daunger. Go through þ̄ stretes of the cite: euen how many  
 tyles are bpō the houses to so many perils art thou subiect. If there be  
 an iron tole in thy hande oz thy frendes, the harme is ready prepared.  
 How many wylde beastes þ̄ seest, they are al armed to thy destructyon.  
 If thou meane to shut by thy selfe, euē in a garden well fenced, where  
 may appeare nothyng but pleasantnesse of aire & grouūd, there sometime  
 lorketh a Serpēt. The house whych is continually subiect to fyer doeth  
 in þ̄ day tyme threaten thee with pouertie, & in the nyght tyme with fa-  
 llyng vpon thy hed. Thy feld forasmuche as it lyeth opē to hayle, froste,  
 drowth & other tempestes it warneth thee of barrennesse, & thereby fa-  
 myne. I speake not of prysonnynges, treasōs, robberies, opē violence, of  
 which part do besege vs at home, & part do folow vs abzode. In these  
 streightes muste not man nedes be most miserable, which euen in lyfe  
 halfe dead doth painfully draw forth a careful & faintyng breath as if  
 he hadde a swearde contynually hangyng ouer hys necke. But thou  
 wilt say that these thynges chaunce seldome, oz at least not alwaies, nor  
 to all men, and nener all at ones. I graunte but seyng we are putte in  
 mynde



minde by the examples of other, that the same thinges maye happen to our selues, and that our lyfe ought of duty no more to be free thā theyrs, it can not be but that we must dzed and feare them as thynges y maye light vpon vs. Now what can a man imagine moze miserable thā such a fearefulnesse? Beside that, it is not without dishonozable reproche of God to say, that he hath set open man the noblest of al hys creatures to the blinde and vnadvised strokes of fortune. But here my purpose is to speake onely of the misery of man, which he should fele if he should be brought subiecte vnder fortunes dominion.

But when that light of Gods Providence hath ones shyned vpon a godly mā: he is now releued & deliuered not only from the extreme anguish and feare wherw he was befoze oppressed, but also from al care. For as iustly he feareth fortune, so he dare boldly commit hymselfe to God. This is (I say) his comfort, to vnderstande that the heauenly father doth so holde in all thynges wyth hys power, so ruleth them w hys authoritie and countenance, so ordzeth them w his wisdome, that nothyng befalleth but by hys apointment: and y he is receiued into Gods tuitiō, & cōmitted to the charge of Angels, and can not be touched with any hurt of water, noz syer, noz wepō, but so far as it shall please God the gouernoz to geue thē place. For so is it song in the Psalme. For he shall deliuer thee from the hunters snare, and from the noysom pestilēce. He wil couer thee vnder hys wynges, & thou shalt be sure vnder hys feathers. His truth shall be thy shield & buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid of the feare of the night, noz of y arrow y flyeth by day, noz of the pestilēce that walketh in y darknesse, noz of y plage that destroyeth at none day. And from thense procedeth that boldnesse of the Santes to gloupe: The Lord is my helper, I wil not feare what flesh may doe to me. The Lord is my protectoz, why shall I be afrayed? If whole campes stande vpon agaynst me, if I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I will not cease to hope well. Whense, I pray you, haue they this that their assurednesse is neuer shaken away from them: but hereby, that where the world semeth in thewe to be without order whirled aboute, they knowe that God worketh euery where, whoes worke they trust shall be for their preservation. Now if their safetie be assailed either by y deuil or by wicked men, in that case if they were not strengthened with remembrance and meditation of Providence, they must nedes by and by be discouraged. But when they cal to minde, that the deuil and al the route of the wicked, are so euery way holden in by the hande of God as w a bydle, y they can neyther conceiue any mischief agaynst vs, noz goe aboute it when they haue conceiued it, noz if they goe neuer so muche about it, cā stirre one finger to bring it to passe but so far as he shall suffer, yea so far as he shall cōmaunde, and y they are not onely holden fast bounde with fetters, but also cōpelled w bydle to do seruice: here haue they abundantly wherw to comfort theselues. For as it is the Lordes worke to arme their furie and to turne and direct it whether it pleaseth him, so is it his woork also to appointe a measure and ende, that they dooe not after their own will licentiously triumphe. With which perswasion Paule being stablished, did by the sufferance of God appoint his iourney in another place which he said was in one place hindozed by Satā. If he had onely sayed that he had been stopped by Satan, he should haue semed

I. ii. to

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Ps. cxi.

Ps. cxviii.

1. The. ii.  
cxi.  
1. Cor. xvi  
vii.



to geue him to much power, as if it had ben in Satans hande to ouerthrowe the very purposes of God: but when he maketh God the iudge, vpon whoes sufferance all iourneyes doe hang: he doeth therewithall shewe, that Satan whatsoeuer he goe about, can atteine nothing but by gods wil. For the same reason doth Dauid because for the sondrye chaunges wherwith mans life is tossed and as it were whirled aboute, he doeth flee to this sanctuary, saiethe that his times are in the hande of God. He might haue said either the course of his life, or time in y singular number. But by the worde Times, he meant to expresse that howe soeuer the state of man be vntedfast, whatsoeuer alterations do nowe and then happen, they are gouerned by God. For whiche cause Rasin and the king of Israel, when ioyning their powers to the destruction of Iuda, they seemed as fierbrandes kindled to wast and consume the land, are called by the Prophete smoking brandes, which can do nothyng but breath out a little smoke. So when Pharao was terrible to all men by reason of hys richesse, strength and number of men, he himselte is compared to a beast of the Sea, and hys army to fishes. Therfore God saiethe that he will take the Capitaine and the army with his hoke & draw them whether he liste. Finally, because I will not tary long vpon thys point, if a man marke it he shal easily see that the extremitie of al miseries is the ignoraunce of gods Providence, and the chiefe blessednesse standeth in the knowledge therof.

Concerning the Providence of God, thys that is saied were enoughe for so much as is profitable both for the perfect learning and comfote of the faithful, (for to fil the vaine curiositie of men, nothing can be suffycient, neither is it to be wished that they be satisfied) were it not for certayne places, whiche seme to meane otherwyle than is aboue declared, that God hath not a stedfast and stable purpose but changeable accordyng to the disposition of inferioz thynges. Firste, in some places is spoken of the repentaunce of God, as that he repented hym of the creating of man, of the aduancing of Saul to the kingdome. And that he will repent hym of the euil that he had determined to lay vpon his people, so sone as he perceiueth any conuersion of them. Agayne there are rehearsed diuerse repelles of hys decrees. He had declared by Jonas to the Ninuities that after .xl. dayes ones past Ninuie should be destroyed, but by and by he was turned with their repentaunce to a more gentle sentence. He had by the mouth of Elay pronounced death to Ezechias, which he was moued by his teares and prayers to differre. Hereupon many do make argument, that God hath not appoynted mens matters by eternal decree, but yerely, daily & hourelly decreeth this or y, as euery mans deseruinges are, or as he thynketh it equitie and iustice. Concerning his repentaunce thys we ought to holde, that the same can no more be in God, than ignoraunce erroz and weakenesse. For if no man do wittingly and willingly throlow hymselfe into the case y he nede to repent, we can not say y God doth repēt, but y we must also say, y God is ignoraunt what wil come to passe, or y he can not auoide it, or y he headlong and vnadvisedly runneth into a purpose wherof he by & by forthinketh him. But y is so far from y meaning of the Holy ghost, y in the very mention making of repentaunce he denyeth that God had any repenting at all, because he is not a man that maye repent. And it is to be noted that

Psal. xxxi.  
vbi.

Esa. vii.  
vii.

Eze. xxxi.  
viii.

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Esa. xl. vi.  
i. Samu.  
v. r. i.  
Eccl. x. v. i. i.

Jon. i. i.  
vii.

Esa. xxxv.  
v. b.  
ii. xiii. xx.  
v.



that in the same chaptet they are both so ioyned together, & the comparison doth very well byng the shewe of repugnancie to agreement. His changing is figuratiuely spoken, that God repented that he had made Saul king, by and by after it is added. The strength of Israel shal not lye, nor shalbe moued with repenting. Because he is not a man that he may repent. In which wordes his vnbchangeablenesse is affirmed plainly without any figure. Therfore it is certayne & the ordinaunce of God in disposyng the matters of men, is perpetuall and aboue al repentance. And that his constance should not be doutefull, his very aduersaries haue been compelled to beare hym witnesse. For Balaam whether he would or no could not choose but burst out into this saying: & he is not like a man to lye: nor as a sonne of man to be changed, and that it is not possible that he should not doe that he hath sayed, and not fulfill what soeuer he hath spoken.

What meaneth then this name of Repentaunce: euen in the same sort that al the other phrases of speache which do describē God vnto vs after the maner of men. For, because our weaknesse doth not reach to his hienesse, that description of hym whiche is taughte vs, was mete to be framed lowe to our capacitie that we might vnderstande it. And this is the manner how to frame it lowe for vs, to paynt out hymselfe not such a one as he is in himselfe, but such a one as he is perceiued of vs. Whereas he hymselfe is without all mouing of a troubled minde, he yet testifieth that he is angry with synners. Like as therfore whē we heare that God is angry, we ought not to imagine that there is any mouing at all in him, but rather to consider that this speche is borrowed of our comon sense, because God beareth a resemblance of one chafed & angry so ofte as he exerciseth iudgemente: so oughte we to vnderstande nothing ells by this worde Repentance but a changing of dedes, because men by changing of their dedes are wont to declare that they mislike them. Because then euery change among men is an amendement of that whiche misliketh them, and amendement commeth of repentaunce: therfore by the name of repentaunce is meant that, & God changeth in his workes. In the meane time yet neither is hys purpose nor his will turned, nor his affection changed, but he soloweth on with one continuall course & which he had from eternitie. foreseen, allowed and decreed, howe soeuer the alteration seme soden in the eyes of men.

Neither doeth the holy history shew that gods decrees wer repelled, when it sheweth that the destruction was pardoned to the Ninuites which had been before pronounced, and that the life of Ezechias was prolonged after warning geuen hym of death. They that so construe it are deceiued in vnderstanding of threteringes: whiche although they do simply affirme, yet by & successe it shalbe perceiued that they contained a secret condition in the. For why did God sende Jonas to & Ninuites to tell them aforehande of the ruine of their cite: Why did he by Clave geue Ezechias warnig of death: For he might haue brought to nought both him and the without sending them any worde of their destruction. He meant therfore an other thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to see it comyng a sacre of. Euen this he meant: not to haue them destroyed: but to haue them amended that they should not be destroyed. Therfore this that Jonas prophecied that Ninive should fall



after .xl. daies, was done to this end that it should not fal. That hope of longer life was cutte of fro Ezechias, was done for this purpose that he might obtaine longer life. Now who doth not see that God meante by such threatenings to awake them to repentaunce, whom he made afraide to the ende that they might escape the iudgemente whiche they had deserued by their sinnes: If that be so agreed, the nature of the thinges themselues doth leade vs to thys, to vnderstande in the simple threatening a secret emplied condition, which is also confirmed by like examples. The Lord rebuking y king Abimelech for that he had taken away Abrahams wife from him, vseth these wordes. Behold thou shalt die for the woman that thou hast taken, for she hath a husband. But after he had excused himselfe, God said thus. Restore the wife to her husbande, for he is a Prophete and shall pray for the that thou maiest liue. If not: know that thou shalt die the death and al that thou hast. You see how in his first sentece he vehemently striketh his minde to bring him to be moze hedefully bent to make amedes, and in the other doth plainly declare to him his will. Seing the meaning of other places is lyke: do not gather of these that there was any thing withdrawen from the first purpose of God, by this that he made boide the thing whiche he had befoze pronounced. For God doth prepare the way for hys eternall ordinaunce, whē in geuing warning of the punishment he moueth those to repentaunce whome his wil is to spare, rather than varieth any thing in his wil, no not in his word, sauing that he doth not expresse the same thing in sillables which it is yet easy to vnderstand. For that sayeng of Elsie must nedes remaine true: The Lord of Hostes hath determined: and who shall be able to vndoe it: His hande is stretched oute, and who shall turne it away:

**C The .xviii. Chapter.**

That God doth so vse the seruite of wycked men, and so boweth their mindes to put hys iudgementes in execution, that yet they himselfe remaineth pure from all spot.



Here ariseth a harde question out of other places, where it is said that God boweth and draweth at his will, Satan himselfe and al the reprobate. For the sense of y flesh scarcely conceineth how he workyng by them, should not gather some spot of their fault, yea in his common workyng be fre from al fault, and iustly condemne his ministers. Upon this was deuised the distinctio betwene Doing and Suffering: because many haue thought this dout vnpossible to be dissolved: that both Satan and al the wicked are so vnder the hande and power of God, that he directeth their malice vnto what ende it pleaseth hym, and vseth their wycked doinges to the executing of his iudgementes. And their modestie wer paradventure excusable, whom the shew of absurditie putteth in feare, if it were not so that they do wrongfully with a lyeng defense go about to deliuer the iustice of God fro al vnrightfull blame. It semeth to them vnreasonable, that man should by the will and commaundement of God be made blynde, & so by and by be punished for hys



his blindnesse. Therfoze they seke to scape by this gift, that this is done by the sufferance, but not by the will of God. But he hymselfe plainely pronouncyng that he doeth it, doeth resecte that shifte. As for this that men doo nothyng but by the secreete commaundement of God, and do trouble them selues in vaine with deliberating, vnlesse he do by his secreete direction stablish that which he hath befoze determined, it is proued by innumerable and plaine testimonies. It is certayne that this whiche we befoze alledged out of the psalme, that God doeth all thynge that he will, belongeth to all the doinges of men. If God be the certain appointer of warre and peace, as it is there saied, and that without exception: who dare say that men are caried causelesly with blynde motion while God knoweth not of it, and sitteth still? But in special examples will be moze lightsome plainnesse. By the first chapiter of Job we knowe, that Satan doeth no lesse appere befoze God to receiue his commaundementes than do the Angels which do willyngly obey. In dede it is after a diuers maner & for a diuers end, but yet so that he can not go about any thyng but with the will of God. Although there seme afterward to be added a bare sufferance of hym to afflict the holy man: yet because that sayeng is true: The Lorde hath geuen, the Lord hath taken away, as it pleased God so is it com to passe. We gather that God was the authoz of that triall of Job, wherof Sathan and the wicked theues were ministers. Sathan goeth about to dryue the holy man by desperation to madnesse. The Sabees cruelly & wickedly doo invade and robbe his goodes that were none of theirs. Job knowledgeth that he was by God stripped of all his goodes and made pdoze, because it so pleased God. Therfoze whatsoener men oz Satan hymselfe attempt, yet God holdeth the sterne to tourne all their traunyles, to the executyng of his iudgements. It was Gods wil to haue y false kyng Achab deceiued: the deuill offered his seruice therebnto: he was sent with a certaine commaundement, to be a lying spirite in the mouthe of all the Prophetes. If the blyndyng and madnesse of Achab be the iudgement of God, then the deuise of bare Sufferance is vaine. For it were a fond thyng to say, that the iudge doeth onely suffre and not also decree what he will haue doone, and commaund the ministers to put it in execution. It was the Jewes purpose to destroy Christ, Pilate and the souldiours doo folowe their ragyng lust, and yet in a solemne praier the disciples doo confesse, that all the wicked men dyd nothyng els but that whiche the hande and counsell of God had determined: euen as Peter had befoze preached, that Christ was by the decreed purpose and foreknowledge of God deliuered to be slayne. As if he shuld say: that God (from whome nothyng is hidden from the beginnyng did wittyngly and willyngly appoynt that whiche the Jewes did execute, as in an other place he reherseth, that God whyche shewed befoze by all his Prophetes, that Christ shuld suffer, hath so fulfilled it. Absolon defilyng his fathers bed with incestuous adulterie, committed detestable wickednesse. Yet God pronounceth that this was his owne worke. For the wordes are these. Thou haste doone it secretely, but I will dos it openly, and befoze the sunne. Hieremie pronounceth that all the crueltie that the Chaldees vsed in Iury, was the worke of God. For which cause Nabucadnezer is called the seruant of God. God euery where crieth out that with his

Job. i. ii.

11. Kings  
xxii. xx.Act. iiii.  
xxviii.Actes. ii.  
xxiii.  
Act. iiii.  
xxvii.  
ii. Sam.  
xvi. xxii.ii. Sam.  
xii. xii.Hier. i.  
xxv.



Es. b. r. b. i  
 Esa. r. b.  
 Esa. r. r.  
 r. r. b.  
 ii. Sa. r.  
 r.  
 i. Am. r. l.  
 r. r. r. i.  
 i. Sam. li  
 r. r. r. i. i. i.

hissing, with the sound of his trumpet, with his power & commandement the wicked are stirred by to warre. He calleth the Assyrian the rod of his wrath, & the axe that he moueth with his hande. The destruction of the holy citie & ruine of the Temple he calleth his worke. Dauid not murmuring against God, but acknowledging him for a righteous iudge, yet confesseth that the cursings of Senei proceeded of the commandement of God. The Lord (saith he) commaunded him to curse. We often finde in y<sup>e</sup> holy historie, y<sup>e</sup> what soeuer happeneth it cometh of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, the death of the sonnes of Hely, and very many things of like sort. They y<sup>e</sup> be meanly exercised in the Scriptures do see, y<sup>e</sup> for choynnes sake, I bring forth of many testimonies but a few, by which yet it appereth plainly enough, y<sup>e</sup> they do trifle & talk fondly, y<sup>e</sup> thrust in a bare Sufferance in place of y<sup>e</sup> Providence of God, as though God sate in a watche tower waityng for the chaunces of Fortune, and so his iudgements shoulde hang vpon the will of men.

2

Pro. r. r. i. i

Nowe as concerning secrete motions, that which Salomō speaketh of the hart of a king, that it is bowed hether or thether as pleaseth God, extendeth surely to all mankind, and is as muche in effecte as if he had said: what soeuer we conceiue in myndes, is by the secret inspiration of God directed to his ende. And truly if he did not worke in the myndes of men, it were not rightly said, that he taketh away the lippe from the true speakers; and wisdom from aged men, that he taketh the hart fro the Princes of the earth, that they maye wander where is no beaten waie. And hereto belongeth that whyche we ofte reade, that men are fearefull so farre forth as they hartes bee taken with his feare. So Dauid went out of the campe of Saule and none was ware of it, because the slepe of God was come vpon them all. But nothyng can be despyred to be more playnly spoken, than where he so oft pronounceth, that he blyndeth the eyes of men, & striketh them with giddyngesse, that he maketh them drunke with the spirite of dyabolynesse, casteth them into madnesse, & hardneth their hartes. These things also many do referre to Sufferance, as if in forsaking the reprobate, he suffred the to be blinded by Satan. But that solution is to sonde, forasmuch as y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost in plain words expresseth, that they are stricken with blindnesse & madnesse by y<sup>e</sup> iust iudgmēt of God. It is said, y<sup>e</sup> he hardned the hart of Pharao, also that he did make dull & strengthen it. Some do with an vnfauoury cauillation mocke out these phrases of speche, because where in another place it is said, that Pharao did harden his owne hart, there is his owne will set for the cause of his hardenyng. As though these thynges did not very well agree together, although in diuers maners, that man while he is moued in working by God, doeth also worke himself. And I doo turne back their obiection against them selues. For, if to harden do signify but a bare Sufferance, then the very motion of obstinacie shall not be properly in Pharao. Now how weake and foolish were it so to expounde, as if Pharao did only suffer hym self to be hardened. For ouer the Scripture cutteth of all occasions from suche cauillations:

Ero. iiii.  
 r. r. i.  
 Job. r. b.  
 r. r.  
 Psal. c. b.  
 r. r. b.

For God sayth, I will holde his harte. So of the inhabitauntes of the land of Canaan Moses saith, that they went forth to bataille, because y<sup>e</sup> Lord had hardned their hartes. Which same thing is repeted by another Prophet, sayyng: He turned their hartes that they should hate his people.

Agayne



Agayne in Esaie he saith, that he will sende the Assyrians against the deceptfull nation, and will commaunde them to cary awaie the spoiles, and violently take the prairie, not meanyng that he will teache wicked and obstinate men to obey willyngly, but that he wil bowe them to execute his iudgementes as if they dyd beare his commaundementes grauen in their myndes. Wherby appeareth that they were moued by the certaine appointment of God. I graunte that God doeth oftentymes worke in the reprobate by Satans seruice as a meane, but yet so that Satan doeth his office by Gods mouing, & procedeth so farre as is geuen hym. The euill Spirite troubled Saule, but it is sayde that it was of God, that wee may knowe that the madnesse of Saule, came of the iuste vengeance of God. It is also said, that the same Satan doth blind the myndes of the vnfaithfull; but how so, but only because the effectuall workyng of errour cometh from God hymself, to make them beleue they refuse to obey the truthe. After the first maner of speakyng it is said, If any Prophet shal speake lyngly, I God haue deceiued him. According to the other maner of speche it is said, that he geueth men into a reprobate mynde; and to cast them into filthy desires, because he is the chiefe authoz of his owne iuste vengeance, and Satan is but onely a minister therof. But because we must entreate of this matter againe in the second booke, where we shall discourse of free or bonde wil of man, I thinke I haue already shortly spoken so muche as this place requirred. Let this be the summe of all, that for as muche as the will of God is sayd to be the cause of all thynges, his Prouidence is thought the gouernesse in all purposes and workes of men, so as it sheweth forth her force not onely in the elect, whiche are governed by the holye Spirite, but also compelleth the reprobate to obedience.

Forasmuche as hetherto I haue recited onely suche thynges as are writtē in the Scriptures, plainly and not doubtfully, let them that feare not wrongfully to sclander the heauenly oracles, take hede what maner of iudgement they take vpon them. For if by fained pretending of ignorance they seeke a praise of modestie, what can bee imagined more proudly doon, than to sette one small woorde against the authoritie of God: as I thinke otherwise, I like not to haue this touched. But if they openly speake euill, what preuaile they with spittyng against the heauen: But this is no newe example of waiwardnesse, because there haue ben in al ages wicked and vngodly men, that with ragyng mouth barked against this point of doctrine. But they shal fele that thyng in dede to be true, which long ago the Holy ghost spake by the mouth of Dauid, that God may ouercome when he is iudged. Dauid doth by the way rebuke the madnesse of men in this so vnbridled licenciousnesse, that of their owne filthynesse they doo not onely argue againste God, but also take vpon them power to condemne hym. In the meane time he shortly admonisheth, that the blasphemies whiche they vomite by against the heauen doo not reache vnto God, but that he driuyng away the cloudes of caullations doeth brightly shewe forth his righteousnesse, and also our faithe (because beyng grounded vpon the woerde of God, it is aboute all the worlde) doeth from her hye place contemptuously looke downe vppon these mystes. For first where they object, that if nothyng happen but by the will of God, then are there in hym two contrary willes, be-

Esa. vi.

1. Samu.  
rbi. xliii.  
ii. Corin.  
xliii.Eze. xliii.  
ii.  
Rom. ii.  
xviii.

3

Psa. li, vi

1. Job. v.  
iiii.

cause



cause he decreeth those thynges by secrett purpose, which he hath openly forbidden by his lawe, that is easily wiped away. But before I answer it, I will ones again geue the reders warnyng that this cauillation is thzowen out not against me, but against the Holy ghoste, which taught the holy man Job this confession: As it pleased God, so it came to passe. When he was spoiled by theues, he acknowledged in the iniurie & hurt that they did him, the iust scourge of God. What saieyth the Scripture in other places: The sonnes of Hely obeyed not their father, because it was Gods will to kill them. Also an other Prophete crieth out, that God which sitteth in heauen doeth what so ever he will. And nowe I haue shewed plainly enough that God is the authoꝝ of al those thynges whiche these iudges wold haue to happen only by his idle suffertaꝝ. He testifieth that he createth light and darknesse, that he formeth good and euill, that no euill happeneth which he himselte hath not made. Let them tell me, I beseeche them, whether he doo willingly oꝝ against his will execute his owne iudgements: But as Moses teacheth, that he whiche is slaine by the falling of an axe by chance, is deliuered by God into the hande of the striker: so the whole churche saieyth in Luke, that Herode and Pilate conspired to doo those thynges, which the hand and purpose of God had decreed. And truly if Christ wer not crucified with the will of God, whense cam redemption to vs: And yet the will of God neither doeth striue with it selfe, noꝝ is chaunged, noꝝ fayneth that he willet not the thyng that he will: but where it is but one and simple in hym, it seemeth to vs manyfolde, because accoꝝdyng to the weakenesse of oure witte wee conceine not howe God in diuers maner willet and willet not one self thyng. Paule, after that he hath said, that the calling of the Gentiles is a hidden mysterie, within a litle after saieyth further, that it was manifestly shewed the manyfolde wisdom of God: because foꝝ the dullnesse of our witte the wisdom of God seemeth to vs manyfolde, oꝝ (as the olde interpretour hath translated it) of many fashions: Shall we therfoꝝ dreame that there is any varietie in God himselte, as though he either chaungeth his purpose, oꝝ dissenteth from himselte: Rather when we conceiue not howe God will haue the thyng to be done, whiche he foꝝbiddeth to doo, let vs call to mynde our owne weakeriesse, and therwithal consider that the light wherin he dwelleth, is not without cause called Inaccessibile, bicause it is couered with darknesse. Therfoꝝe all godlye and sobze men will easly agree to this sentence of Augustine, that sometyme man with good will willet that whiche God willet not. As if a good sonne willet to haue his father to liue, whom God will haue to dye. Agayne, it may come to passe, that man may wyll the same thyng with an euill wyll, which God willet with a good will. As if an euill sonne willet to haue his father to die, and God also willet the same. Nowe the fyrst of these two sonnes wyll that whych the God willet not, and the other sonne willet that whych the God also willet, and yet the naturalnesse of the first sonne doeth better agree with the will of God, although he willet a contrary thing, than the vnnaturalnesse of the other sonne that willet the same thyng. So great a difference is there what to wyll doeth belong to man, and what to God, and to what ende the will of euery one is to be applied, to haue it either allowed oꝝ disallowed. Foꝝ those thynges whiche God willet well he

Job. lxxi

Sa. ii.  
rb.  
Psa. cxv.  
ii.Esa. xlvi.  
vi.  
Amos. iii.  
vi.  
Deu. xix.  
v.Act. xiii.  
viii.

Eph. i. l. f.

1. Tim. vi.  
rb.  
Enchi-  
rid. ad  
Lauren.  
cap. ior.



bringeth to passe by the euill wylls of euyl men. But a litle before he had said, that the Angels apostataes in their falling away, and all the reprobate, in as muche as concerneth theim selues, did that which God would not, but in respecte of the omnipotencie of God, they coulde by no meanes so do, because while they didde against the will of God, the will of God was doone vpon them. Wherbyon he crieth out: Great are the workes of God, & ought to be sought out of al them that loue them: that in meruailous maner the same thing is not doon without his will which is also done against his will, because it coulde not be done if he did not suffre it: and yet he doeth it not against his will, but willyngly: and he beyng good, would not suffer a thyng to be done euil, vnlesse for that he is omnipotent, he coulde of euill make good.

In the same maner is assoyled or rather banisheth awaye the other obiection: that if God doo not onely vse the seruice of wicked men, but also gouerneth their counsels and affectionis, he is the authoz of al wicked doynges, and therfore men are vnworthily condemned, if they execute that whiche God hath decreed, because they obey his will: for it is done amisse to confound his will and comaundement together, which it appereth by innumerable examples to differ farre asunder. For though when Absalon abused his fathers wyues, it was Gods will to punish the Dauids adulterie with that dishonoz: yet dyd he not therfore comaunde the wicked sonne to committe incest, vnlesse perhappe you meane it in respecte of Dauid, as he speaketh of the raiynges of Semei. For whē he confesseth that Semei rayleth at hym by the commaundement of God, he doeth not therein commende his obedience, as if that froward dogge did obey the commaundement of God, but acknowledgyng his tongue to be the scourge of God, he patiently suffreth to be corrected.

And this is to be holden in mynde, that when God performeth by the wicked that thyng which he decreed by his secreete iudgement, they are not to be excused, as though they dyd obey his commaundement, which in dede of their owne euill luste they doo purposely breake. Now howe that thyng is of God, and is ruled by his secreete Prouidēre, which men doo wickedly, the election of kyng Jarobeam is a playne example, in which the rashnesse and madnesse of the people is seuerly condemned, for that they peruerted the order apointed by God, and fallsely fel from the house of Dauid, and yet we knowe it was his will that he shoulde be annoynted. Wherbyon in the very wordes of Dsee there appereth a certaine shew of repugnancie, that where God complayned that that kyngdome was erected without his knowledge, and agaynst his will, in an other place he saith, that he gaue the kingdom to Jarobeam in his rage. Howe shall these sayenges agree: that Jarobeam reigned not by God, and that he was made kyng by the same God: Euen thus, because neither coulde the people falle from the house of Dauid, but that they must shake of the yoke whiche God had layed vpon them: neither yet had God his libertie taken away, but that he myght so punish the vthankfulnesse of Salomon. We see therfore howe God in not willyng false breach of allegeance, yet to an other ende iustly willet a falling away from their pynce, wherbyon Jarobeam beside all hope was by holy annoynting or iuen to be kyng. After this maner doeth the holy scripture say, that there was an enemy raised by to spoyle Salomōs sonne

psal. cxl. ii.

4

ii. Sam. xvi. xlii.

i. Sam. xli. xx.

Dsee. vlti. iiii.

Dsee. xlii. xi.

i. Sam. xi. xlii.

of.



of part of his kingdom. Let y<sup>e</sup> reders diligētly wey both these things, because it had pleased God to haue y<sup>e</sup> people gouerned vnder y<sup>e</sup> hand of one king. Therfoze whē it was diuided in two parts it was don against his wil. And yet y<sup>e</sup> diuisiō toke beginning of his wil. For surely, where as y<sup>e</sup> Prophet both by words & ceremonie of anointing did moue Jarobeam whē he thought of no such thig, to hope of y<sup>e</sup> kingdom, this was not don without y<sup>e</sup> knowledge oz against y<sup>e</sup> will of God, which cōmaūded it so to be done: & yet is the rebellio of the people iustly condēned, for y<sup>e</sup> as it wer against y<sup>e</sup> wil of God, they fel frō the posterite of Dauid. In this maner it is also afterwarde further said, y<sup>e</sup> where Rehabeā prouidly despised the request of y<sup>e</sup> people, this was done by God to cōfirme y<sup>e</sup> word which he had spokē by the hand of Ahiha, his seruāt. Lo how against Gods wil y<sup>e</sup> sacred vnitie is tozne in sunder, & yet with the will of the same God ten tribes do forsake Salomōs son. Let vs adde an other like exāple. Wher the people cōsenting, yea laying their handes vnto it, y<sup>e</sup> sonnes of Ahab were slaine, & all his offspryng rooted out. Jehu said in dede truly, y<sup>e</sup> nothing of the words of God were fallen to y<sup>e</sup> groude, but that he had doon all y<sup>e</sup> he had spokē by the hand of his seruāt Elias. And yet not vniustly he rebuketh y<sup>e</sup> citezens of Samaria, for y<sup>e</sup> they had put their hands vnto it. Ar ye rightuous, saith he, If I haue cōspired against my lord, who hath killed all these: I haue befoze (as I think) alre dy declared plainly, how in one self work both y<sup>e</sup> fault of man doth bewray it selfe, & also the righteousnesse of God gloriouly apereth. And for modest wits this answer of Augustin shal alway suffise: where as the father deliuered the sonne, & Christ deliuered his body, & Judas deliuered the Lorde: why in this deliuering is God ryghtuous, and man faultie: because in the same one thyng whiche they dyd the cause was not one, for whych they dyd it. If any be moze combered with this that we now saie, that there is no consent of God with man, where man by the rightuous mouyng of God doeth that whiche is not lawfull, let them remembre that which Augustine saith in an other place: Who shal not tremble at these iudgements, where God worketh euen in the hartes of euyl men what so euer he will, and yet rendreth to them accozdyng to their deseruyngs: And truly in the falsehoode of Judas, it shal bee no moze lawfull to laye the blame of the wicked deede to God, because he hymselfe wylled hym to be deliuered, and dyd deliuer hym to death, then it shalbe to geue away y<sup>e</sup> praise of our redēptiō to Judas. Therfoze y<sup>e</sup> same wryter doth in an other place truly tel vs, y<sup>e</sup> in this examinatio God doeth not enquire what men mighte haue done, oz what thei haue done, but what their will was to do, y<sup>e</sup> purpose & wil may come into y<sup>e</sup> accompt. They y<sup>e</sup> thinke this hard, let thē a litle while cōsider, how tolerable their own waitwardnesse is, while they refuse a thig witnessed by plain testimonies of scripture, because it exceedeth their capacitie, & do fynd fault y<sup>e</sup> those things uttered, which God, vnlesse he had knowē them profitable to be knowē, wold neuer haue cōmaūded to be taught by his prophetes & apostles.

For our being wise ought to be no moze but to embrace with meke willingnesse to lern, & y<sup>e</sup> wout exceptiō what soeuer is taught in y<sup>e</sup> holy scriptures. As for thē y<sup>e</sup> do moze frowardly outrage in prating against it, sith it is euident y<sup>e</sup> thei babble against God, they are not worthy of a longer confutation.

The ende of the fyist booke.

11. 1311. 7.  
vii.

Episto.  
43. ad  
Vincen.

De gratia & libero arbitrio ad Valent. cap. 20.



## Christian religion,

whiche intreateth of þe knowledge of God the Redemer in Christ,  
whiche knowledge was firste opened to the Fathers in the time of  
the Lawe, and then to vs in the Gospell.

## The fyrste Chapter.

That by Adames sinne and fallynge awaye, man:  
kinde became accursed, & did degenerate from hys  
firste estate: wherin is intreated of Original sinne.



Of without cause hath the knowledge of himself  
ben in the olde proverbe so muche commended to  
man. For if it be thought a shame to be ignorant  
of all thynges that pertaine to the course of mans  
lyfe, then muche more shamefull is the not know-  
winge of our selues, wherby it commeth to passe,  
that in taking counsel of any thinge necessary, we  
be miserably daseled, yea altogether blinded. But  
how muche more profitable this lesson is, so muche more dyligentlve  
musste we take heede, that we do not disordzely vse it, as we see som  
of the Philosophers haue done. For they in exhortinge man to knowe  
himselpe, do withall appoint this to be the ende, why he should know  
himselpe, that he should not be ignorant of his owne dignitie and ex-  
cellencie: and nothinge els do thei will him to beholde in himselfe, but  
that wherby he may swell with vaine confidence, & be puffed vp with  
pride. But the knowledge of oure selues, first standeth in thys pointe,  
that considering what was geuen vs in creation, & howe bountifullly  
God contynueth hys gracious fauoure towarde vs, we may knowe  
howe great had ben the excellencie of oure nature, if it had continued  
vncorrupted: & we may withall thinke vpon this, that ther is nothing  
in vs of oure owne, but that we haue as gotten by borrowing all that  
God hath bestowed vpon vs, that we maye alwaies hang vpon hym.  
Then, that we cal to minde oure miserable estate after þe fal of Adam,  
the feeling wherof may thzow downe al glozpinge and truste of our  
selues, ouerwhelme vs with shame & truely humble vs. For as God at  
the beginning fashioned vs like his owne image, to the end to raise vp  
our mindes both to the study of vertue & to the meditation of eternall  
life, so least the so greatz uoblenesse of oure kinde, whiche maketh vs  
different from brute beastes, should be drowned wyth our slouthful-  
nesse, it is good for vs to knowe, þe we are therfore endued with reaso  
& vnderstandinge, that in keping a holly & honest lyfe, we should pro-  
cede on forwarde to the appointed ende of blessed immortalitie. But þe  
firste dignitie can not come in our minde, but by & by on the other side þe  
heavy sight of oure filthines & shame doth thzuste it selfe in presence,  
sins we in the person of the fyrste man are fallen from oure fyrste  
estate, wher vpon groweth the hatred and lothinge of oure selues, &

Genes.  
xxvij.



true humilitie, and there is kyndeled a newe desire to seeke for God, in whome euery of vs maye recouer those good thinges, wherof we are founde altogether beyde and emptye.

2

This thinge surely y<sup>e</sup> truth of God appointeth to be sought in examinyng of oure selues, I meane, it requyrezet such a knowledge as maie bothe call vs away fro all confidence of oure owne power, & making vs destitute of al matter to glozy vpon, may bzing vs to subnussion. Whiche rule it beheueth vs to keepe, if we wyll attaine to the true marke bothe of right knowledge & welldoinge. Neyther yet am I ignorant howe muche moze pleasant is that other opinion, y<sup>e</sup> allureth vs rather to consider oure good thinges, than to loke vpon oure miserable nedynesse and dishonore, whiche ought to ouerwhelme vs with shame. For ther is nothyng that mans nature moze coueteth, than to be stroked with flattery: and therfoze when he heareth the gistes that are in hym to be magnysyed, he leaneth to that syde wyth ouermuche lyghtnes of belese: wheremy it is so muche lesse to be maruelled, that herein the greatest parte of men haue perniciously erred. For sith ther is naturally planted in all mortall menne a moze than blynde loue of them selues, they do moste willingly perswade themselues, that there is nothyng in them that they ought woortlyly to hate. So wythout any maintenance of other, this moste baine opinion dothe eche where gett credit, that man is aboundantly sufficient of hym selfe to make hym selfe liue well and blessedlye. But if there be any that are contente to thinke moze modestly, howe soeuer they graunt somewhat to God, leaste they shoulde seeme arrogantly to take all to them selues, yet they so parte it, that the principall matter of glozye and confidence alway remayneth with them selues. Nowe if there come talke, that with her allurementes tikeleth y<sup>e</sup> pride that already of it selfe itcheth within the bones, ther is nothyng that may moze delite them. Therfoze as any hath with his extollinge moste fouourably aduanced the excellency of mans nature, so hathe he been accepted with the well lykynge reioisement in manner of all ages. But what soeuer suche commendacion there be of mans excellency that teacheth man to reste in him selfe, it dothe nothyng but delyte with that her smetenesse, and in dede so deceyueth, that it bzyngeth to moste wretched destruction all them that assent vnto it. For to what purpose auaieth it for vs, standynge vpon all baine confidence to deuise, apoint, attempt and gooe about those thinges that we thinke to be for oure behoofe, and in our fyrste beginnyng of enterpryse to be forlaken and destytute of sounde vnderstandinge and true strengthe, and yet to go on boldely tyll wee fall downe into destruction: But it can not otherwise happen to them that haue affiaunce that they can do any thing by theyr owne power. Therfoze if any man geue heede to suche teachers that holde vs in conlyderynge onely oure owne good thynges, he shall not prosyfe in learninge to knowe hym selfe, but shall be carryed violently awaye in to the worste kynde of ignoraunce.

3

Therfoze, where as in this poynte the trueth of God dothe agree with the common naturall meanyng of all men, that the second part of wisdom consisteth in y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of oure selues, yet in the verye manner of knowinge there is muche disagreement. For by the iudgemente



iudgement of the fleſhe, a man thinketh that he hath then well ſearched himſelfe, when truſtinge vpon his owne vnderſtandinge & integritye, he taketh boldenes, & encourageth him ſelfe to doinge the duties of vertue, & biddinge battell to vices, trauayleth with al his ſtudy to bende himſelfe to that whiche is comly and honeſt. But he that looketh vpon and trieth himſelfe by the rule of Gods iudgement, findeth nothinge that maye raiſe vp his minde to good affiance: and the moze inwardely that he hath examined him ſelfe, the moze he is discouraged, tyll beinge altogether ſpoyled of all conſydence, he leaueth to himſelfe nothinge towarde the well ozderinge of his lyfe. And yet wold not God haue vs to forgette the firſte noblenes that he gaue to oure father Adam, whiche ought of good righte to awake vs to ſtudie of rightcouſnes and goodnes. For we can not conſider either oure owne firſte eſtate, oz to what ende we are created, but we ſhalbe pricked forwarde to ſtudye vpon immoztalitye, & to deſire the kyngedome of God. But that conſideratiõ is ſo farre from putting vs in courage, that rather discouraging vs, it thzoweth vs doune to humblenes. For what is that firſt eſtate of oures: euen that from whence we are falle. What is that ende of oure creation: euen the ſame from whiche we are altogether tourned away: ſo that lothinge oure owne miſerable eſtate, we may grone for ſozrowe, & in groninge may alſo ſighe for the loſſe of that dignitie. But nowe when we ſaye that man ought to be holde nothinge in himſelfe that may make hym of bolde courage, wee meane that there is nothinge in him vpon affiance whereof he oughte to be proude. Wherefoze, if any liſte to heare what knoweledge man oughte to haue of himſelfe, let vs thus diuide it, that firſte he conſider to what ende he is created, and endued with giſtes that are not to bee deſpised, by whiche thought he may be ſtyrred vp to the meditation of the hearinge of God and of the lyfe to come. Then let him weye hys owne ſtrength, oz rather needy wante of ſtrengthe, by perceiuyng whereof hee maye lye in extrecme confuſion, as one vtterly bzoughte to naught. The ſyſte of theſe conſiderations tendeth to thys ende, that hee maye knowe what is hys duety: and the other, howe muche he is able to do towarde the perfourminge of yt. We wyll entreate of them bothe, as the ozdre of teachinge ſhall requyze.

But bicauſe it muſte nedes be that it was not a lighte negligence, but a deteſtable wicked acte whiche God ſo ſeuerally punyſhed, wee muſte conſider the verrye fourme of the ſame in the fall of Adam, that kyndeled the horryble vengauce of God vpon all mankynde. It ys a childiſhe oppynyõ that hath commonly been receiued, concerninge the intemperauce of glotonye, as though the ſumme and heade of all vertues conſyſted in the forbearinge of one onely frute, when there flowed on euery ſyde ſtoze of all ſoztes of deuyntyes that were to bee deſpyred, and when in that bleſſed fruteſfulneſſe of the earthe, there was not onely plentye, but alſo varyetye to make fare for pleaſure. Therefore we muſte looke further, bicauſe the forbiddinge him from the tree of the knoweledge of good and euell, was the tryall of obedience, that Adam in obeyinge myghte proue þ he was wyllingely ſubiect to þ gouernement of God. And þ name of the tree it ſelfe ſheweth, that þ comaundement was geuen for none other ende, than for this þ



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he contented with his owne estate, should not w<sup>th</sup> wicked lust aduance himselfe higher. But y<sup>e</sup> promise wherby he was biddē to hope for eternall life, so longe as he did not cate of the tree of life, and agayne the horrible threating of death so sone as he should taste of the tree of knowlledge of good and euell, serued to proue and exercise his sayth. Herof it is not harde to gather, by what meanes Adam prouoked the wra<sup>the</sup> of God agaynste him selfe. Augustine in decde sayeth not amisse, when he sayeth, that pryde was the beginnyng of all euels. For if ambition had not lifted by man higher than was laweful and than was permitted him, he mighte haue continued in his estate: but we must fetch a moze ful definition from the maner of the tentation that Moyses describeth. For sithe the woman was with the deceite of the Serpent led awaye by infidelitie, now it appereth that disobedience was the beginning of y<sup>e</sup> fall. Whiche thing Paule cōfirmeth, teaching that all men were los<sup>t</sup>e by one mans disobedience. But it is withall to be noted, that the first man fell from the subiection of God, for that he not only was taken with the entisementes of Satan, but also despising the trueth, did tourne out of the waye to lying. And surely Gods worde beyng ones despised, all reuerence of God is shaken of. Bicause his maiestie doth no other waies abide in honoze among vs, nor the wor<sup>shippe</sup> of him remaine inuiolate, but while we hange by<sup>o</sup> his mouth. Therfore infidelitie was the roote of that falling awaye. But thereupon arose ambition and pryde, to which was adioyned vnthankfulnesse, for that Adam in coueting moze than was graunted, did vnreuerently despise the so greate liberalitie of God wherewith he was enriched. And this was a monstrous wickednesse, that the sonne of the earth thoughte it a small thyng that he was made after the likenesse of God, vnlesse he mighte also bee made egall with God. If Apostasie be a filthy and detestable offense, whereby manne withdraweth him selfe from the allegiance of his creatour, yea outrageously maketh of his yoke: then it is but vaine to extenuate the Sinne of Adam. Albeit it was no simple Apostasie, but ioyned with shamefull reproches agaynst God, while they assented to the sclanders of Satan, wher<sup>e</sup>in he accused God of lying, enuye, and niggardly grudging. Finally, infidelitie opened the gate to ambition, ambition was the mother of obstinate rebellion, to make men caste awaye the feare of God, and thzowe themselues whether their lust caried them. Therfore Bernarde doeth rightly teache that the gate of saluation is opened vnto vs, when at this day we receiue the gospel by our eares: euē as by the same windowes, when they stode opē to Satan, death was let in. For Adam would neuer haue ben so bolde, as to do agaynst the cōmaundement of God, but for this that he did not beleue his worde. Cruely this was the best bzidle for the right keping of all affections in good order, to thinke y<sup>e</sup> ther is nothyng better than to kepe righteousnesse in obeyenge y<sup>e</sup> cōmaundementes of God, & then that y<sup>e</sup> chiefe ende of happy life is to be beloued of him. He ther efore beyng carried away with the blasphemies of the Deuell, did (as much as in him lay) extingui<sup>sh</sup>e the whole glozy of god.

As the spirituall life of Adam was, to abide ioyned and bounde to his creatour, so his alienation from him was the death of his soule.

Neither



Neither is it maruell yf he by his fallynge awaye, destroyed all his owne posteritie, whiche peruerted the whole order of nature in Heauen and in Earth. All the creatures doe grone, sayeth Paule, beyng made subiecte to cozzruption agaynst their will. If one shoulde aske the cause: no doubt it is for that they beare parte of that punishment that manne deserued for whose vble they were created. Sythe then the curle that goeth thzoughoute all the costes of the world proceeded from his faulte bothe vpwarde and downeward, it is nothing agaynst reason, if it spread abzoad into this issue. Therefore after that the heauenly image in him was defaced, he did not alone suffer this punishment, that in place of wisdom, strength, holinesse, truth, and iustice, (with whiche oznamentes he had ben clothed) there came in the moste horrible pestilences, blindenesse, weakenesse, filthinesse, falsehood, and iniustice, but also he entangled and drowned his whole offsprynge in the same miseries. This is the cozzruption that cometh by inheritauce, which the olde wryters called Originall sinne, meaning by this word Sinne, the cozzruptio of nature, which befoze was good and pure. About which mater they haue had much contention, bicause there is nothyng farther of from comon reason, than all men to be made gilty for one mans faulte, and so the sinne to become comon. Whiche semeth to haue ben the cause why the oldest Doctours of the churche did but darkely touche this pointe, or at leaste did not set it out so plainely as was conuenient. And yet that fearefulnesse coulde not byng to passe, but that Pelagius arose, whose pzophane inuention was that Adam sinned only to his owne losse, and hurted not his posteritie. So thzough this sutteltie, Satan wente about by hidynge the disease, to make it incurable. But when it was pzoued by manifest testimonie of Scripture, that sinne passed frō the firste man into al his posteritie, he bzought this cauillation, that it passed by imitation, but not by pzopagation. Therfoze good men trauailed in this pointe, and aboue al other Augustine, to shewe that we are cozzrupted not by fozein wickednesse, but that we byng with vs from y<sup>e</sup> wombe of our Mother a viciousnesse planted in our begetting, whiche to denie was moste greate shamelesse. But the rashenesse of the Pelagians and Celestians will not seeme marueylous to hym, whiche by the wrytinges of that holy manne shall perceyue, howe shamelesse beastes they were in all other thynges. Surely it is not doubtfully spoken that Dauid confesseth that he was begotten in iniquities, and by hys Mother conceyued in Sinne. He doeth not there accuse the sinnes of his Father or Mother, but the better to sette forth the goodnesse of God towarde hym, he begynneth the confession of hys owne wickednesse at hys verie begetting. For asmuche it is eident that that was not peculiar to Dauid alone, it followeth that the common estate of all mankynde is noted vnder hys example. All we therefore that descende of vncleane sede, are bozne infected wyth the contagion of Sinne, yea befoze that we see the lighte of thys lyfe, we bec in the sight of God filthie and spotted. For who could geue cleane of the vncleannesse; not one; as it is in the boke of Job.

We heare that the vncleannesse of the parentes so passeth into



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the chyltzen, that all wythoute anye exception at theyz beginnyng  
 are defiled. But of this defilyng we shall not finde the beginnyng,  
 vnlesse we goe by to the fyrste parente of all vs, to the wellhed. Thus  
 it is therfore, that Adam was not onely the progenitour, but also  
 the roote of mans nature, and therfore in his coruption was all  
 mankynde; worthelye coruupted: whyche the Apostle maketh playne  
 by comparynge of hym and Chyste. As (sayeth he) by one manne  
 Sinne entred into the whole worlde, and death by Sinne, and so  
 death wente ouer all menne, for asmuche as all haue sinned: so by  
 the grace of Chyste, righteoulesse and lyfe is restozed vnto vs. What  
 will the Pelagians here prate: that Adams sinne was spzed abzoad  
 by imitation: Then, haue we no other profite by the righteoulesse  
 of Chyste, but that he is an example sette befoze vs to followe?  
 Whoe canne abide suche robberie of Gods honour? If it be out of  
 question that Chyestes righteoulesse is oures by communication,  
 and thereby lyfe: it followeth also, that they bothe were so loste in  
 Adam, as they be recouered in Chyste: and that Sinne and death so  
 crepte in by Adam, as they are abolished by Chyste. The wordes are  
 playne, that many are made righteous by the obedience of Chyste, as  
 by the disobedience of Adam they were made sinners: and that there-  
 fore betwene them two is this relation, that Adam wrappynge vs in  
 his destructiō, destroyed vs with hym, and Chyste with his grace  
 restozed vs to saluation. In so clere light of trueth, I thinke we nede  
 not a longer oz moze laborious profe. So also in the fyrste Epistle to  
 the Cozinthians, when he goeth aboute to stablishe the godly in the  
 trust of the resurrectiō, he sheweth that the life is recouered in Chyste  
 that was loste in Adam. He that pronounceth, that wee all are dead  
 in Adam, doeth also therewithall plainely testifie, that we were in-  
 fected with the filth of sinne. For damnation coulde not reache vnto  
 them that were touched with no giltinesse of iniquitie. But it canne  
 be no waye playnelier vnderstanded what he meaneth, than by rela-  
 tion of the other member of the sentence, where he teacheth that hope  
 of life is restozed in Chyste. But it is well enough knowen that the  
 same is done no other waye, than when by meruellous māner of com-  
 municating, Chyste poureth into vs the force of his righteoulesse. As  
 it is wytten in an other place, that the spirite is life vnto vs, for  
 righteoulesse sake. Therfore wee maye not otherwys expounde  
 that whyche is sayde that we are dead in Adam, but thus, that he in  
 sinnyng dyd not onely purchase mischiese and ruine to hymselfe, but  
 also threwe downe our nature hedlonge into like destructiō. And that  
 not only to the coruption of hym selfe, whych perteyneth nothyng to  
 vs, but bicause he infected al his sede with the same coruption, wher-  
 into he was fallen. For othe[r]wise that sayeng of Paule coulde not stād  
 true, that all are by nature the sonnes of wrath, yf they were not al-  
 ready accursed in the wombe. And it is easely gathered, that nature  
 is there meante not suche as it was create by God, but suche as it  
 was coruupted in Adam. For it were not conuenient, that God shold  
 bee made the authour of Death. Adam therfore so coruupted hym  
 selfe, that the infection passed from hym into all hys offsprynge. And  
 the heauenly Judge hym selfe, Chyste, doeth also playnelly enough  
 pronounce

Rom. b.  
y.

Coz. xv.  
y.

Ro. vij. r.

Eph. ij. iij.



pronounce, that all are bozne euell and corrupted, where he teacheth, that what soeuer is bozne of fleshe, is fleshe, and that therefore the gate of lyfe is closed agaynste all menne, vntill they be begotten agayne.

Ioan. 3. 6.

7  
 Neyther for the vnderstandynge therof is any curiouse disputation nedefull, whyche not a little combred the olde wyters, whether the soule of the sonne do proccede by deriuation from the soule of the father, bycause in it the infection principally resteth. We must be content wyth this, that suche gistes as it pleased the Lorde to haue bestowed, vpon the nature of man, he leste them wyth Adam, and therefore when Adam losse them after he had receyued them, he lost them not only from himselfe, but also from vs all. Whoe shall be carefull of a conueyance from soule to soule, when he shall heare that Adam receyued these ornaments whyche he losse, no lesse for vs than for hymselfe: that they were not geuen to one manne alone, but assigned to the whole nature of manne: Therefore it is not agaynste reason, yf he beyng spoyled, nature bee leste naked and poore: yf he beyng infected wyth Sinne, the infection creepeth into nature. Therefore from a rotten roote arose by rotten branches, whiche sent their rottenesse into the other twigges that spronge out of them. For so were the chyldren corrupted in the father, that they also were infectiue to theyr chyldren: that is to saye, so was the beginnyng of corruption in Adam, that by continuall flowynge from one to an other, it is conueyed from the auncesters into the posteritie. For the infection hath not her cause in the substance of the fleshe or of the soule, but bycause it was so ordeyned of God, that suche gistes as he had geuen to the fyrste manne, manne shoulde bothe haue them, and lose them as well for hym selfe as for his. As for this that the Pelagians doe cauill, that it is not likely that the chyldren doe take corruption from godly parentes, sithe they oughte rather to be sanctified by their cleannesse, that is easely confuted. For they descende not of their spirituall regeneration, but of theyr carnall generation. Therefore, as Augustine sayeth, whether the vnbeleuer bee condemned as guilty, and the beleuer quitte as innocent, they both do begette not innocentes, but guilty, bycause they beget of the corrupted nature. Nowe where as they doe in maner partake of the parentes holinesse, that is the speciall blessing of the people of God, whyche proueth not but that the fyrste and vniuersall curse of mankinde wente before. For of nature is guiltinesse, and sanctification is of supernaturall grace.

Contra Pelag.  
 lag. &  
 Celest.

8  
 And to the ende that these thynges be not spoken of a thyng vncertaine and vnknowen, lette vs define Originall sinne. But yet I meane not to examine all the definitions that are made by wyters, but I will brynge forth the one onely, whyche I thynke to bee mooste agreeable wyth trueth. Originall sinne therefore semeth to bee the inheritably descendynge perversnesse and corruption of our nature, poured abroade into all the partes of the soule, whyche fyrste maketh vs guilty of the wrath of God, and then also bryngeth forth these workes in vs, whyche the Scripture calleth the workes of the fleshe: and that is it properly that Paule ostentynes calleth Sinne. And

Gal. 5. 19.



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these woorkes that arise out of it, as are adulteries, fornications, theftes, hatreds, murders, banquetings, after the same manner he calleth the frutes of sinne, albeit they are likewise called sinnes both commonly in the Scripture, and also by the same Paule hym selfe. Therefore these twoo thynges are distinctly to be noted: that is, that beyng so in all partes of our nature corrupted and peruerted, we are nowe euen for such corruption only holden woorthily damned and convicted before God, to whome is nothyng acceptable but righteousness, innocencie and purenesse. And yet is not that bonde in respecte of an others faulte. For where it is sayde, that by the sinne of Adam we are made subiecte to the iudgement of God, it is not so to be taken, as if we innocent and vndereruyng did beare the blame of his faulte. But bycause by his offendyng we are all clothed wyth the curse, therefore it is sayde that he hath bounde vs. Neuerthelesse, from him not the punishment only came vpon vs, but also the infection distilled from hym, abideth in vs, to the whiche the punishment is iustly due. Wherefore howe so ener Augustine doeth oftentimes call it an others sinne, (to shewe the moze playnely, that it is conueyed into vs by propagation) yet doeth he also affirme wythall that it is propre to euery one. And the Apostle him selfe expressely witnesseth, that therefore death came vpon all menne, bycause all men haue sinned, and are wrappd in Originall sinne, and defiled with the spottes thereof. And therefore the very infantes themselues, whyle they brynge with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe, are bounde, not by an others, but by their owne faulte. For though they haue not as yet brought forth the fruytes of theyr owne iniquitie, yet they haue the seede thereof enclosed within them: yea their whole nature is a certayne seede of Sinne: therefore it can not be but hatefull and abhominable to God. Whereupon followeth, that it is proprely accompted sinne before God: for there coulde be no guiltinesse wythout sinne. The other pointe is, that this peruertenesse neuer cesseth in vs, but continually bryngeth forth newe frutes, euen the same woorkes of the fleshe that we haue before describ'd: lyke as a burnyng fornaice bloweth out flame and sparckes, or as a springe doeth wythout cessyng cast out water. Therefore they whyche haue defyned Originall sinne, to bee a lackyng of Originall ryghteousnesse whyche ought to haue ben in vs, although in deede they comprehend all that is in the thyng it selfe: yet they haue not fully enough expresse'd the force and efficacie thereof. For our nature is not only bare and empty of goodnesse, but also is so plentuous and fruteful of al euilles, that it can not be idle. They that haue saide, that it is a concupiscence, haue vsed a worde not very farre from the matter, if this were added, which is not graunted by the most parte, that what so euer is in man, euen from the vnderstanding to the wil, from the soule to the fleshe, is corrupted and stuffed full wyth this concupiscence: or, to ende it wortelyer, that whole man is of hym selfe nothyng els but concupiscence.

9  
Wherefore, I haue sayde that al the partes of the soule are possessed of sinne, lithe Adam fell awaye from the fountaine of righteousness. For not onely the inferioure appetite allured him, but wicked impie-



he possessed the very castle of hys minde, & pride pearced to the inner-  
 moste parte of hys hearte. So that it ys a sonde and foolyshe thyng,  
 to restraine the corruption that proceded from thense, onely to the sen-  
 suall motions as they call them, or to call it a certayne nouriture, that  
 allureth, styrreth and draweth to synne onely that parte, whyche a-  
 monge them ys called Sensualitie. wherein Peter Lombarde hath  
 disclosed hys grosse ignoraunte, whyche seekyng and scarchyng for  
 the place of it, saythe that it is in the fleshe; as Paule witnesseth, not  
 proprely in deede, but bicause it moze appeareth in y<sup>e</sup> fleshe, as though  
 Paule did meane onely a parte of the soule, and not the whole nature  
 whyche is in comparison set against supernaturall grace. And Paule  
 there taketh away all doubte: teachinge that corruption resteth not  
 in one parte alone, but that nothyng is pure & cleane from the deadly  
 infection thereof. For entreatyng of corrupted nature, he doothe not  
 onely condemne the inordinate motions of appetites y<sup>e</sup> appeare, but  
 specially traunpleth to proue that the vnderstandyng mynde is sub-  
 iecte to blyndenesse, and the heart to peruersnesse. And y<sup>e</sup> same thyrd  
 chapter to the Romaines is nothyng els but a description of original  
 synne. That appeareth moze plainely by the renewinge. For the spy-  
 rite whyche is compared wyth the olde man and the fleshe, dothe not  
 onely signifie the grace wherby the inferioure or sensuall parte of the  
 soule is amended, but also conteyneth a full reformation of all the  
 partes. And therefore Paule dothe commaund, not onely that oure  
 grosse appetites be brought to naught, but also y<sup>e</sup> we our selues be re-  
 newed in the spirite of oure mynde, as lykewyse in an other place hee  
 biddeth vs to be transfourmed in newnesse of minde. Wherbyon folo-  
 weth, that the same parte, wherin moste of all shineth the excellence &  
 noblenesse of y<sup>e</sup> soule, is not onely wounded, but also so corrupted, that  
 it needeth not onely to be healed, but in manner to put on a newe na-  
 ture. Howe farre synne possesseth bothe the vnderstandinge mynde &  
 the hearte, we wyll see hereafter. Here I onely purposed shortly to  
 touche, that the whole man from y<sup>e</sup> heade to the foote is so ouerwhel-  
 med as wyth an ouerflowinge of water, that no parte of hym is free  
 from synne, and that therefore what soeuer procedeth frome hym  
 ys accompted for synne, as Paule sayth, that all the affections of  
 the fleshe or thoughtes, are enmities againste God, and therefore  
 deathe.

Eph. 4. 27

Rom. 12. 2

Rom. 8. 7

Howe lette them gooe, that presume to make God authoz of theyr  
 sinnes, bicause we say that men are naturally synful. Thei do wrong-  
 fully seeke the woork of God in their owne fylthynesse, whyche they  
 ought rather to haue sought in the nature of Adam, whyle it was yet  
 sounde and vncorrupted. Therefore oure destruction commeth of the  
 faulte of oure own fleshe & not of God, for asmuche as we perished by  
 no other meane but by this, y<sup>e</sup> we Degendzed from our fyrst estate. But  
 yet let not any man here murmure & say, that God might haue better  
 forescen for oure saluation, if he had prouided y<sup>e</sup> Adam shold not haue  
 fallen. For this obiectio both is to be abhorred of al godly mindes, for  
 y<sup>e</sup> to muche presumptuous curiositie of it, & also pertaineth to y<sup>e</sup> secret  
 of predestination whiche shal after be entreated of in place couenient.  
 Wherefoze let vs remembre that oure fall is to be imputed to the cor-  
 ruption

10



ruption of nature, that we accuse not God himselfe the authoz of nature. True in deede it is, that the same deadely wounde sticketh fast in nature: but it is muche materiall to knowe, whether it came into nature from ells where, oz from y beginning hath rested in it. But it is euydent that y wounde was geuen by synne, Therfoze there is no cause why we shoulde complaine but of oure selues: whiche thyng y Scripture hath dyligently noted. For Ecclesiastes saith: This haue I founde, y God ha the made manne righteous, but thei haue soughte many inuentions. It appeareth y the destructio of man is to be imputed onely to him selfe, for asmuche as hauing gotten bypryghtnesse by the goodnesse of God, he by hys owne madnesse is fallen into banitie.

We saye therfoze, that man is corrupted with faultienesse naturall, but suche as proceeded not from nature. Wee denye that it proceeded from nature, to make appeare that it is rather a qualypte come from some other thyng, whyche ys happened to man, than a substantiall ppozetie that hath ben putte into him from the begynninge. Yet we call yt Naturall, that no man shoulde thinke that euery man getteth it by euell custome, wheras it holdeth all men bounde by inheritably descendinge righte. And this we do not of oure owne heads withoute authoritie. For, for y same cause the Apostle teacheth, y we are all by nature the chyldren of wrathe. How coulde God, whome all his meanest woorkes do please, be wrathefull againste the noblest of all his creatures: But he is rather wrathefull againste the corruption of his worke, than againste his worke it selfe. Therfoze if, for that mans nature is corrupted, manne is not vnfitly saide to bee by nature abhominable to God, it shalbe also not vnaptely called naturally peruerse & corrupted. As Augustine feareth not in respecte of nature corrupted, to call the synnes naturall, whyche doe necessarily reigne in ourse flethe where the grace of God is absente. So manyeth away the fooly the tryfelyng deuise of the Maniches, whiche when they imagined an euellnesse hauinge substauice in man, presumed to forge for hym a newe creatour, leaste they shoulde seeme to assigne to the ryghteous God the cause and begynnynge of euell.

## The seconde Chapter.

That man is nowe spoyled of the Freedome of wyll, and made subiecte to miserable bondage.



Y the we haue seen, that y Dominion of sinne. sines y tyme that it helde y firste man bounde vnto it, doothe not onely reigne in all mankind, but also wholly possesseth euery soule: nowe muste we moze nerely examine, sines we are broughte into that bondage, whether we be spoyled of all freedome oz no: And yf yet there remayne any parcell, howe farre the force thereof proceedeth. But to the ende that the trueth of this questi- on maye moze easly appeare vnto vs, I wyll by the waye sette by a marke, where vnto the whole summe maye bee dyrected. And thys shalbe the best waye to auoyde erreure, if the daungers be considered that are lyke to fall on boothe sides. For when man ys putte from all bypryghtnesse, by and by he thereby taketh occasion of sloothfullnesse: and because it is saide, that by hymselfe he canne dooe nothyng to the Audye of righteousnesse, fourth with hee neglecteth yt wholly, as if yt pertained



pertained nothings buto hym. Againe, he can presume to take nothing vpon hymselfe, be yt neuer so little, but that bothe Gods honoze shall bee thereby taken frome hym, and man hymselfe bee ouerthrowen wyth easie confydence. Therfoze, to the ende we strike not vpon these rockes, this course ys to be kepte, that man beyng enfourmed that there remaineth in hym no goodnesse, and beyng on euerye syde compassed aboute wyth moste miserable necessitie, may yet be taught to aspire to the goodnesse wherof he is boide, and to the libertie wherof he is depriued, and may be moze Charpelye styrred vp from slouthfullnesse, than if it were fained that he is furnished with greatest power. Howe necessarpe this seconde poynte is, euery man seeth. The fyrste, I see, is doubted of by moe than yt oughte to be. For this beyng sette oute of controuersye, it oughte then plainly to stande for trueth, yf nothung is to be taken away from man of his owne, so farre as it behoueth that he be throwen downe from false boastinge of himselfe. For if it were not graunted to man to glozpe in hymselfe euen at that time, when by the bountefulnesse of God he was garnished with moste singular ornaments, howe muche oughte he nowe to be humbled, sythe for his vnthankfulnes hee is thruste downe fro hys glozpe into extreme shame. At yf time, I say, when he was aduanced to the hyghest degree of honoure, the Scripture attributeth nothyng els buto hym, but that he was created after the image of God, whereby it secretly teacheth, that man was blessed, not by his owne good thynges, but by the partakynge of God. What therfoze remayneth nowe, but that he beyng naked and destitute of all glozpe, do acknoweledge God, to whose liberalitie he coulde not be thankfull when he flowed full of the richesse of his grace: and that nowe at length wyth confession of hys owne pouertie he glorifie hym, whome in the acknoleging of his good gyftes, he dyd not glozpye. Also it is as muche for oure profyte, that all prayse of wysedome and strengthe be taken from vs, as yt pertayneth to the glozpe of God, that thei ioyne oure ruine with the robberie of God, that geue vnto vs any thyng moze, than that whyche ys true. For what is els done when wee are taught to fyght of oure owne force, but that wee bee lyfted vp on hys on a staffe of a reede, that it maye by and by breake, and wee fall to the grounde. Albeit, oure forces are yet to muche comended when thei are compared to yf staffe of a reede. For it is but smoke all yf vaine men haue imagined & do babble of them. Wherfoze not wout cause is this excellent sentence ofte repeted by Augustine, yf free wil is rather throwe downe hedlonge, than stablished by them yf defend it. This I thought nedeful to speake befoze, as by waie of pzeface for many mennes sakes, which whan thei heare mans power ouerthrowen fro yf grounde, yf the power of God may be builded in man. Do muche hate this manner of disputing as dangerous, much moze superfluous, whiche yet appeareth to be bothe in religion necessarie, and for vs moste profitable.

Wherreas we haue a lyttle befoze sayde, that in the vnderstandynge mynde, and in the heart are placed the powers of the soule, nowe lette vs consyder what they bothe are able to dooe. The Philosopher in dede with great consente do imagin yf in the vnderstandynge mynde, sitteth reason, whiche like a lampe geueth lighte to al counsellis, & like



a Queene governeth the will, for they saye that it is so endued wyth Diuine lighte, that it canne geue good counsell, & so excelleth in liuely force that it is able well to gouerne. On the other syde, that Sense is dulle and bleareyed, that it alway creepeth on the grounde, and waloweth in grosse obiectes, and neuer lysteth by it selfe to true insyght. That the Appetite, if it canne abide to obey reason, and do not yelde it selfe to Sense to be subdued, is carried on to the studye of vertues, holdeth on the ryght waye, and is transfourmed into Wyll: but yf ye geue it selfe subiect into the bondage of Sense, it is by it corrupte & peruerted, so that it degendzeth into Luste. And wheras by their opinion there dooe sitte in the soule those powers that I haue spoken of befoze, vnderstandinge, sense, appetite oz Wyll, whiche woorde Will is nowe moze commonly vsed, thei say that vnderstandinge is endued w reason, the best gouernesse towarde good and blessed lyfe, so that it doe holde it selfe within his owne excellence, & shew forth the force y is naturally geuen it. But that inferioure motion of it, whiche is called Sense, wherewith man is drawen to erroure & deceite, thei say to bee suche, that it may be tamed with the rodde of reason, & by little & little bee vanquished. They place Wyll in the myddest betwene reason and Sense, as a thinge at her owne orderinge, and hauinge libertie whether it liste to obey to reason, oz geue foozthe it selfe to bee rauyshed by Sense.

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Sometime in deede they do not denye, beyng euer overcome by berpe experience, how hardely man stablisseth reason to reigne as Queene wythin hymselfe, while sometyme he is tickeled with inticementes of pleasures, sometime deceiued with false semblance of good thynge, sometime impoztunatlye striken with immoderate affections, & byolently haled oute of the waye, as it were with ropes oz stringes of synowes as Plato saieth. For whiche reason Cicero saith, y these sparkes geuen by nature, are with peruerse opinions & euell manners by & by quenched: But when suche diseases haue ones gotten places in y mindes of men, thei graunt y they do moze outragiously ouerflowe, than that they easily may be restrayned: & they sticke not to compare them to wylde hozses whyche throwinge away reason as it were castynge the Charvotte dryuer, dooe range vnrulyly and wythout measure. But thys they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in oure owne power. For if (saie thei) it be in oure choise to do this oz that, then ys it also in oure choise not to dooe. Nowe if it bee in oure choise not to dooe, then ys yt also to dooe, but of free choise we seeme to do those thinges y we doo, & to forbear those thinges that we forbear. Therefore if we do any good thing when we liste, we may likewise leaue it vndone: if we do any euell, we may also eschewe y same. yea some of them haue bursted forth into so great licentiousnes, that they haue boasted y it is in del: y Gods gifte y we liue, but oure owne that we liue wel & holily. And thense commeth that saying of Cicero in the person of Cotta: bycause euery man him selfe getteth vertue to hymselfe, therefore neuer any of the wyle men dyd thanke God for it. For (sayth hee) for vertue we be praised, and in vertue wee glozpe, whyche shoulde not bee yf yt were the gyfte of God, and not of oure selues. And a lyttle after. Thys ys the iudgemente of all menne that

De legbi.  
lib. 1.  
Tusc. que.  
lib. 3.

Arist. eth.  
lib. 3. cap. 5.

Seneca.

De nat. de.  
lib. 3.



that fortune is to be asked of God, but wysedome to bee taken of himselfe. This therfore is the summe of the opinion of al the Philosophers, that the reason of mans vnderstandinge is suffycente for ryghte gouernance: that wyll byynge subiecte to yt, ys in deede moued by Sense to euell thynges. But euen as it hathe free election, so canne it not be stopped, but that it folowe reason for her guide in al thinges.

Among the ecclesiasticall wyrters, al be it ther haue ben none that dyd not acknowledge bothe that the soudenesse of reason in manne hathe been soze wounded by synne, and hys wyll exceedingly entangled with peruerse desyres, yet many of them haue to muche assented to the Philosophers: of whiche the auncient, as I thinke, did so much aduance y strength of man, vpon this consideration, lest if thei sholde haue expzessly confessed his weakenesse, firste thei sholde haue made y Philosophers, with whome thei then contended, to laugh at them: & then least thei shoulde geue to the flethe, whiche of yt selfe was dull to goodnesse, a newe occasion of slouthfullnesse. Therfore, by cause they woulde not teache any thinge that were an absurditie in the common iudgemente of men, theyr study was to make y doctrine of the Scripture halfe to agree with the teachinges of the Philosophers. But that thei pzincipally regarded that seconde pointe, not to make place for slouthfullnesse, appereth by their owne woordes. Chrysostome hathe in o ne place: Bicause God hathe putte bothe good and euell thinges in oure owne power, hee hathe geuen vs freedom of election, and he wythholdeth not the vnwilling, but embraceth the willing. Againe, Oftentymes he that is euell, yf hee wyll, is tourned into good, and he that ys good by slouthfullnesse falleth and becommeth euell, by cause God made oure nature to haue free wyll, and hee layeth not necessarye vpon vs, but geuyng convenient remedies, suffreth all to lye in the mynde of the paciente. Againe, As vnlesse wee bee holpen by the grace of God, wee canne neuer dooe any thyng well: so vnlesse wee byynge that whiche is oure owne, we canne not obtaine the fauoure of god. And he had saide befoze, that it shold not be all of gods helpe, but wee muste also byynge somewhat. And thys ys commonly a famyllyar woorde with him, lette vs byynge that whiche is oures, god wil supplie the reste. wherwith agreeth that whiche Hieremye saith, that it is oure part to beginne, but gods to make an ende: oure part to offer what wee canne, hys to fullfyll what we canne not. You see nowe that in these sayinges they gaue to man towarde the studye of vertue moze than was meete, by cause they thought that they coulde not otherwise awake the dulnesse that was naturally in vs, but yf they dyd proue that in it onely we synned. With what apt handelinge thei haue done the same, wee shall after see. Surely that the sayinges whyche wee haue reherled are mooste false, shall by and by appeare. Nowe althoughe the Grecians moze than other, and amonge them pzincipally Chrysostome haue passed measure in aduancinge y power of mans will, yet all y olde wyrters, except Augustine, do in this point so eyther varie, or wauer, or speake doubtfully, that in manner no certaintie canne bee gathered of theyr wyrtynge. Therfore we will not tarrye vpon exacte reckenyng of euerye one of theyr sayinges, but heare and there wee wyll touche oute of euerye one of them

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Hom. de  
proditione  
Iudæ.

Chryf. in  
Gen. hom.  
18.

Hom. 52.

Dialog. 3.  
contra Pe-  
lagium.



So muche as the playne declaration of the matter shall seeme to require. As for them that folowed after, whyle euery one for hymselfe soughte prayse of wyttte, in defending of mans nature, they fel continually by little and litle one after an other into worse and worse, till it came so farre, that man was commonly thoughte to bee corrupted onely in hys sensuall parte, and to haue reason altogether, and wil for the more parte vncorrupted. In the meane time thys flew aboute in all mens mouthes, that the naturall gistes were corrupted in man, and the supernaturall were taken awaye. But to what meanyng that tended, scarsely the hundzedth man did euen slightly vnderstand. As for my parte, if I woulde plainely shewe of what sorte is the corruption of nature, I could be easely contented with these wordes. But it is muche materiall that it be hedefully weyed what a manne, beyng in all partes of his nature corrupted and spoyled of his supernaturall gyftes, is able to dooe. They therefore whyche boasted them selues to bee the Disciples of Chryste, spake of thys matter to muche like Philosophers. For the name of freewill still remayned amonge the Latines, as if manne hadde styll abiden in vncorrupted state. And the Grecians were not ashamed to vse the worde muche more arrogantly: For they called it *Autexousion*, that is to say, of her owne power, as if man had the power of him selfe. Bycause therfore all, euen to the commune people, hadde receiued this principle, that man was endued wyth free wyll, and manye of them that woulde seeme excellent, can not tell howe farre it extendeth: fyrste lette vs searche out the force of the woorde it selfe, and then lette vs procede on by the simplicite of the Scripture, to shewe what man is able to do of his owne nature, towarde good or euell. What free wyll is, where as it is a woorde commonly founde in all mens wytynges, yet fewe haue defined. yet it semeth that Origen rehersted that thyng where of they were all agreed, when he sayde, that it is a power of reason to discern good or euell, and a power of will to choose eyther of them. And Augustine varyeth not from hym, when he teacheth that yt is a power of reason and wyll, whereby good is chosen while grace assisteth, and euell when grace cesseth. Bernarde, while hee meaneth to speake more suttley, speaketh more darkely, whyche sayeth, that it is a consent by reason of the libertie of wyll that canne not be losse, and the iudgemente of reason that can not be auoyded. And the definition of Anselmus is not familiar enoughe, whiche sayth, that it is a power to kepe byrighnesse for it selfe. Therefore Peter Lombardo and the other Schoolemen, haue rather embraced Augustines definition, by cause yt bothe was playner and dyd not exclude the grace of God, withoute the whyche they sawe that Wyll was not sufficient for yt selfe. But they byynge also of theyr owne suche thynges as they thought eyther to be better, or to serue for playner declaration. Fyrste, they agree that the name of Arbitrium, that is free choyse, is rather to bee referred to reason, whose parte is to discern betwene good and euell thynges: and the adiectiue free, pertayneth properly to wyll, whyche may be tourned to eyther of both. Wherefore by the freedome properly belongeth to wyll, Thomas sayeth that it would very well agree, yf free will be called a power of chosyng, whyche beyng

Lib. 7. c. 1.  
ἀρχαί.

Lib. 2.  
Dist. 24.

Part. 1.  
quest. 8.  
art. 3.



beinge mixt of vnderstanding and appetite, dothe moze incline to appetite. Nowe haue we in what thinges they reache that the power of free wyll consyseth, that is to saye, in reason and wyll. Nowe remaineth that we shortly see howe muche they geue to either parte.

They are commonly wounte to make subiecte to the free determination of man, thynges meane, that is whyche belonge not to the kingdome of God : but they do referre true ryghteousnesse to the speciall grace of God & spiritual regeneration. Whiche thinge while y<sup>e</sup> authoz of the booke Of the callynge of the Gentyles meaneth to shewe, hee reckeneth by thzee sortes of wylls, the fyyste Sensitiue, the seconde Naturall, y<sup>e</sup> thyrde Spyrtyuall, of whiche he saith, that man hath the fyyste twoo at hys owne lybertye, the laste is the woork of the holly ghooste in man. Whyche whether it be true oz no, shall be entreated in place fyttte for it, for nowe my purpose is but shortly to reherse the oppynions of other, and not to confute them. Hereby it commeth to passe, that when wyrters speake of free wil, thei pzyncipally seke not what yt is able to doe to ciuile oz outwarde doinges, but what it can do to the obedience of y<sup>e</sup> lawe of God. Whiche latter poynt I thinke so to be the pzyncipall, that yet I thinke the other is not to bee neglected. Of whyche meanynge I truste, I shall shewe a good reason. There hath been a distinction receyued in Schooles, that reckeneth by thzee sortes of freedoms, the fyyste from necessytye, the seconde from synne, the thyrde from mysery. Of whiche the fyyste so naturally styeketh faste in man, that yt can by no meane be taken awaye : the other twoo are losse by synne. Thys dystinction I wyllingly receyue, sayynge that there necessytye is wrongefully confounded with compulsion: betwene whyche twoo howe muche dyfference there ys, and howe necessary that dyfference is to be considered, shall appeare in an other place.

If this be receyued, then shall it be out of controuersie that man hath not free will to do good woorkes, vnlesse he be holpen by grace, and that by speciall grace, whiche is geuen to the onely electe by regeneration. For I do not passe vpon these phzenetike men, whiche babble y<sup>e</sup> grace is offered generally & without difference. But this is not yet made plaine, whether he be altogither depriued of power to do well, oz whether he haue yet some power, althoughe it be but litle & weak, whyche by it selfe in dede can do nothyng, but by helpe of grace dothe also her part. While the Master of y<sup>e</sup> Sentences goeth about to make that playne, he sayth there are two sortes of grace necessary for vs, wherby we may be made mete to do a good woork: the one thei call a working grace, wherby we effectually wil to do good: the other a Together workinge grace, whiche foloweth good will in helpinge it. In whiche diuision this I mislike, y<sup>e</sup> while he geueth to y<sup>e</sup> grace of God an effectuall desyre of good, he secretly sheweth his meanynge y<sup>e</sup> man alreedy of his owne nature, after a certayne maner, desirerth good though vneffectually. As Bernarde affirminge that good will is in dede the woork of God, yet this he graunteth to man, y<sup>e</sup> of his own motion hee desirerth y<sup>e</sup> good wil. But this is farre fro y<sup>e</sup> meaning of Augustine, fro whome yet Lombard wold seeme to haue borrowed this diuision. In the seconde part of y<sup>e</sup> diuision, the doubtfulnes of speache offendeth me,

whiche

5.

Amb. lib. 1.  
cap. 2.

6

Lib. 2. diff.  
26.



whiche hathe bredde a wzonge exposition. For they thought that we do therefore worke together with the Seconde grace of God, because it lieth in our power, either to make boide the first grace by refusing it, or to confirme it by obedientlye folowinge it. Whereas the authoz of the boke Of the calling of the Gentiles, dothe thus expresse it, that it is free for them that vse the iudgement of reason, to depart frō grace, that it may be woorthy reward not to haue departed, & that the thing whiche coude not be done but by the wozyunge together of the holly ghoste, may be imputed to their merites, by whose wyll it was possible to haue not ben done. These two things I had will to note by the waye, that nowe, reader, thou maist see how muche I dissent from the soundest sozte of y<sup>e</sup> Scholemē. For I do much farther differ from the later sophisters, euen so muche as they be farther gone from the auncient tyme. But yet somewhat, after suche a sozte as it is, we perceane by this diuision, after what manner thei haue geuen Free wil to man. For at length Lombard sayth, that we haue not free will therfoze, because we are alyke able eyther to do or to thynke good and euell, but onely that we are free from compulsion: whiche fredome is not hindered, although we be peruerse and the bondemen of sinne, and can doe nothinge but sinne.

7 Therfoze, man shalbe saide to haue free will after this sozte, not because he hathe a free choise as well of good as of euell, but because he dothe euell by Wyll, and not by compulsion. That is very well saide: but to what purpose was yt to garnyſhe so smale a matter wyth so proude a title? A goodly libertie forsooth, if man be not compelled to serue sinne: so is he yet a wyllynge seruaunte that hys wyll is holden fast bounde with the letters of sinne. Cruely I do abhorre strynge about woordes wherewith the Churche is vaine wearied: but I thinke that suche woordes are with greate religious carefulnes to be taken hede of, whiche sounde of any absurditie, specially wher the errour is hurtefull. How few I praye you, are there, whyche when they heare that free wil is assigned to man, do not by and by conceane, that he is lozde bothe of his owne mynde and wyll, and that he is able of hym selfe to turne hym selfe to wheter parte he will? But some one wyll saye: this perill shalbe taken awaye, if the people be dyligentlye warned of the meaninge of it. But rather sozasmuche as the witte of man is naturally bent to falsitie, he will soner conceine an errour out of one little worde, than a truth out of a longe tale. Of whiche thing we haue a moze certaine experience in this very worde, than is to be wished. For omittinge that exposition of the olde wyrters, all thei in manner that came after, while thei sticke vpon the naturall signification of the worde, haue ben carried into a truste of them selues that bzyngeth them to distruction.

8 But if the authozitie of the fathers do mooue vs, they haue in dede continually the worde in their mouth: but thei do withal declare, how muche thei esteeme y<sup>e</sup> vse of it. Fyrst of all Augustine, whiche sticketh not to call it Bonde wyll. In one place he is angry with them y<sup>e</sup> Denye free wil, but he declareth his chiefe reaso why, when he saith onely, Let not any man be so bolde to denye the fredome of wyll, that he go aboute to excuse sinne. But surely in an other place he confesseth, that the

wyll

Amb. lib. 2.  
cap. 4.

Lib. 2. dist.  
25.

Lib. 1. con-  
tra Iul.  
Hom. 53. in  
Ioan.  
Ad Anast.  
cap. 44.



Wyll of manne is not free wythoute the holye ghooſte, for as muche as yt is ſubiecte to luſtes that doe bynde and conquere yt. Agayne, that when wyll was ouercome wyth ſynne, whereinto it fell, nature begane to wante freedom. Agayne, that man hauynge yll bled hys free wyll, loſte bothe hymſelfe and yt. Agayne free wyll is become captiue, that it can do nothyng towards ryghteouſneſſe. Agayne, that it canne not be free, whiche the grace of God hath not made free. Agayne, that the iuſtice of God is not fullylled when the lawe commaundeth, and man dothe as of hys owne ſtrength, but when the holy ghooſte helpeth, and mans will not free, but made free by God, obeyeth. And of all theſe thynges he ſhortely rendezeth a cauſe, when in an other place he writeth, that man receiued greate force of free will when he was created, but he loſte it by ſinninge. Therfore in an other place, after that he had ſhewed that freewill is ſtabliſhed by grace, he ſharply inueieth againſt them that take it vpon them without grace. Why therfore (ſayth he) dare wretched men either be proude of freewill befoze that they be made free, oz of their owne ſtrength yf they be allready made free? And they marke not that in the very name of freewill, is mention of freedom. But where the ſpिरite of the Lorde is, there is freedom. If then they be the bondemen of ſinne, why do they boſte them of free wyll? For of whome a manne is cuercome, to hym hee ys made bonde. But yf they bee made free, why do they boſte them as of theyz owne woozke? Are they ſo free, that they wyll not bee his bondſeruauntes, whiche ſayeth: Wythoute me ye canne do nothyng. Beſyde that alſo in an other place hee ſeemeth ſpoztyngly to mocke at the ble of that woozde when hee ſayde, that wyll was in deede free, butte not made free, free to righteouſneſſe, but the bondſeruaunt of ſynne. Whiche ſayinge in an other place hee repeteth and expoundeth, that manne ys not free from ryghteouſneſſe, but by choyle of will, and from ſynne hee ys not free, but by grace of the Sauoure. Hee that doothe teſtifie, that the freedom of manne ys nothyng ells but a freema- kunge oz manumiffion from righteouſneſſe; ſeemeth tryuely to mocke at the bayne name thereof. Therefore yf any manne wyll permyt the ble of thys woozde wyth no euell ſignification, hee ſhall not bee troubled by mee for ſo doyng. But bycauſe I thynke yt canne not bee kepte wythoute greate peryll, and that it ſhulde turne to a greate benefite to the Church, yf yt were abolyſhed: neyther wyll I my ſelfe uſe yt, and I woulde wyſe other, yf they aſke mee counſell, to for- beare yt.

I maye ſeeme to haue broughte a greate prejudice agaynſte my ſelfe, whiche haue confeſſed, that al the eccleſiaſticall writers, excepte Auguſtine, haue ſpoken ſo doubtfully oz diuerſly in this matter, that no certaintie can be had oute of their writings. For ſome will ſo con- ſtrue thys, that I mente therefore to thruſte them from geuinge any voice herein, becauſe they are all againſte me. As for me, I mente it to no other ende but this, yf I ſimply and in good ſaythe wolde haue God ly wittes prouided for, whiche if they write vpon thoſe mens opinion in thys poynte, they ſhall alwaie waue vncertaine. In ſuch ſozte do they ſometime teache, man beinge ſpoiled of all ſtrengthe of free wyll; to flee to grace onli; ſometime they furniſh oz ſeme to furniſh him w his

De perfe

iſt.

Enchir. ac

Lau. ca. 20

Ad Bonif.

lib. 3. ca. 5

Ibid. ca. 7

Ad Bonif.

lib. 1. ca. 3

Ad Bonif.

lib. 3. ca. 7

De uerbi

apoſt. ſer.

De ſpiritu

et litera

cap. 50.

ij. Coz. l

vii.

John. xv

De corre

et gra. c

13.



owne armure . But it is not harde to make appeare ; that in suche doubtfullnesse of speache , they nothyng , oz berye lyttle , esteemyng mans strength , haue geuen the prayse of all good thynges to the holy ghoste , yf I heare recyte certayne sentences of theyrs , whereby that is playnely taughte . For what meaneth that sayinge of Cypryane , whyche Augustine so ofte repeteth , that wee oughte to glozve of no thyng , byrause we haue nothyng of oure owne , but that man wholly despoyled in hym selfe , maye learne to hange all vpon God . What meaneth that sayinge of Augustine & Eucherius , when thei expound , that Chryste is the tree of lyfe , to whome hee that reacheth his hande , shall lyue ; and that the tree of knowledge of good and euell , is the free choyle of wyll , whereof who so tasteth , forsakynge the grace of God , he shall dye : What meaneth that of Chrysostome , that euerye man ys naturally not onely a synner , but also alltogether synne : If wee haue no good thyng of oure owne : yf manne from toppe to tooe bee altogether synne : yf yt bee not lawefull to attempte howe muche the power of free wyll is able to dooe , howe then maye yt bee lawefull to parte the prayse of a good woork betweene God and man : I coulde reherse of thys sorte berye manye sayinges oute of other , but leaste any manne woulde caull that I choole oute those thynges onelye that make for my purpose , and dooe craftelye leaue oute suche thynges as make agaynste mee , therefore I dooe forbear suche reherfall . Yet thys I dare affyrme , howe so euer they bee sometyme to bulpe in auaucynge freewyll , that thys yet was theyr purposed marke , to teache manne becynge alltogether tourned awaye from truste of hys owne power , to haue hys strengthe reposed in God alone . Nowe come I to the symple settyng fourthe of the trueth , in consydeyrng the nature of manne .

10 But I am here constrayned to repete that , whyche in the begynnyng of thys Chapter I speake by waye of ptesace . As anye manne is mooste dyscouraged and throwne downe wyth conscience of hys owne myserye , needynesse , nakednesse and shame , so hathe hee beste profyted in knowelcde of hymselfe . For there ys nooe daunger to bee feared , leaste manne wyll take to muche from hymselfe , so that hee learne , that what hee wanteth is to bee recouered in God , but to hym selfe hee canne take nothyng moze than hys owne ryghte , bee it neuer so little , but that he shall destroye him selfe with vaine confidence , and conuynge the honoure of God to hym selfe , become gyltye of haynous sacrilege . And truly , so ofte as thys luste inuadeth owre mynde , that wee desyre to haue some what of oure owne , whyche maye reste in oure selues rather than in God , lette vs knowe that thys thoughte ys mynystred vs by nooe other counseller , butte by him that perswaded oure fyrste parentes , to haue a wyll to bee lyke vnto Gods , knowynge boothe goode and euell . If it bee the woorde of the deuell that rayseth by manne in hym selfe , lette vs geue no place vnto yt , vnlesse wee lyste to take counsell of oure enemye . It ys pleasaunte in deede , for a manne to haue so muche strength of hys owne , that hee maye reste in hym selfe . Butte that wee bee not allured to thys vaine affiaunce , lette so manye soze sentences make vs afrayde , by whyche wee bee throwen downe ; as are , Cursed ys hee whyche trusteth in

man

predes  
atione  
forum  
4.  
184 . ix  
n.

m. i. in  
ment.



in manne, and setteth fleſhe to bee hys arme. Agayne, that God hath not pleaſure in the ſtrength of a horſe, neyther delyteth in the legges of manne, but delyteth in them that feare hym, and attende vpon his mercye. Agayne, that yt ys hee whyche geueth ſtrength vnto hym that ſayneteth, and vnto hym that hath no ſtrength, hee encreaſeth power, euen the yonge menne ſhall ſaynte and bee weareye, and the yonge menne ſhall ſtumble and fall, butte they that weyte vpon the Lozde, ſhall renewe theyr ſtrength. All whyche ſayinges tende to thys ende, that wee leane not vpon any oppnyon of oure owne ſtrength, bee yt neuer ſolyttle, yf wee meane to haue God fauourable vnto vs, whyche reſyſteth the proude, & geueth grace to y humble. And then agayne, lette theſe promyſes come into oure remembzaunce. I wyll poure oute water vpon the thyrſte, and floudes vpon the drye grounde. Agayne, All yee that thyrſte, come vnto the waters. Whyche promyſes dooe teſtyfy, that none are admytted to receyue the bleſſynges of God, but they that pyne awaye wyth feelynge of theyr owne pouertye. And ſuche promyſes are not to bee paſſed ouer, as ys that of Claye: Thou ſhalte haue no moze ſonne to wyne by Daye, neyther ſhall the byghteneſſe of the Moone wyne vnto thee: for the Lozde ſhall bee thyne euerlaſtyngelyghte, and the God thy glozpe. The Lozde in deede doothe not take awaye the wynges of the Sonne or Moone from hys ſeruauntes, but bycauſe he will hymſelfe alone appeare glozpyous in them, hee calleth theyr confydence farre awaye, euen from thoſe thynges, that are compted in their opinion moſte excellente.

1st. c. 188  
f.  
Clay. 11.  
xxix.  
Iac. 1. 11. b  
Eſai. 41.  
111.  
Eſai. 6. 1.  
Eſa.

Truely, that ſayinge of Chryſtoſtome hath allwaye excedyngely well pleaſed mee, that the foundation of oure wyſedome is humptye: but yet moze that ſayinge of Auguſtyn, As (ſayeth hee) that ſame Rhetozitian beeynge asked, what was the fyrſte thyng in the rules of eloquience, answered Pronunciacion: and what was the ſeconde, hee aunſwered Pronunciacion: and what was the thyrde, hee aunſwered Pronunciacion: ſo yf one aſke me of the rules of Chriſtian relyggon, the fyrſte, the ſeconde, and thyrde tyme, and alwayes I woulde aunſwere Humptye. But hee meaneth not humptye, when a manne knowinge ſome lyttle vertue to bee in hymſelfe, abſteyneth from pryde and hautyneſſe of mynde, butte when he truely feeleth hym ſelfe to bee ſuche a one, as hath no refuge butte in humptye: as in an other place hee declareth. Let no manne (ſayeth hee) flatter hym ſelfe: of hys owne he ys a deuell. That thyng whereby hee ys bleſſed, hee hath of God onelye. For what haſte thou of thyne owne, butte ſynne? Take awaye from thee, ſynne whyche ys thyne owne, for ryghteouſneſſe ys Gods. Agayne, why ys the poſſybylytye of nature ſo preſumed on: yt ys wounded, mayned, troubled and loſte, yt needeth a true confeſſion, and not a falſe deſenſe. Agayne, when euerye manne knoweth that in hymſelfe hee ys nothyng, and of hymſelfe hee hath no helpe, hys weapons in hymſelfe are broken, the warres are ceaſſed. But yt ys needefull, that all the weapons of wyckedneſſe bee brooken in ſunder, wynered in peeces and burnt, that thou remaine vnarmed & haue no helpe in thy ſelfe. How muche

11  
Homi. de  
perf. euang.  
gel.  
Epiſt. 5 6.  
ad Dioc.  
In Ioan.  
hom. 4 9.  
Li. de Nat.  
et gratia.  
cap. 52.  
In Pſal. 45.



more weake thou arte in thy selfe, so muche the more the Lorde recei-  
ueth thee. So vpon the thre scoze and tene Psalmes hee fozebyddeth vs  
to remembre oure owne ryghteoulnesse, that wee maye acknowledge  
the ryghteoulnesse of God: and hee sheweth that God dooeth so com-  
mende hys grace vnto vs, that wee maye knowe oure selues to be no-  
thyng, that wee stande onely by the mercye of God, when of oure  
selues wee are nothyng but euill. Let vs not therfore stryue here  
with God foze oure righte, as if that were wythdrawen from oure  
saluation which is geuen to him. Foze as oure humblenesse ys hys hie-  
nesse, so the confession of oure humblenesse hath hys mercye readye  
foze remedye. Neyther yet doe I requyre that manue not conuincd  
shoulde wyllingely yelde hymselfe: noze yf he haue any power, that he  
shoulde tourne hys mynde from yt, to bee subdued vnto true humyly-  
tye. But that layinge awaye, the disease of selfeloue and desyre of vic-  
tozye wherewyth beyng blinded, hee thinketh to highely of hymselfe,  
hee shoulde well consider hymselfe in the true lookyng glasse of the  
Scripture.

12

And the common sayinge whyche thei haue bozrowed oute of Au-  
gustine pleasech mee well, that the naturall gyftes were corrupted in  
manne by synne, and of the supernaturall hee was made emptye. Foze  
in thys latter parte of supernaturall gyftes, they vnderstande as wel  
the lychte of faythe as ryghteoulnesse, whyche were suffyciente to the  
attaynyng of heauenly lyfe and eternall felicytye. Therfore bany-  
shyng hym selfe from the kyngedome of God, hee was also depzined  
of the spyrytuall gyftes, wherewyth hee hadde been furnyshed to the  
hope of eternall saluation. Wherupon foloweth, that hee ys so bani-  
shed from the kyngedome of God, that all thynges that belonge to  
the blessed lyfe of the soule, are extingwished in hym, vntyll by grace of  
regeneration hee recouer them. Of that sorte are sayth, the Loue of  
God, charytye towarde oure neyghbours, the studye of holynesse and  
ryghteoulnesse. All these thynges, bycause Chyste restoreth them  
vnto vs, are compted thynges commyng from an other to vs, and besid  
nature, and therfore wee gather that they were ones taken awaye.  
Agayne, foundenesse of the vnderstandinge mynde and vpryghtenesse  
of hearte were then taken awaye together, and thys ys the corrupti-  
on of naturall gyftes. Foze though there remaine somewhat leste of  
vnderstandyng and iudgemente together wyth wyll, yet canne wee  
not saye, that oure vnderstandyng ys sounde and perfecte, why-  
che is boothe feeble and dzowned in many darkeneses. And as foze  
oure wyll, the peruerfenesse therof ys moze than sufficiently knowen.  
Syth therfore, reason, whereby a man discerneth betwene good and  
euill, whereby hee vnderstandeth and iudgeth, is a naturall gyfte, yt  
coude not be altogether destroyed, but it was partly weakened, part-  
ly corrupted, so that soule ruynes thereof appeare. In this sense  
doothe Iohn saye, that the lychte shyneth yet in darkenesse, but the  
darkenesse comprehended yt not: In whyche woordes boothe thyng-  
es are playnely expressed, that in the peruerfied and degendzed na-  
ture of manne, there shyne yet some sparkes that shewe that hee ys a  
creature hauinge reason, and that hee differeth from brute bestes,  
bicause he is endued with vnderstanding: & yet y this light is choked  
with



wyth greate thychenes of ignozauince, that yt canne not effectuallype gette abzoad. So wyll, bycaule yt ys vnsaparable from the nature of man, perphed not, but was bounde to peruerse desyzes, that yt can couet no good thynge. Thys in deede ys a full definition, but yet suche as needeth to be made playne wyth moze woordes. Therefore, that the the ozdze of oure talke maye procede accozdyng to that fyrste distinction, wher ein wee diuided the soule of manne into vnderstandyng and wyll: let vs fyrste examyne the force of vnderstandyng. So to condemne it of perpetuall blyndenesse, that a man leaue vnto it no manner of skylle in any kynde of thynge, ys not onely agaynste the worde of God, but also agaynste the experience of common reason. For wee see that there is planted in manne a certayne desire to searthe out trueth, to whyche hee woulde not aspyze at all, but hauinge felte some sauoure thereof befoze. Thys therefore ys some syghte of mang vnderstanding, that he ys naturally drawen with loue of trueth, the negleytyng whereof, in bzute beastes proueth a grosse Sense wythout reason, all be yt, thys lyttle desyze suche as yt is, saynteth befoze yt entre the begynnynge of her race, bycaule it by and by falleth into vanitie. For the wytte of manne canne not for dullnesse keepe the ryghte way to searthe oute trueth, but straieth in diuerse erreoures, and as it were groopyng in darkenesse, oftentimes stumbleth, tyll at length yt wander and vanysheth awaye, so in seekyng trueth, yt doothe bewzaye howe vnfytted yt ys to seeke and fynde trueth. And then yt ys sore troubled wyth an other vanytpe, that oftentymes yt dyscerneth not those thynge to the true knoweledge, whereof yt were expedyente to bende yt selfe, and therefore yt tormenteth yt selfe wyth fonde curyosytpe, in searchyng oute thinges superfluous and nothing worth: and to thynge moste necessarpe to bee knowen, it eyther taketh noe heede, oz neglygentlye oz seldome tourneth, but surelye scarce at any tyme applyeth her studye earnestlye vnto them. Of whyche peruerfnesse, whereas the pzophane wyrters dooe commonly complayne, yt ys founde, that all menne haue entangled them selues with it. Wherfoze Salomon in all hys Ecclesiastes, when hee hadde gone thzoughe all these studyes, in whyche men thynke them selues to bee very wyse, yet he pzouounceth, that they are all vaine and tryfelyng.

Yet do not all trauales of witte, so alwaye become voyde, but that yt attayneth somewhat, specyally when yt bendeth yt selfe to these inferioure thinges. yea and it is not so blockyshe, but that yt tasteth also some lyttle of the hier thinges, how soeuer it moze negligentlye applye the searchyng of them, but yet not that wyth lyke power of conceayng. For when yt ys carryed vp aboue the compasse of thys present lyfe, then is it pzyncipally conuincd of her owne weakenesse. Wherfoze, that wee maye the better see howe farre accozding to the degrees of her abylytpe yt procedeth in euerye thynge, yt ys goode that I putte fourthe a dystynction. Lette thys therefore bee the distinction, that there is one vnderstandyng of earthely thynge, and other of heauenly thynge. Earthly thynge I call those that doe not concerne God and his kyngedome, true ryghteoulnesse, and the blessednesse of eternall lyfe, but haue all theyz respecte and relation to thys presente lyfe, and are as yt were contayneth wyth-



within the boundes thereof. Heauenly thinges, I cal the pure know- ledge of God, the ozdze of true rightcoufnesse, and the misteries of the heauenly kyngdome. Of the fyrste sozte are policy, gouernance of householde, all handy craftes, and liberall Scienses. Of the seconde sozte are the knoweledge of God and Gods will, and the rule to frame oure lyfe accozdyng to yt. Concernyng the fyrst, this we muste confesse, bicause man is a creature by nature geuen to lyue in companie together: he is also by naturall instinction bente to cheryshe & to preserue the feloweshyppe of these companie, therfoze we see that there are in the myndes of all men vniuersall impressiōs of a certayne ciuill honestie and ozdze. Hereby yt commeth to passe, that there is founde noman that vnderstandeth not, that all companie of men oughte to bee kepte in ozdze with lawes, and that conceyueth not in hys minde the pzynciples of these lawes. Hereof commeth that same perpetuall consente, as well of all nations as of all menne, vnto lawes, bycause the seedes thereof are naturally planted in all menne wythoute any teacher oz lawemaker. And I weye not the dissensions and fyghtynges that afterwarde arise, whyle some desyre to peruerte lawe and ryghte, the loose absolute gouernementes of kynges, that luste strayeth abzoade in steede of ryghte, as thecues & robbers, some (whiche ys a faulte moze than common) thynke that to bee vniuste, whyche other haue stablyshed for iuste: and on the other syde styffely saye, that to be laudable, whiche other haue forbydden. For these menne do not therfoze hate lawes, bycause they dooe not knowe that lawes are good and holly, but for that they ragyng wyth heddye luste, doe fyghte agaynste manyfeste reason, and for theyr fansie dooe abhorre that, whych in vnderstandyng of minde thei allowe. The latter sozte of stryuyng is suche, that yt taketh not awaye that fyrste conceiuing of equitie. For when menne dooe stryue amonge them selues, concerninge the poyntes of lawes, they agree together in a certayne summe of equitie. Wherein is pzoued the weakenesse of manns witte, which euen then when it seemeth to folowe the righte waye, yet halteth and staggereth, but styll thys remayneth true, that there is sowne in all menne a certayne seede of polytyke ozdze. And that ys a large pzoofe, that in the ozderyng of thys lyfe, no manne ys boyde of the lyghte of reason.

14

Howe do folowe the artes, booth the liberall, & the handy craftes: in learnyng wherof, bycause there ys in vs all a certayne aptnesse, in them also doothe appeare the force of manns wytte: but all bee yt, all menne bee not apte to learne them all, yet ys this a token certayne enoughe of the common naturall power, that there ys almooste no manne founde, whose conceyte of wytte doothe not in some arte oz other shewe fourth the it selfe. Neyther haue they onely a power oz facultye to learne, but also to deuylf in euerye arte some newe thinge, eyther to amplifie oz make perfecter that whyche hath been leatned of an other that wente befoze, whyche thyng, as yt moued Plato erroniously to teache, that suche conceauyng ys nothyng ell, but a calling to remembraunce, so by good reason it oughte to compell vs to confesse, that the beginnyng thereof is naturally planted in the witte of man. These poyntes therfoze dooe plainely testyfy, that there ys  
geuen



gauen to men naturally an vniuersall conceyvinge of reason and of vnderstandynge . Yet ys yt so an vniuersall benyfyte , that therein euery manne oughte for himselfe to acknoweledge the peculiat grace of God . To whyche thankefullnesse the creatoze hym selfe doothe suffyciently awake vs, when hee createth naturall fooles, in whome hee maketh vs to see wyth what gyftes mans soule excelleth , yf it bee not endued wyth hys lyghte, whyche ys so naturall in all men , that yt ys yet altogether a free gyfte of hys lyberal tyte towarde euery man. But the inuention and ozdrelly teachynge of the same artes, oz a moze inwarde and excellente knoweledge of them whyche is propre but to a fewe, is no perfecte argumente of the common conceyvinge of wytte, yet by cause wythoute dyfference it happeneth to the godlye and vngodlye, yt ys ryghtefully reckened amonge naturall gyftes.

So oft therfore as we lyghte vpon profane wyrters, lette vs be putte in mynde by that maruaylous lyghte of trueth that shyneth in them, that the wytte of manne, howe muche soeuer yt bee, peruerted and fallen from the fyrste integryte , ys yet styll clothed and garnyshed wyth excellente gyftes of God . If wee consyder that the spyryte of God ys the ouely fountayne of trueth , wee wyll neyther refuse nor despise the trueth yt selfe, wheresoeuer yt shall appeare , excepte wee wyl dishonourably vse the spyryte of God: for the gyftes of the holy ghooste canne not bee sette lyghte by, without contempte and reproche of hymselfe . And what ? Shall wee denye that the trueth shyned to the oulde Laweyers, whyche haue sette fourth Ciuile ozdze and Dylcplyne wyth so greate equityte ? Shall wee saye that the Phyllosophers were blynde boothe in that exquysyte contemplation, and cunnynge description of nature ? Shall wee saye that thei had no wytte, whiche by settinge in ozdze the arte of speache, haue taught vs to speake wyth reason: Shal we saye that they were madde, whiche in settinge fourth the Phylsycke, haue employed theyr dyligence for vs ? What of all the Mathematicall sciences ? Shall wee thynke them doorynge erroures of madde menne ? no, rather wee canne not readd the wyrtynge of the oulde menne, concernyng these thynges, wythoute greate admiration of theyr wytte . But shall wee thynke any thyng prayseworthy oz excellente , whyche wee doe not reknoweledge, to come of God ? Let vs bee ashamed of so greate vnthankfulnessse, into whyche the Heachen Poetes fell not, whyche confessed that boothe Phyllosophye and Lawes, and all good artes, were the inuentions of modys. Sythe then yt appeareth that these men , whome the Scripture calleth naturall menne, were of so sharpe and deepe syghte in searchynge oute of inferioure thynges , lette vs learne by suche exammples, howe manye good thynges the Lorde hath lefte to the nature of manne , after that it hath been spoyled of the true God.

But in the meane tyme yet lette vs not forgette, that these are the moste excellente good gyftes of the spyryte of God , whyche for the common benyfyte of mankinde hee dealeth abzoade to whome it pleaseth him. For if it behoued, that the vnderstanding and skill that was requyred for the framyng of the tabernacle, shold be poured into Be seleel & Otiab by y spirit of god, it is no meruel if y knowledg of those



thinges whiche are moſte excellent in māns life, be ſayde to be communicated vnto vs by the ſpirite of God. Neither is there cauſe why any manne ſhould aſke, what haue the wicked to doe with Gods ſpirite, whiche are altogether eſtranged from God. For where it is ſaide that the ſpirite of God dwelleth in the faythfull onely, that is to be vnderſtanded of the ſpyzite of ſanctification, by the whyche we are conſecrate to God him ſelfe, to be his temples: yet doeth he neuertheleſſe ſyll, moue and quicken all thynges wyth the vertue of the ſame ſpirit, and that accorſdyng to the propertie of euery kinde whyche he hath geuen to it by lawe of creation. If it haue ben the Lordes will that we ſhoulde be holpen by the trauaile and ſeruaice of the wicked in naturall Phyloſophie, Dialectike, the mathematicall knoweledges, and other: lette vs vie it, leaſte yf we neglecte the giftes of God, willingly offered in them, we ſuffer iuſte puniſhment for our ſlouthfulneſſe. But leaſte any ſhoulde thinke a manne to be bleſſed, when vnder the elementes of this worlde there is graunted vnto him ſo great an abilitie to conceiue truth, it is alſo to be added that all this power to vnderſtande, and the vnderſtandyng that followeth thereof, is a vanyſhyng and tranſitorie thyng befoze God, where there is not a ſteady faſte foundation of trueth. For Auguſtine teacheth moſt truely, whom (as we haue ſayd) the Maſter of the Sentences, & the other Scholemen are compelled to aſſent vnto, as the free giftes were taken from man after his fall, ſo theſe naturall giftes which remayned, were corrupted. For that they can be defiled of themſelues in aſmuch as they come from God, but bicauſe they ceaſe to be pure to a defiled manne, that he ſhould haue no praife of them.

17

Lette this bee the ſumme: that it is ſeene that in all mankynde is reaſon whyche is propre to our nature, whyche maketh vs to differ from brute beaſtes, as brute beaſtes doe differ in ſenſe from thynges without lyfe. For where as there be bozne certayne naturall fooles and idiots, that defaulte obſcureth not the generall grace of god. But rather by ſuch ſight we are put in mynde, that what is leſte vnto our ſelues, ought iuſtely to be aſcribed to the kindeneſſe of god, bicauſe if he had not ſpared vs, our rebellion had drawen wyth it the deſtruction of our whole nature. But whereas ſome doe excelle in ſharpeneſſe of conceiuyng, ſome other doe paſſe in iudgement, ſome haue a quicker witte to learne this oz that arte: in this variete God ſetteth forth his grace vnto vs, that no manne ſhoulde claime to him ſelfe as his owne, that whyche floweth from gods mere liberalitie. For howe becometh one moze excellent than an other, but that in common nature myght appere aboue other the ſpeciall grace of God, whyche in omitting many, ſayerth openly that it is bounde to none. By ſide that god poureth in ſingular motions, accorſdyng to the calling of euery manne. Of whiche thyng we meete with many examples in the bookes of y Judges, wher it is ſayde, that the ſpyzite of the Lord clad them, whome he called to rule the people. Finally, in euery noble acte there is a ſpeciall inſtruction. By whyche reaſon the ſtrong men followed Saul, whole heartes the lord had touched. And when his miniſtring in the kingedome was prophecyed of, Samuel ſayde thus: The ſpirit of the lord ſhall come vpon thee, and thou

Walt

Lib. 2. diſt.  
25.

Judic. 6. 34

1. Sa. 10. 6.

1. Sa. 16. 13.



shall be an other man. And this was continued to the whole course of gouernement: as after it is spoken of Dauid, that the spirite of the Lorde came vpon him from that daye forwarde. But the same is spoken in an other place as touchinge particular motions: yea in Homere men are sayde to excell in witte, not onely as Jupiter hath dealt to euerye manne, but also as the tyme requyred. And truely experieuce teacheth, whyle many tymes suche men stande amased as were mooste sharpe and deepewytted, that the wittes of men are in the hand and will of God to rule them at euerye moment: for whyche reason yt is sayde, that he taketh witte from the wyle, that they maye wander oute of the waye. But yet in thys diuersitie wee see remaynyng some markes of the Image of God, whyche dooe make difference betwene all mankynde and other creatures.

Now is to be declared what mans reason seeth, when it commeth to the kyngedome of God and to that spirituall insight, whyche consisteth chye fely in thre thynges: to knowe God, and hys fatherly fauoure towarde vs, wherewith our saluation standeth: and the waye to frame our lyfe accordyng to the rule of hys lawe. Bothe in the first two & in y<sup>e</sup> seconde, properly thei that are most wyttly, are blinder than molles. I denye not that there bee here and there readde in Philosphers, concerninge God, many thynges well and aptely spoken, but yet suche as dooe alwaye sauoure of a certayne gyddy ymagynation. The Lorde gaue them in deede, as ys aboue sayde, a litle taste of his godheade, that they should not pretende ignozantte to colour their vngodlynesse: and many tymes he moued them to speake many thynges, by confession wherof them selues myght be conuincid: But thei so sawe the thynges that they sawe, that by suche seynge they were not directed to the trueth, muche lesse did attaine vnto it, lyke as a wayfaringe man in the myddest of the feylde, for a sodayne momente, seeth faire and wyde the glysterynge of lyghtninge in the night time, but wyth suche a quicklye vanishinge light, that he is soner couered againe with the darkenesse of the night, than he can stirre his foote, so farre is it of that he canne be brought into his way by such a helpe. Besyde that, those smale droppes of trueth, wherwyth, as it were by chaunce, they sprynkle their bokes, with howe many and howe monstrous lyes are they desyled: fynally, thei neuer so muche as smelled, that assurednesse of Gods good will towarde vs, without whiche mans witte muste nedes be filled with infinitie confusion. Therefore mans reason neither approcheth, nor goeth towarde, nor ouer directeth syghte vnto thys trueth, to vnderstande whoe is the true god, or what a one he will be towarde vs.

But bicause we being dzonke with a false perswasion of our owne deepe insight, do verye hardely suffer our selues to be perswaded, that in matters of god it is vtterly blynde and dull: I thynke it shall bee better to conserue yt by testymouyes of Scripture than by reasons. Thys dothe Ihon very well teache in that place whiche I euen now alleged, when he wyrteth, that lyfe was in God from the begynnyng, and the same lyfe whyche should be the lyghte of men, and that the lighte did shine in darkenesse, & the darkenesse coprehended it not. He sheweth in deede, that mans soule is lightened with the brightnesse of



god's light, so that it is neuer altogether without some small flame, or at leaste some sparcle of it, but yet, that with suche a light he comprehendeth not God. And why so: bycause mans quickenesse of wit, as toward the knoweledge of God, is but mere darkenesse. For when the holy ghost calleth men darkenesse, he at ones spoyleth them of all abilitie of spirituall vnderstandyng. Therefore he affirmeth, that the saythful which embrace Christ, are bozne not of bloud, or of the wil of the fleshy, or of man, but of God. As if he should saye: he is not capable of so hye wisdom to conceiue God and that which is Gods, vnlesse it be lightened with the spirite of God. As Christ testified, that this was a special reuelation of the father, that Peter did know him.

20 If we were perswaded of this, whiche ought to be out of all controuersie, that our nature wanteth all that, whyche our heavenly father geueth to his electe by the spirite of regeneration, then here were no matter to doubt vpon. For thus speaketh the saythfull people in the Prophet: For with thee is the fountayne of lyfe, and in thy light we shal see light. The Apostle testifieth the same thing, whē he saith that no man can call Iesus the lord, but in the holy ghost. And John Baptist seying the dulnesse of his disciples, crieth out, that no man can receiue any thyng, vnlesse it be geuen him from aboue. And that he meaneth by Gifte a speciall illumination, and not a common gifte of nature, appereth hereby, that he complaineth that in so many wordes as he had spoken to tommende Christ to his Disciples, he preuayled nothyng. I see (sayeth he) that wordes are nothyng to informe mens mindes concernyng diuine thynges, vnlesse the Lord geue vnderstanding by his spirite. Yea and Moses, when he reprocheth the people wyth their forgetfulnesse, yet noteth this withal, that they can by no meanes growe wise in the misteries of God, but by the benefite of God. Thyne eyes (sayeth he) haue seene those greate tokens and wonders, and the Lord hath not geuen thee a heart to vnderstande, nor eares to heare, nor eyes to see. What shoulde he expresse moze, yf he called vs blockes in consideryng the workes of God? Whereupon the Lord by the Prophete promisseth for a greate grace, that he wyll geue the Israelites a hearte, that they maye knowe hym: signifyng thereby, that mans witte is onely so muche spiritually wyse, as it is lightened by hym. And this Christe plainely confirmed wyth hys owne mouthe, when he sayeth that no manne can come to hym, but he to whome it shal be geuen from the Father. What: is not he hym selfe the liuely Image of the Father, in whome the whole bryghtnesse of his glozie is expresse vnto vs? Therefore he coulde not better shewe what our power is to knowe god, than when he sayeth, that wee haue no eyes to see his Image, where it is so openly sette presente before vs. What? Came he not into the earth for this purpose, to declare his fathers wyll vnto menne? And dyd he not saythfully dooe hys office? yea surely. But yet nothyng is wroughte by hys preachyng, vnlesse the inwarde Schoolemaster, the holy ghost, set open the waye to our mindes. Therefore none come to hym, but they that haue heard and ben taught of the Father. What maner waye of learnyng and hearyng is this? Euen, when the holy ghost by maruellous and singular vertue fozmeth the eares to heare,

and

John. i.  
rij.Barth. xvi  
rvj.1. Cor. xij.  
iij.Deut. xxxij  
ij.1. Cor. xij.  
viij.1. Cor. xij.  
xij.



and the mindes to vnderstande. And leaste that should seme straining, he allegeth the prophetic of Eiaze, where when he promisethe the repairing of the church that they whych shall be gathered together to saluation, shall be taught of the Lord. If god there fore sheweth some peculiar thyng concernyng his electes, it is euident that he speaketh not of that kinde of learnyng that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that we muste vnderstande it thus, that the way into the kingdome of God is open to no man, but to him to whom the holy ghost by his enlightening shall make a newe minde. But Paule speaketh most playnely of all, whiche of purpose entryng into discourse of this matter. After he had condemned all mens wisdom of follie and vanitie, & vtterly brought it to naught, at the laste concludeth thus: that naturall man can not perceiue those thynges that are of the spirit of God: they are foolishnesse vnto him, and he can not vnderstande them, bicause they are spiritually iudged. Whome doeth he call naturall: euen him that stayeth vpon the light of nature. He I saye, comprehendeth nothing in the spiritual misteries of God. Why for is it bicause by slouthfulnesse he neglecteth it: Nay, rather although he wold trauaile neuer so much, he can do nothing, bycause forsoth they are spiritually iudged. What meaneth that: bicause beyng vtterly hidden from the sight of man, they are opened by the only reuelation of the spirite: so that they are reckened for follie where the spirite of God geueth no light. Befoze he had auauuced those thynges that God hath prepared for them that loue him, aboue the capacitie of eyes, eares and mindes. yea he testified that mans wisdom was as a certaine veile, whereby mans minde was kepte from seying God. What meane we: The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisdom of this world is made folly by god: and shall we forsoth geue vnto it sharpnesse of vnderstanding, wherby it maye pearce to the secreete places of the heauenly kingdome: Farre be such beastliness from vs.

And so that whiche here he taketh awaye from menne, in an other place, in a prayer, he geueth it to god alone. God (sayeth he) and the father of glozy, geue to you the spirite of wisdom and reuelation. Nowe thou hearest that all wisdom and reuelation is the gifte of god. What followeth: and lightene y eyes of your minde. Surely yf they neede a newe reuelation, then are they blinde of themselues yf foloweth after: That ye maye knowe what is the hope of your calling, &c. Therefore he confesseth, that the wittes of men are not capable of so great vnderstandyng to knowe their owne calling. And let not some Delagian babble here, that god doth remedie that dulnesse or vnskilfulnesse, when by the doctrine of his worde he directeth mas vnderstanding, whether without a guide he could not haue attained. For Dauid had a lawe, wherein was comprehended al the wisdom that maye be desired, and yet not contented with that, he requireth to haue his eyes opened, that he maye consider the misteries of the same lawe. By whiche speache truly he secretly sayeth, that the sunne ryseth vpon the earth where the worde of God shineth to men: but they get not muche thereby, vntill he himselfe, that is therefore called the father of lightes, do geue them or open their eyes, bicause where so

Esa. liij. ruy.

i. Coz. ij. ruy.

i. Coz. i. vj

21

Eph. i. vj.

Ps. cii. vj.

Iac. i. xij

euer



euere he shineth not with his spirit, al things are possessed with darknesse. So the Apostles were wel & largely taught by the best schoole-master: yet if they had not needed the spirite of trueth to instruct their mindes in that same doctrine which they had hearde before, he wold not haue bidden them loke for him. If the thing that we aske of God, we doe thereby confesse that we wante: and God in that that he promisseth it vs, doth argue our need, let no man nowe doubt to confesse that he is so much able to vnderstande the misteries of God, as he is enlightened with his grace. He that geueth to him selfe moze vnderstanding, is so much the moze blinde, for that he doth not acknowledge his owne blindenesse.

22

Nowe remaineth the thirde pointe, of knowyng the rule of well framyng of life, which we doe rightly call the knoweledge of the workes of righteousnesse, wherein mans wit semeth to bee of somewhat moze sharpe sight, than in the other two before. For the Apostle testifieth, that the Gentiles which haue no lawe, while they doe the workes of the lawe, are to themselues in steade of a lawe, and do shewe the lawe wrytten in their heartes, their consciences bearing them witness, and their thoughtes accusyng them within themselues, or excusing them before the iudgement of God. If the Gentiles haue righteousnesse naturally graued in their mindes, surely we can not say that we are altogether blynde in the order of life. And nothing is moze common, than that man by the lawe naturall, of which the Apostle speaketh in that place, is sufficiently instructed to a right rule of life. But let vs weye to what purpose this knoweledge of the lawe is planted in men: then it shall by and by appeare, howe far it bringeth them toward the marke of reason and trueth. The same is also euident by the wordes of Paul, if a man do marke the placing of them. He had sayde a litle before, that they which sinned in the lawe, are iudged by the lawe: they that haue sinned without lawe, do perishe without lawe. Because this might seme vnreasonable, that the gentils should perishe without any iudgement going before, he by and by addeth, that their conscience is to them in steade of a lawe, and therfore is sufficient for their iust damnation. Therfore the ende of the lawe naturall is, that man may be made inexcusable. And it shall be defined not il after this sorte, that it is a knoweledge of conscience, that sufficiently discerneth betwene iust and vniust, to take away from men the pretence of ignorance, while they are proued guilty by their owne testimony. Such is the tendernesse of man toward him selfe, that in doing of euyls, he alway turneth away his mynde so muche as he may from the feling of sinne. By which reason it semeth that Plato was moued to thynke that there is no sinne done but by ignorance. That in dede were fitly sayd of him, if mens hypocrisie went so farre in hiding of vices, that the mynde might not knowe it selfe guilty before God. But when the sinner seeking to escheue the iudgement emp rinted in him, is now and then drawen back vnto it, and not suffered so to winke, but that he be compelled whether he wil or no, some time to open his eyes: it is falsly sayd that he sinneth only by ignorance. Themistius sayth moze truly, which teacheth that vnderstanding is seldome deceiued: that it is blyndenesse when it goeth any further, that is, when he cometh down to the

Ioh. xliij  
rbi.

Ro. ii. xliij.

In Protas  
gora.Paraph. in  
lib. 3. de az  
nina. cap.  
46.



to the speciall case. Euery man, if it be generally asked, wil affirme, that manslaughter is euell: but he that conspirereth to kil his enemies, deliberateth vpon it, as on a good thyng. The adulterer generally will condemne adulterie, but in his owne, priuately he will flatter himself. This is ignoraunce, when a man comyng to the speciall case forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed vpon in the generall question. Of whiche thyng Augustine discourseth very finely in his exposition of the first verse of the. lviij. Psalm: albeit the same thyng is not continuall. For sometime the shamefulnesse of the euell deede so pzeisseth the conscience, that not deceyuyng him selfe vnder false resemblance of a good thing, but wittingly and willingly he runneth into euell. Out of whiche affectio came these sayinges: I see thee better and allowe it, but I followe the worse. Wherfore, me thinke, Aristotele hath very aptely made distinction betworne Incontinence and Temperance. Where incontinence reigneth, he sayeth, that there by reason of troubled affection oz passion, knoweledge is taken away from the minde, that it marketh not the euell in his owne acte, which it generally seeth in the like: and when the troubled affectio is cooled, repentaunce immediatly foloweth. But intempraunce is not extinguished oz broken by feeling of sinne, but on the other side obstinately standeth still in her conceyued choyle of euell.

Now when thou hearest iudgement vniuersally named in the difference of good and euell, thinke it not euery sounde a perfect iudgement. For if mans heartes are furnished with choise of iust and vniust, only to this ende, that they should not pzetede ignoraunce, it is not then nedefull to see the trueth in euery thyng. But it is enough and more, that they vnderstande so farre that they canne not escape awaye, but beyng conuict by witnesse of their conscience, they euen now already beginne to tremble at the iudgement seate of God. And if we wil trie our reason by the lawe of God, whych is the exemplar of true righteousness, we shal finde howe many wayes it is blinde. Cruely it atteineth not at all to those that are the chiefe things in the first table, as of confidence in God, of geuyng to hym the prayse of strength and righteousness, of calling vpon his name, of the true keepyng of Sabbath. What soule euer, be naturall sense did smell out, that the lawfull worshipping of God consisteth in these and like thinges: For when prophane men will worshippe God, although they be called awaye a hundred times from theyr vaine trifles, yet they alwaye slyde backe thither agayne. They denie in deede that sacrifices dooe please God. vlesse there be adioyned a purenesse of minde: wherby thei declare, that they tonceyue somewhat of the spirituall worshipping of God, whyche yet they by and by corrupte with false inuentions. For it can neuer be perswaded the, that al is true that the lawe perscribeth of it. Shall I saye, that that wit excelleth in any warpe vnderstandyng, whych can neyther of it selfe be wise, nor harken to teachyng: In the commaundementes of the Second table it hath some more vnderstandyng, by so much as they came nerer to the preservation of ciuile fellowship among menne. Albeit euen herein also it is founde many times to faile. To euery excellēt nature it semeth moste vnrasonable, to suffer an vniuste, and to imperious a manner of gouernyng ouer them,

Medea at  
pul Ouis  
diurn.

Ethic. 7.  
cap. 3.



them, if by any meane he may put it away: and the iudgement of mā's reason is none other, but that it is the part of a seruile and base courage, to suffer it patiently: and againe, the part of an honest and free bozne heart, to shake it of. And reuenge of iniuries, is rekened for no fault among the Philosophers. But the lordē condempning that to murthe noblenesse of courage, cōmaūdeth his to kepe y<sup>e</sup> same patience, that is so ill reported among men. And in all the keeping of the lawe, our vnderstandinge marketh not desire of mynde at all. For a naturall manne suffereth not him self to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The lighte of nature is choked vp, before that it come to the firste entrie of this bottomlesse depth. For whē the Philosophers note immoderate motiōs of minde for faults, they meane those motions that appere and shewe forth themselues by grosse tokēs, but they make no accompt of those euell desires that do gently tickle the minde.

25

Wherefoze, as Plato was worthlyly founde faulte withall before, for that he imputed all sinnes to ignoraunce, so is their opinion to be reiected, whiche teach that purposed malice and frowardnesse is vsed in all sinnes. For we finde it to muche by experience, how oft we fall with our good intent. Our reason is ouerwhelmed wyth so many sortes of beyng deceyued, is subiecte to so many errours, stumbleth at so many staves, is entangled wyth so many streightes, that it is farre from sure directyng. But howe little it is esteemed before the Lord in all partes of our iife, Paule sheweth when he sayeth, that we are not sufficient to thynke any thyng of our selues, as of our selues. He speaketh not of will, or affection, but he taketh also this awaye from vs, that we shuld not thinke that it can come in our mindes how any thyng is to be done well. Is our diligence, insighte, vnderstandyng, and heade so corrupted, that it canne deuise or thinke vpon nothyng that is right before the Lord? That semeth to hard to vs, that doe vnwillingly suffer our selues to bee spoyled of the sharpenesse of reason, whiche we accompt a moste precious giste. But to the holy ghoste it semeth moste full of equitie, whiche knoweth that all the thoughtes of wisemen are bayne: and whiche pronounceth playnly, that all the inuention of mans heart, is onely euell. If all that oure witte conceiued, deuifeth vpon, purposeth and goeth about, is alwaye euell, howe canne it come in our minde to purpose, that whiche pleaseth God, to whome onely holynesse and righteousnesse is acceptable: So is it to bee seene, that the reason of our mynde, whiche waye so euer it turne it self, is miserably subiecte to vanitie. Dauid knewe this weakenesse in hym selfe, when he prayed to haue vnderstandyng geuen hym, to learne the Lordes commaundementes a righte. For hee secretly sayeth therein, that his owne witte sufficeth hym not, whiche desireth to haue a newe geuen hym. And that hee doeth not onely ones, but almoste ten tymes, in one Psalmic, he repeteth the same prayer. By whiche repctyng he princely declareth, wyth howe greate neede he is dryuen to praye it. And that whiche he prayeth for himself alone, Paule cōmonly vseth to praye for the churches. We cease not (sayeth he) to praye for you, and to desire that ye may be filled wyth the knoweledge of God in all wisdome and spirituall vnder-

1. Cor. iij.  
b.Ps. xciiij.  
xi.Gen. vi. iij.  
e. iij. rri.Ps. C. xij.  
viiij.Phil. iij.  
Col. i. ij.

vnder-



vnderstandyng, that ye maye walke worthely of God. &c. But so ofte as he maketh that thing the good gift of God, let vs remember that he doth withall testifie, that it lieth not in mans power. And Augustine so farre acknoweledged this default of reson to vnderstande those thinges that are of God, that he thinketh the grace of illumination to be no lesse necessarie for our mindes, than the light of the sunne is for our eyes. And not content with that, he addeth a correction of that, saying, that we listen by our eyes to see the light: but the eyes of our minde lie shutte, vnlesse the Lorde open them. And the Scripture teacheth that our mindes are not enlightened one daye alone, that they maye afterwarde see by themselues: for that which I euen now alleged out of Paule, belongeth to continuall proceedinges and encreasings. And this doeth Dauid expzessly set out in these wordes: With my whole heart I haue sought thee, make me not to straye from thy commaundementes. For when he had ben regenerated and had not scenderly profited in true godlinesse, yet he confesseth, that for euery moment he nedeth continuall direction, leaste he should swarue from the knowledge wherewith he is endued. Therefore, in an other place he prayeth to haue the right spirite renewed, which he had lost by his owne faulte, bicause it belongeth to the same God to restore vnto vs the same thing beyng losse for a time, whyche himselte gaue at the beginning.

Howe is Will to be examined, wherem standeth the chiefe libertie of free choise, for it hath ben already seene, that choise doth rather belong to Will, than to vnderstandyng. First that this thyng whiche the Philosophers haue taught, and is receyued with comon consent, that is, that all thynges by naturall instinction desire that whiche is good, maye not seme to belong to the byrightnesse of mans will: Let vs marke that the force of free will, is not to be considered in such appetite, as rather procedeth of the inclination of the essence, than of the aduiselement of the vnderstandyng minde. For euen the Schoolemen do confesse, that freewill hath no action, but when reason turneth it selfe to objectes, whereby they meane that the object of appetite must be suche, as maye be subiecte to choise, and goe befoze deliberation, which prepareth the waye for choise. And truely, if a manne consider what is that naturall desire of good in manne, he shall finde that it is comon to him with beastes. For they also desire to be well, and when any shewe of good appereth that moueth their sense, they followe it. But man doeth neyther choise by reason, that he maye followe with diligence that thing, which is in deede good for him, according to the excellence of his immortall nature, nor taketh reason to counsell, nor bendeth his minde, but without reason, without counsel, like a beast, followeth the inclination of nature. This therefore maketh nothyng for the freedome of will, if a manne by sense of nature be carried to desire that whiche is good: but this is requisite, that he discern good by right reason, and when he hath knowen it, that he chooke it, and when he hath chosen it, that he followe it. But leaste any man shoulde doubt, there is to be noted a double Sophisticall argument. For Appetite is not here called the proper maner of will, but a naturall inclination: and Good is called not as of vertue or iustice, but of estate,

as we

Aug. lib. 23  
De peccat.  
mer. & res  
miss. cap. 5.

Pl. C. xix.  
r.

Pl. li. xij.

26



as we saye, This man is wel, or in good case. Finally, although a man do neuer so much desire to attain that is good, yet he soloweth it not. As there is no man to whome eternall blessednesse is not pleasant, yet is there none that aspireth vnto it, but by the mouing of the holy ghost. Wherfoze lithe the naturall desire in men to be well, maketh nothing to proue the fredome of wyll, no moze than in metalles and stones, doth the affection inclinyng to the perfection of their substance: lette vs consider in other thinges, whether Will be so infected and coztupted in all partes, that it engendzeth nothing but euell: or whether it kepeth still any percell vnburte from whence doo growe good desires.

27 They that do attribute to the first grace of God, that we wil effectually seme on the other side to saye secretly, that there is in the soule a power of it selfe to aspire to good, but it is so weake, that it can not growe to a perfecte affection, or rayse by any endeuour. And there is no doubtte that the Schoolemen haue commonly embraced this opinion or which was borowed of Origen and certaine of the olde wyters: for so muche as they are wont to consider man in pure naturall thinges, (as they terme it) suche a one as the Apostle describeth hym in these wordes. I doe not the good that I would, but the euell that I would not, that I doe. To will is present vnto me, but to perfozme it, I finde not. But after this maner is the discourse that Paule there followeth, altogether wzongfully peruerted. For he entreateth of the Christian wzastling (whiche he shortly toucheth to the Galatians) whiche the faithfull continually sele within them selues, in the battel of the flesh and the spirit. But the spirit is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the Apostle doeth there speake of the regenerate, appeareth by this, that whē he had said, that there dwelleth no goodnesse in him, he addeth an exposition, that he meaneth it of his flesh. And therfoze he saith, that it is not he that doeth the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this coztrection in me, that is, in my flesh: Euen as muche as if he had sayd thus: God dwelleth not in me of my selfe, for there is no good to be founde in my flesh. Hereupō soloweth that maner of excuse: I my self do not the euil, but sinne that dwelleth in me. Whiche excuse belongeth only to the regenerate, whiche do with the chiefe part of their soule tende vnto good. Nowe, the conclusion that is adioyned after, declareth all this matter evidently. I am delited (saith he) with the lawe, accozding to the inward man. But I see an other lawe in my membzes, fighting against the lawe of my minde. Who hath suche a stryuing in him selfe, but he that being regenerate by the spirite of God, carieth the leauinges of his flesh about w him: Therfoze Augustine, wheras ones he had thought that, that had ben spoken of the nature of man, reuoked his expolitio as false, and ill agreyng together. And truelie, if we allowe this, that menne without grace haue some motions to good, though thei be but small, what shall we aunswere to the Apostle whiche sayeth, that we are not sufficient so muche as to thinke any thyng: What shall wee aunswere to the Lorde that pronounceth by Moses, that euery inuention of mans hearte is only euell. Wherfoze, lithe they haue stombled by false takyng of one place, there is no cause why we should

staye

Ro. viij. xv

Gal. b. xviij

Rom. viij. xxiij.

Ad Romf. lib. 1. cap. 10. Et in li. Retract.

ij. Co. iij. b

Gen. viij. xxi.



staye vpon their iudgement. Let rather this sayeng of Chryste pre-  
 nayle, He that doeth sinne, is the seruaunt of sinne. We are all sinners  
 by nature, therfore we be all holden vnder the yoke of sinne. Howe  
 yf whole manne be subiect to the dominio of sinne, then must it needes  
 be, that the will it selfe which is the chiefe seate thereof, be bounde faste  
 wyth moste streight bondes. For otherwise that sayeng of Paule wold  
 not stande together, that it is God whyche worketh will in vs, if any  
 will did goe befoze the grace of the holy ghost. Awaye therfore with  
 all that many haue triflingly spoken concernyng preparation. For al-  
 though sometime the faithfull doe praye to haue their heart formed to  
 the obedience of the lawe, as Dauid doth in many places: yet it is to  
 be noted, that euen that desire of prayeng is from God. Whiche we  
 may gather of his wordes, for when he wisheth to haue a cleane heart  
 created within him, surely he taketh not on him selfe the beginnyng of  
 creation. Therfore let rather this sayeng of Augustine haue place  
 with vs: God will pzeuent thee in all thinges: And sometime pzeuent  
 thou his wozath. Howe: Confesse that thou haste all these thinges of  
 God that what so euer good thou haste, is of him: what soeuer euell,  
 it is of thy selfe. And a little after. Nothng is oures but sinne.

Ioh. vii.  
xxxv.

Phi. ii. xii.

Pl. ii. xii.

De uerbis  
Apostoli  
serm. 10.

### The third Chapter.

¶ That out of the corrupt nature of man procedeth  
 nothing but danmable.



But manne can not be any waye better knowen in eyther  
 parte of his soule, than yf he come forth with his titles  
 wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. If he bee  
 paynted whole in these woozdes of Chryste, That whiche  
 is bozne of flethe, is flethe: as it is easy to proue, then is  
 he proued to bee a very miserable creature. For the affection of the  
 flethe, as the Apostle witnesseth, is death, for asmuche as it is enimi-  
 rie agaynste God, and so is not subiecte, nor can be subiecte to the lawe  
 of God. Is flethe so peruerse, that with al her affection she continual-  
 ly bseth enmitie agaynste God: that she can not agree with the right-  
 ounesse of the lawe of God: finally, that she can bryng forth nothing  
 but matter of death: Howe, graunt that in the nature of manne is  
 nothng but flethe, and gather any good out of it: yf thou canste. But  
 (they saye) the name of flethe belongeth onely to the sensuall, and not  
 the hyper parte of the soule. But that is sufficiently confuted by the  
 woozdes of Chryste, and of the Apostle. It is the Lordes argu-  
 mente, that manne muste bee bozne agayne, bycause he is flethe,  
 He commaundeth not to bee bozne agayne accordyng to the bo-  
 dye. But in mynde he is not bozne agayne, yf a parte of it bee a-  
 mended, but when it is all renewed. And that doth the compa-  
 rison, sette in bothe places, confirme. For the spirite is so compared  
 agaynste the flethe, that there is leste no meane thyng betwene  
 them. Therfore whatsoeuer is not spirituall in mā, is after the same  
 reason called fleshy. But we haue nothng of the Spirite but by

1

Ioh. vi. vi

Rom. viii.  
vi.

Ioh. iii. vi



Of the knoweledge of

regeneration. It is therfore sicke whatsoeuer we haue of nature. But of that matter, if other wise we coule haue any doubt, that is taken awaye from vs by Paule, where after we had described the oulde man, whom he had saide to be corrupt with concupiscences of erreure, he biddeth vs to be renewed in the spirite of oure minde: you see he doth not place vnlawefull and euell lustes onely in the sensitiue part, but also in the very minde, and therfore requyrez a renuinge of it. And true ly a lyttle befoze he had painted oute suche an image of mans nature, as did shewe that there was no part wherein we were not cozrupted and peruered: for whereas he writeth that al nations do walke in the vanitie of their minde, are darkened in vnderstanding, estraged from the life of God, by reason of the ignoraunce that is in them, and the blindnesse of their hearte: it is no doubt that this is spoken of all them whom the Lorde hath not refozmed to the vprightnesse both of his wisdom and iustice: whiche is also made moze plaine by the comparison by and by adioyned, where he putteth the faithfull in minde, that thei haue not so learned Christ. For of these wordes we gather, that y grace of Christ is the onely remedye whereby we be deliuered from that blindnesse, & the euels that ensue thereof. For so had Esay also prophecied of y kingdome of Christ, when he promised, that the Lorde should be an euerlastyng lighte to his Church, when yet darkenesse couered the earthe, and a miste the peoples. Whereas he testifieth, that the lyghte of God shall arise onely in the Church, truely without the Church he leaueth nothing but darkenesse and blindnesse. I will not reherse perticularly suche thynges as are written euery where, specially in the Psalmes and in the Prophetes againste the vanitie of man. It is a greate thing that Dauid writeth, if he be weyed wyth vanitie, that he shall be dayner than vanitie it self. His witte is wounded with a greuous weapon, when all the thoughtes that come oute of it, are scozned as foolyshe, trifelyng, madde and peruerse.

2  
No easier is the condemnation of the heart, when it is called guilfull and peruerse aboue all thinge: but bicause I studie to be thozte, I will be contente with one place alone, but suche a one as shall be like a most bright lokyng glasse, wherein we may beholde the whole image of our nature. For the Apostle, when hee goeth aboute to thzowe downe the arrogance of mankynde, doth it by these testimonies, That there is not one ryghteous manne, There is not one manne that vnderstandeth oz that seeketh God, All are gone oute of the waye, they are made vnprofitable together, there is none that dothe good, no not one: their thzote is an open sepulcher, w their tongues they worke deuytfully, the poyson of Serpentes ys vnder theyz lypes, whose mouthe ys full of curfing and bytternesse: whose feete are swyfte to Medde bloude, in whose wayes ys sorowe and unhappynesse, whyche haue not the feare of God beioze theyze eyes: Wyth these thunderboltes hee inuepeth, not agaynste certayne menne, butte agaynste the whole nation of the sonnes of Adam. Neyther declyneth hee agaynste the corrupte manners of one oz twoo ages, butte accuseith the contynuall corruptio of nature. For his purpose is that place, not simply to chide men, to make them amende, but to teache rather that all menne are oppzessed wyth calamitie, impossyble to be ouercome, from whyche they can not

h. iij.  
vij.

ph. iij.  
vij.

Esa. lx. ij.

Psal. lxx. f.

Ier. xviij.  
ij.

Rom. viij.  
f.

Psal. ciiij.  
iij.

Esa. lix. vij



not gette by agayne, vnlesse they bee plucked out by the mercie of God. And bycause, that coulde not bee proued vnlesse it had ben by the ouerthrowe and destruction of nature, he bzought forth these testimonies whereby is proued that our nature is moze than destroyed. Let this therfore remayne agreed, that menne are suche as they be here described, not only by faulte of euell custome, but also by coꝛruptnesse of nature. For otherwise the Apostles argument can not stande, that there is no saluation for manne but by the mercie of God, bycause he is in him selfe vtterly losse and paste hope. I wyll not here busie my selfe in prouynge the applyeng of these testimonies that no manne woulde thinke them vnitly vsed. I wyll so take them as yf they had ben firste spoken by Paule, and not taken out of the Prophetes. Firste he taketh awaye from manne righteousnesse, that is integritie and purenesse, and then vnderstandyng. The wante of vnderstandyng, he proueth by Apostasie oz departing from God, whome to seeke is the firste degree of wisdom. But that wante muste nedes happen to them that are fallen awaye from God. He sayeth further, that all are gone out of the waye and become as it were rotten, that there is none that doeth good, and then he adioyneth the haynous faultes, wherewith they defile their members that are ones let lose into wickednesse. Laste of all he testifieth that they are boyde of the feare of God, after whose rule our steppes shoulde haue ben directed. If these bee the inheritable gyftes of mankynde, it is in bayue to seeke for anye good thyng in our nature. In deede I graunt that not all these faultes doe appeare in euery manne: yet can not bee denied that this Hydra lurketh in the heartes of all menne. For as the bodye whyle it already fostreth enclosed wythin it, the cause and matter of disease, although the payne bee not yet vehement, canne not bee called health: no moze canne the soule bee reckened sounde, whyle it swarmeth full of suche diseases of vices, albeit the similitude dothe not agree in all pointes. For in the bodye be it neuer so muche diseased, there remayneth a quicknesse of lyfe: but the soule beyng drowned in this gulfe of destruction, is not only troubled wyth vices, but also altogether boyde of all goodnesse.

The same question in a manner whiche hath ben befoze assoyled, nowe riseth by agayne of newe. For in all ages there haue ben some, whiche by guidyng of nature haue ben bente to vertue in al their life. And I regarde it not, though many slippynges maye be noted in their manners: yet by the very studie of honestie they haue shewed a profe, that there was some purenesse in theyꝛ nature. What rewarde suche vertues haue befoze God, although we will moze fully declare when we shall speake of the merites of woꝛkes, yet wee muste somewhat speake in this place: so farre as is necessarie for makyng playne of this pꝛesent argument. These examples therfore seeme to put vs in mynde, that wee shoulde not thinke mans nature all together coꝛrupt, for that by her instruction some mē haue not only excelled in some noble actes, but also in y<sup>e</sup> whole course of their life haue behaued themselves most honestly. But here we must thinke, how in this coꝛruptio of nature there is some place for the grace of God, not to cleaſe



Rom. 3. 10

it, but inwardely to restraine it. For if the lord would suffer the mindes of all menne as it were with loose reynes to runne wildly into all sortes of lustes, without doubtte there would be no mā, but he would in playne experience make vs beleue, that all those euels wherewith Daule condemneth all nature, are mooste truely sayde of hym. For what: Canst thou exempt thy selfe out of the number of them, whose feete are swift to shed bloud, their handes defiled with robberies and manslaughters, their throttes like vnto open Sepulchres, their tongues deceitfull, their lippes venymous, their workes vnprofitable; wicked, rottē, deadly, whose minde is without God, whose inwardes are peruersenesse, whose eyes are bent to entrappingses, their heartes lift by dispiteously to triumph ouer other, and all the partes of them applied to infinite mischeues. If euery soule be subiecte to all suche monsters, as the Apostle boldly pronounceth, truely we see what would come to passe, if the Lorde would suffer the luste of manne to wander after his owne inclination. There is no mad beast that is so hedlong caried awaye, there is no streame be it neuer so swifte and strong, whereof the ouerflowyng is so violent. The Lorde healeth these diseases in his electe by this meane that wee will by and by set forth. In some he only restraineth them with putting a bydle in their mouth, only that they bzeake not out, so farre as he foreseeth to bee expedient for preseruyng of the vniuersitie of thinges. Hereby some are holden in by shame, some by feare of lawes, that they burst not forth into many sortes of filthynesse, howbeit they do for a great part not hide their vncleanesse. Some bycause they thinke that an honest trade of life is good, doe after a certayne sorte aspire towarde it. Some rise by aboue the common sorte, that by their maiestie they maye kepe other in their duetie. So God by his prouidence bydlet the peruersenesse of nature, that it bzeake not forth into doying; but he cleanseth it not within.

4

But yet the doubtte is not dissolued. For eyther we muste make Camillus like vnto Catiline, or els in Camillus we shall haue an example that nature, yf it bee framed by diligence, is not altogether without goodnesse. I graunte in deede that those goodly giftes whyche were in Camillus bothe were the giftes of God and seeme worthy to bee commended, if they we weyed by themselues, but how shall they bee proues of naturall goodnesse in hym? muste we not returre to the minde, and frame our argumente in this sorte? If a naturall manne excelled in suche byrightnesse of manners, then nature is vndoubtedly not without power towarde the studie of vertue. But what if the minde were peruerse and croked, and solowyng any thyng rather than byright straightnesse? And that it was such there is no doubt, yf you graunt that he was a naturall manne. Now what power of mans nature to goodnesse will you reherse vnto me in this behalfe, yf in the greatest shewe of purenesse it bee founde, that he is alwaye carried to coruption: Therefore, leaste ye commende a manne for vertue, whose vices deceyue you vnder vertues Image, dooe not so geue vnto the will of manne power to desire goodnesse, so longe as it remayneth faste in her owne peruersenesse. Albeit this is a mooste sure and easy solution of this question,

that

ug. lib. 4.  
intra Iu-  
num.



that these are not common gyftes of nature, but special graces of God, whiche he diuerſly and to a certayne measure dealeth among men that are otherwise vngodly. For whiche reason we feare not in common ſpeache to call oite man well natured, and an other of euell nature, and yet wee ceaſe not to include them bothe vnder the vniuerſall ſtate of mans corruption, but we ſhewe what ſpeciall grace God hath beſtowed vpon the one, whiche he hath not vouchſafed to geue to y other, whe his pleaſure was to make Saule kinge, he formed him as a new man: & that is the reaſon why Plato alludinge to the fable of Homere, ſayth that Kinges ſonnes are created notable by ſome ſingular mark, becauſe God prouidinge for mankind, furniſheth theſe with a principle nature whome he appoynteth to beare gouernement: & out of this ſtoze houſe came all the greate Captaines that are renomed in hiftories. The ſame is alſo to be thoughte of priuate men. But becauſe as euery man haſte moſte excelled, ſo his ambition hath moſte moued him forwarde (wyth whiche ſpote all vertues are deſiled, ſo that thei loſe all fauoure befoze God,) it is to be accompted nothinge worth, what ſoever ſemeth praiſe-worthy in vngodly men, beſyde that the cheſe part of vprightneſſe faileth, where there is no ſtudy to aduaunce the glozpe of God, whiche all thei wante whome he hathe not regenerate with his ſpिरite. Neither ys yt vainely ſpoken in Eſaie, that vpon Chriſte reſteth the ſpिरite of the feare of God, whereby we are taught, that ſo many as are ſtrange fro Chriſt, are without the feare of God, whiche is the beginninge of wiſedome. As for the vertues that deceiue vs with vaine ſhewe, I graunte they ſhall haue praiſe in the courte of policie, and in the common fame of men, but befoze the heauenly iudgemente ſeate, they ſhall bee of no valewe to deſerue ryghteouſneſſe.

With ſuche bondage of ſynne therefore as Wyll is deteyned, it can not ones moue it ſelfe to goodneſſe, muche leſſe applye it ſelfe. For ſuche mouing is y beginninge of tournynge to God, whiche in Scriptures is wholly imputed to the grace of God. As Jeremie prayeth to the Lorde to tourne hym, yf hee wyll haue hym tourned. Wherebpon the Prophete in the ſame chapter, deſcrybynge the ſpirituall redemption of the faythefull people, ſayeth that they were redeemed oute of the hande of a ſtronger, meany nge wyth howe ſtreyghte fetters a ſinner is bound ſo longe as beyng forſaken of the Lorde, hee lyueth vnder the pooke of the Deuell. Yet Wyll ſtyll remayneth, whyche wyth moſte bent affection ys bothe inclyned and haſteth to ſynne. For manne was not depzyued of Wyll when hee dyd caſte hym ſelfe into thys neceſſyſtye, but of the ſoundeneſſe of Wyll. And Bernarde ſaythe not vnaptely, whyche teacheth that to Wyll ys in vs all: but to Wyll good ys a proſpytnge, to wyll yll ys a defeaute: and therefore ſymplye to wyll, ys the woork of manne: to wyll euell, of corrupte nature: to wyll well, of grace. Nowe whereas I ſaye, that wyll putte from libertie ys by neceſſyſtye drawn oz ledde into euell, yt ys marueyll yf that ſhoulde ſeeme a harde ſpeache vnto any manne, whiche neither hathe any abſurditie in yt, noz varieth from the vſe of holy menne: But it offendeth them that canne make no dyfference betweene neceſſyſtye and compulſyon. But yf a manne aſke them, ys not God of neceſſyſtye good: ys not the deuell of neceſſyſtye euell: what canne they aunſwere?



For so is goodnesse knitte with Gods diuinitie, that it is no moze of necessarie that he be God then that he be good. And the deuell is by hys fall so estranged from partaking of goodnesse, that he can do nothinge but euell. But now if any robber of God do barke against this and say, that God deserueth smale prayse for his goodnesse, whyche is compelled to keepe: shall not this be a ready answer to him, that it commeth to passe by his infinite gooddesse and not by violent impulsion, that he can not do euell. Therefore if this, that it is of necessitie that God do well, do not hinder the free will of God in doing well, if the deuell whyche can not do but euell yet willingly sinneth, who shall then saye that a manne doothe therefore lesse wyllyngely synne for thys that hee ys subiecte to necessitie of sinning. Thys necessitie, whereas Augustine ethe where speaketh of it, euen then also when he was enuiously pressed with the cauillation of Celestius, he stucked not to affirme in these woordes, by libertie it came to passe that manne was wyth synne, but nowe the corruption whyche flowed for punyshmente, hathe of, libertie made necessitie. And so ofte as he falleth into mention therof, he doubteth not to speake in thys manner of the necessarye bondage of synne. Therefore let thys summe of that distinction be kepte, that manne syns hee ys corrupted, synneth in deede wyllyngely and not agaynste hys will noz compelled, by a mozte bente affection of minde, and not by vyolente compulsion, by motion of hys owne luste, and not by forren constraynte: but yet of suche peruersenesse of nature as hee ys, hee canne not but bee moued and dzyuen to euell. If thys bee true, then surely yt is playnely expzessed that hee ys subiecte to necessarye of synnyng. Bernarde agreeynge to Augustine wyrteth thus, onely manne among all liuinge creatures is free: and yet by meane of sinne, hee also suffreth a certaine violence, but of will and not of nature, that euen thereby also hee shoulde not bee depzyued of freedome, for that whyche is wyllyng is free. And a lyttle after, wyl beynge chaunged in it selfe into worse, by I woote not what corrupte and marueylous manner, so maketh necessitie, that very necessitie for as muche as it is willinge, cau not excuse wyl, and wyl forasmuche as it is drawen by aluremente, can not exclude necessitie, for this necessitie is after a certaine manner willing. Afterwarde he saith, that we are pressed down wyth a yoke, but yet none other but of a certaine wyllyng bondage, therefore by reason of oure bondage we are miserable, by reason of our wil we are inexcusable, bicause wil when it was free, made it selfe the bond seruaunt of sinne. At length he concludeth, that the soule is so after a certaine marueilous and euell manner holden both a bonde seruaunt and free, vnder this certaine willinge and yll free necessitie: a bonde seruante by reason of necessitie, free by reason of wyl, and that whiche is moze maruelous and moze miserable, therein gylty wherein it is free, therein bonde wherein it is gylty, and so therein bond wherein it is free. Herby truely the readers do perceiue that I byynge no new thyng, whyche longe agoe Augustine broughte fourthe oute of the consent of all godlye men, and almoste a thousande yeares after was kepte styll in monkes Cloysters. But Lombarde when he coulde not distynguysh the necessitie from compulsion, gaue matter to a pernicious erreure.



On the other side it is good to consider what manner remedie is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended and healed. For whereas the Lorde in helpyng vs, geneth vs that whiche we wante, when we shall knowe what his worke is in vs, it will streightwape appeare on the other side what is our nedynesse. When the Apostle sayeth to the Phillipians, that he trusteth that he whiche beganne a good worke in them, will perfozme it vnto the daye of Iesus Christe: it is no doubt; that by the beginnyng of a good worke, he meaneth the very beginnyng of conuersion, whiche is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good worke in vs by stirryng vp in our heartes the loue, desire & endeuour of righteousnesse, or (to speake moze properly) in bowyng, strampyng and directyng our heartes to righteousnesse: he endeth it in confirmyng vs to perseuerance. And that no manne should caill that good is begonne by the Lorde, when will beyng of it selfe weake is holpen: the holyghost in an other place declareth what will is able to doe beyng leste vnto it selfe. I will geue you (sayeth he) a newe heart. I will put a newe spirit in the middes of you. And I will take awaye the stony heart from your flesh, and I will geue you a heart of fleshe. And I will put my spirite in the middes of you, and I will make you to walke in my commaundementes. Whoe shall saye that the weakenesse of mans will is strengthened with helpe, whereby it maye effectually aspire to the choise of that that is good, when it must be whole transformed & renewed: If there be any softenesse in a stone, which by some help being made tenderer will abide to be bowed euery way, then wil I graunt that the heart of man is pliable to obey that whiche is right, so y that whiche in it is vnperfecte, be supplied by the grace of God. But if he meante to shewe by this similitude, that no goodnesse couide ever be woong out of our heart vlesse it be made thzoughly new: let vs not parte betwene him and vs, that which he chalēgeth to him self alone. If therefore a stone be transformed into fleshe, when God turneth vs to the desire of that whiche is right: then is all that whiche was of our owne will taken awaye, and that which cometh in place thereof, is all of God. I saye that will is taken awaye, not in that it is will, bicause in the conuersion of man, that whiche was of the firste nature abideth whole: also I saye that it is created newe, not that will then beginneth to be, but that it be turned from an euell will into a good. And this I affirme to be wholly done by God, by cause we are not able so much as to thinke, as the same Apostle witnesseth: therefore in an other place he sayeth, that God doth not only helpe our weake will, or amende our peruerse will, but that he worketh in vs to will. Whereupon is easely gathered, that whiche I saide befoze, that what so ever good is in will, it is the worke of only grace. In whiche sence in an other place he sayeth, that it is God that worketh all in all. Neyther doth he there entreate of the vniuersal gouernement, but geneth vnto God alone the prayse of al good thinges that the saythfull haue. And in sayeng, all truely he maketh God the authour of spiritual life, euen from the beginning to the end. Whiche self same thing he had taught befoze in other wordes, sayeng that the saythful are of God in Christ. Where he playnly maketh mention of the newe creation, wherein that

C. iiii.

whiche

Phi. i. vi.

Eze. xxxvi  
vbi.ij. Cor. viij  
vi.

Phi. ij. vij

ij. Cor. xij  
vi.i. Cor. viij  
vi.



whiche was of common nature befoze, is destroyed. For there is to be vnderstanded a comparyson betwene Adam and Chziste, whyche in an other place he moze plainely expzesseth, where he teacheth that we are the worke of God created in Chziste to good workes, whyche hee hath prepared that we shoulde walke in them. For he goeth aboute by this reason to proue, that oure saluation is of free gifte, bicause the beginninge of all goodnesse, is at the seconde creation, whiche wee obteyne in Chziste. But if there were any power of oure selues, were yt neuer so smale, we shoulde haue also some portion of merite. But hee to proue vs altogether nothing worthe, resoneth that we haue deserued nothing, bicause we are create in Chziste to good workes, whiche God hath prepared. In whiche wordes he signifieth againe, that all partes of good workes, euen from y first motio, are propre to God only. For this reason, y Prophete after he had said in y Psalme y we are the workmanship of God, that there shoulde be no partition, addeth by and by, we made not our selues. That he speaketh ther of regeneration, whiche is y beginning of spirituall life, appeareth by y tenor of the text, wher it by & by after foloweth, y we are his people & y flocke of his pastures. We see now, how he not contented simply to haue geuen to God y praise of our saluation, doth expzessly exclude vs fro all fellowship with him, as if he would saye, that ther resteth no pece, be it neuer so lyttle, for man to glozie in, bicause it is all of God.

7 But ther wil be some peradventure that will graunt, y Will beyng of her owne nature, turned away from good, is conuerted by the only power of the Lord: but so that beinge prepared befoze, it hath also her owne parte in doinge, as Augustine teacheth, that grace goeth befoze euerye good worke, but so, that will dothe accompanie it and not leade it, as a waytinge maide after it, & not a forgoer. Whiche thyng beinge not euell spoken by the holy man, Peter Lombarde doth disorderly wzithe to this purpose. But I affirme, that as wel in the wordes of the Prophete whiche I haue alleged, as in y other places, these two thinges be plainely signified, that the Lorde doth bothe correcte oure corrupted will or rather destroye it, & also of himselfe putteth in place thereof a good will. In as muche as it is prevented by grace, in y respect I geue you leaue to call it a wayting maide: but for that beinge reformed, it is the worke of the Lord, this is wrongfully geuen to man that he doth with wil comming after, obey grace going befoze. Therfoze it is not well wzitten of Chzysostome, y neither grace wout will, nor will without grace can worke any thing: as if grace did not worke very will it selfe, as euen nowe we haue seen by Paule. Neither was it Augustines purpose, when he called mans will y wayting mayde of grace, to assigne vnto her a certaine second office in doing a good worke, but bicause this only was his entent, to confute y wicked doctrine of Pelagius, whiche did set y pzincipal cause of saluation in mans deservung: therfoze he stode only by this point, y grace was befoze al deservung, which was sufficiente for y matter that he then had in hand, not medlinge in y meane time w the other question, concerning y perpetuall effect of grace, which yet in an other place he excellently wel handleth. For somtimes when he saith, y the lord doth prevent y vntwilling that hee maye will, and foloweth the wplyng that hee will not in bayne,



he maketh him altogether the whole authour of the good worke. Albeit his sentēces touchyng this matter, are to plaine to neede any lōg arguyng vpon them. Men (sayeth he) doe labour to finde in our will something that is our owne & not of God, but how it may be founde I know not. And in his first booke against Pelagius & Celestius, where he doth expound that saying of Christ, Every one that hath hearde of my father cometh to me, he sayth: freewill is so holpen, not only that it maye knowe what is to be done, but also maye doe it when it hath knowe it. And so when God teacheth, not by the letter of the law, but by the grace of y<sup>e</sup> spirit, he so teacheth, that he that hath learned, doth not only see it in knowyng, but also desire it in willing, and perfozme it in doyng.

And bicause we are now in hand with y<sup>e</sup> chiefe point wherupon the mater hangeth, let vs go sozward & proue the summe therof to the readers, only with a fewe & the most playne testimonies of the scripture. And then, leaste any man should accuse vs of wrongfull wresting the Scripture, let vs shew that the trueth which we affirme beyng take out of the Scripture, wanteth not the testimonie of this holy man, I meane Augustine. For I thinke it not expedient, that all the thinges be reherled that may be bzought out of the Scriptures, for cōfirmation of our meanyng, so that by the moste chosen that shalbe bzought forth, the way may be prepared to vnderstand al the rest that are here and there cōmonly red. And agayne, I thinke it shal not be vnfitly done, if I openly shewe that I agree well with that man whom worthly the consent of godly men doth much esteeme. Surely it is euident by plaine & certaine proue, that the beginning of goodnesse is from no where els but only from God, for there can not be founde a will bent to good, but in the elect. But the cause of election is to be sought out of man. Whereupon foloweth, that man hath not right will of him selfe, but it procedeth from the same good pleasure, whereby we are electe befoze y<sup>e</sup> creatiō of the world. There is also an other reason not vnlike vnto y<sup>e</sup>. For wheras the beginning of willing & doyng wel is of faith, it is to be seene when se faith it self cometh. For as much as the whole Scripture crieth out that it is a free gift of God, it foloweth, that it is of the mere grace of God, when we, which are with al our minde naturally bent to euell, beginne to will that which is good. Therefore the lord, when he nameth these two thinges in the cōuersiō of his people, to take away from them a stony heart, and to geue thē a heart of flesh, plainly testifieth that, that which is of our selues must be done away, that we may be conuerted to righteousnesse: and that what so euer cometh in place therof, is from himself. And he vttereth not this in one place only. For he sayth in Ieremie: I wil geue them one heart & one way, that they maye feare me al their dayes. And a litle after. I will geue the feare of my name into their heart, that they departe not frō me. Agayne in Ezechiel: I wil geue them one heart, and I wil geue a newe spirite in their bowels. I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will geue them a heart of flesh. He coulde not moze evidently clayme to himselfe, and take from vs what so euer is good and right in our will, than when he declareth that our conuersion is a creation of a newe spirite, and of a newe heart. For it followeth al-



waye, that bothe out of our will proceedeth no goodnesse till it be reformed: and that after reloximation, so muche as it is good, is of God and not of vs.

9  
 And so reade we the pzayers of holy mēne made to that effecte, as,  
 The Lorde inc:line our heart to him (sayeth Salomon) that we maye kepe his commaundementes. He sheweth the frowardenesse of our heart, whiche naturally reioyseth to rebell agaynst the lawe of God if it be not boowed. And the same thyng is in the Psalm: Lorde incline my heart to thy testimonies. For the comparison of contrarietie is alwaye to be noted, whyche is betwene the peruerse motion of the heart wheremy it is carried to obstinatie, and this cozzrection wheremy it is led to obedience. When Dauid feelyng him selfe for a tyme without the directyng grace, pzaieth God to create a newe heart within hym, to renewe a righte spirite within his bowelles: doeth he not acknowledge that all the partes of his heart are full of vnelennesse, and hys spirite wozithen wyth croked peruersenesse: and in callynge the cleannesse whyche he pzayeth for, the creature of God, doeth he not attribute it wholly to God: But yf anye manne take exception and saye, that the verye pzayer is a token of a godly and holy affection: oure aunswere is ready, that though Dauid were by that tyme somewhat come to amendement, yet doeth he still compare his firste state with that sozrowefull fall that he had felte. Therefore takyng vpon hym the person of a manne enstranged from God, he for good cause pzayeth to haue geuen hym all these thynges that God geueth to his electe in regeneration. And so beyng like a dead manne, he wisheth hym selfe to bee created of newe, that of the bondslaue of Saran, he maye bee made the instrumente of the holyghoste. Maruellous and monstrous surely is the luste of our pryde. God requyret h nothyng moze earnestly, than that wee should mozte religiously kepe his Sabbath, that is in resting from our owne wozkcs, but of vs nothyng is moze hardly obteyned, than bidding our owne wozkcs farewell, to geue due place to the wozkcs of God. If sluggishnesse hindered not, Chziste hath geuen testimonie euident enough of his graces, to make them not to bee enuiously suppressed. I am (sayeth he) the Vine, you bee the bzanches: My Father is a husbandeman. As the bzanche can not beare fruite of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the Vine, no moze can you, vnlesse you abide in me. For without me you can do nothyng. If we beare fruite none otherwise than a bzanche buddeth beyng plucked out of the grounde and without moysture: we neede no moze to seke what is the aptnesse of our nature to goodnesse. And this is a playne cōclusion: Without me ye can do nothing. He doeth not saye that we are to weake to be sufficiēt for our selues: but in byzngyng vs to nothyng, he excludeth all opinion of power be it neuer so little. If we beyng grafted in Chziste, beare fruite lyke a Vine, whiche taketh her efficacie of liuelinesse both from the moisture of the earth, and from the deaw of heauen, and from the cherispyng of the sonne: I see nothyng remayne for vs in doying a good wozke, yf we kepe whole for God that whyche is his. That sonde luttle deuil is alledged in bayne, that there is a iuyce already enclod



sed wythin the bzaunche, and a certayne power to bzyng forth fruite, and that therfore it taketh not all from the earth oz from the firſte roote, bycauſe it bzyngeth ſomewhat of her owne. For Chriſte doeth meane nothing els, but that we are a dzye ſticke and nothing worth, when we be ſeuered from him, bicauſe by our ſelues beyng ſeparate, we haue no power to doe well: as alſo in an other place he ſayeth. Every tree that my father hath not plated, ſhal be rooted vp. Wherefore the Apoſtle aſcribeth all the whole vnto him in the place alreedy alleged. It is God (ſayth he) that worketh in vs bothe to will and to performe. The firſte parte of a good worke is will: the ſeconde is a ſtronge endeuour in doying it: the authour of bothe is God. Therefore we ſteale it from God, if we take to our ſelues any thinge, eyther in will oz in effectuall workyng. If it were ſayde that God doth help our weake will, then ſomewhat were leſte for vs. But when it is ſayde that he maketh will, nowe all the good that is in it, is ſet out of vs. And bicauſe the good will is yet ſtill oppreſſed with weight of our fleſhe that it can not riſe vp. He ſayde further, that to ouercome the hardeneſſe of that battell, there is miniſtred vnto vs ſtedfaſtneſſe of endeuour, euen to the effect. For otherwiſe it coulde not ſtande together whyche he teacheth in an other place, that it is God alone that bzyngeth to effect all thyngeſ in all, wherein we haue before taught that the whole courſe of ſpirituall life is comprehended. For whyche reaſon, Dauid, after he had prayed to haue the wayes of the Lorde opened vnto hym, that he mighte walke in his trueth, by and by addeſth: Unite thou my heart to feare thy name. In whyche wordes he ſignifieth, that euen they that are well minded, are ſubiecte to ſo many withdrawynges of minde, that they eaſily vaniſh oz fal awaye if they bee not ſtabliſhed to conſtantie. For whiche reaſon in an other place, after he had prayed to haue his ſteppes directed to kepe the worde of God, he requireth alſo to haue ſtrength geuen him to fight. Lette not any iniquitie (ſayeth he) beare rule ouer me. After this ſorte therfore doeth the Lorde bothe beginne and ende good worke in vs: that it maye all be his worke, that wil conceyueth a loue of that whiche is right, that it is enclined to the deſire thereof, that it is ſtirred vp and moued to endeuour of followyng it. And then that our choyle, deſire, and endeuour ſainte not, but do procede euen to the effecte: laſte of all that manne goeth forward conſtantly in them, and continueth to the ende.

And he moueth the will, not in ſuche ſorte as hath in many ages ben taught and beleued: that it is afterwarde in our choyle, eyther to obeye oz withſtande the motion, but wyth mightyly ſtrengthnyng it. Therefore that muſte bee reiected whyche Chryſoſtome ſo ofte repeteth: to home he draweth, he draweth beyng willyng. Whereby he ſecretly teacheth that God doeth only reache out his hande, to ſee yf wee will be holpen by his ayde. We graunte that ſuche was the ſtate of manne whyle he yet ſtoode, that he might bowe to eyther parte. But ſithe he hath taught by his example howe miſerable is freewill, vnleſſe God bothe will and can in vs: what ſhall become of vs, yf he geue vs his grace accor dyng to that ſmall propoztion: But rather wee doog obſcure and extenuate it with our vntankefulneſſe,

Matth. xli  
riij.Phil. ij.  
rij.1. Cor. xij.  
vi.Pl. lxxxij.  
xi.Pl. C. xij.  
C. xij.



fulnesse. For the Apostle doeth not teache, that the grace of a good will is offered vs yf we doe accepte it, but that he will perforce it in vs: whiche is nothyng els, but that the Lorde by his spirite dothe direct, bowe and governe our heart, and reigneth in it as in his owne possession. Neyther doeth he promise by Ezechiel, that he wil geue to the electe a newe spirite onely for this ende, that they maye be able to walke in his commaundementes, but to make them walke in dedde. Neyther can Christes sayeng, (euery one that hath hearde of my father cometh to me) be otherwylse taken; than to teache that the grace of God is effectuall of it selfe: as Augustine also affirmeth. Whyche grace, God vouchsafeth not to geue to all menne generally without regarde, as that sayeng (as I thynke) of Occam, is commonly spoken among the people, that it denieth nothyng to hym that doeth what lieth in hym. Menne are in dedde to be taught that Gods goodnesse is layed open for all menne, without exception that seeke for it. But for asmuche as they onely beginne to seeke for it, whome the heavenly grace hath breathed vpon, not so muche as this little peccer oughte to be plucked awaye from his prayse. Cruely this is the prerogatiue of the electe, that beyng regenerate by the spirite of God, they are moued and gouerned by his guidyng. Therefore Augustine doeth worthly as well mocke them, that clayme any parte of willing them to them selues, as he doeth reprehende other which thinke that, that is generally geuen to all menne, whyche is the speciall testimonie of free election. Nature, (sayeth he) but not grace, is common to all menne. Callynge it a byckle sutteltie of wit like glasse, that glistereth with mere vanitie, where it is generally extended to all whiche God geueth onely to whome it pleaseh him. And in an other place. Howe comest thou: by beleuyng. Feare thou, least while thou takest vpon thee that thou haste founde the iuste waye, thou perishe out of the iuste waye. I came (sayest thou) by Free will, I came by mine owne will, why swellst thou: wilt thou heare that this also is geuen thee: Heare euen hym that calleth: No man cometh to me vnllesse my father drawe him. And it is without controuersie gathered out of Johns woordes, that the heartes of the godly are so effectually gouerned by Gods workyng, that they followe wyth an vchangeable affection. He that is begotten of God (sayeth he) can not sinne, bicause the seede of God abideth in him. For we see that the meane motion whiche the Sophisters imagine, whiche we at our libertie maye eyther obeye oz refuse, is openly excluded, where an effectuall constancie to continue is affirmed.

Of continuance there shoulde no moze doubtte haue ben made, but that it shoulde haue ben taken for the free gyfte of God, vnllesse the moste wicked errour had growen in force, that it is distributed accordyng to the deserte of menne, as euery manne hath shewed hym selfe not vnthankfull to the firste grace. But for asmuche as this errour hath growen vpon that pointe, that they thought it to bee in our hande to refuse oz receyue the grace of God offered, that opinion beyng dryuen awaye, this other dothe also fall of it selfe. Albeit herein they erre too manner of wayes. For beside this that they teache that our thankfulnessse towarde the firste grace and our lawe-

full

8

Eze. xi. rtr  
and. xxxvi.  
rtrv.

Joh. ix. xlv

Li. de pre-  
dest. sanct.

Augu. de  
uerbis Apo.  
scr. ii.

John. vi.  
xliij.  
i. Joh. iij. ix

11



full vse thereof, are rewarded with the later giftes: they adde also, that nowe grace alone doeth not worke in vs, but that it is onely a worke together with vs. Of the firste this wee ought to beleue, that the Lorde while he dayely enricheth and heapeth his seruautes wyth newe giftes of his grace, bycause he liketh and sauozeth the worke which he hath begonne in them, findeth in them somewhat wherupon to bestowe greater graces: And hereto serue those saynges: To him that hath, shalbe geuen. Agayne: Oh, good seruaunt, because thou hast ben faithfull in fewe thinges, I will set thee ouer many. But here two thynges are to be taken heede of, that neyther the lawefull vse of the firste grace be sayde to be rewarded with the later graces, noz it be so cōpted a rewarding, that it cesse to be reckened the free grace of God. I graunt theretoze, that this blessing of God is to be looked for of the faythfull, that howe muche the better they haue vled the firste graces, they shalbe encreased wyth so much the greater. But I saye, that this vse also is of the Lorde, and that this rewardyng is of his free good will. And they vleno lesse wrongfully than vnhapply that olde distruction of workyng and together workyng grace. Augustine vled the same in deede, but delapeng it with a fitte definition, that God in together workyng with vs doth ende, y<sup>e</sup> whiche in workyng he beginneth, and that it is still the same grace but chaungeth name, accor dyng to the diuerse manner of effecte. Wherupon followeth, that he doth not parte it betwene God and vs, as yf there wer a mutual meetyng together by the motion of bothe, but only noteth the multiplication of grace. To whyche purpose belongeth that whyche in an other place he teacheth, that many gytes of God dooe goe befoze the good will of manne, amonge the whiche the selve same is one. Wherupon foloweth, that he leaueth nothyng that it maye clayme to it selve. Whiche thyng Paul also hath namely expressed: For when he had sayde that it is God, whiche worketh in vs bothe to will and to perfozme, he by and by addeth, that he doeth them bothe of his good will: declaryng by this worde, that it is his free goodnesse. Whereas they are wounte to saye, that after we haue oncs geuen place to the firste grace, our owne endeuors doe nowe worke together with the grace that followeth. to this I aunswere: yf they meane that wee, after we haue ben oncs by the power of the Lorde bzoken to the obedience of rightcoulnesse, doe of our owne accorde goe forwarde, and are inclined to follow the workyng of grace, I speake nothyng agaynste it. For it is mozte certayne, that there is suche a redinesse of obeyng, where the grace of God reygneeth. But whense cometh that, but from this, that the spirite of God alwaye agreyng wyth it selve, doth cherishe and confirme to stedfastnesse of continuyng, the same affection of obeyng, whyche it selve engendzed at the beginnyng. But if they meane that man taketh of him self somewhat wherby to labour with the grace of God, they are mozte pestilently deceyued.

And to this purpose is that sayeng of the Apostle wrongefully wasted by ignozaunce: I haue labored moze than they all: not I, but the grace of God with me. For they take it so: that bycause it might seeme somewhat arrogantly spoken that he preferred him self befoze

Mat. 25.

21

Luc. 19.

17-

Phil. 2. 13

12

1. Cor. 15.

10.



before them all, therefore he corrected it wyth referryng the prayse to the grace of God, but yet so that he calleth him selfe a worker together with grace. It is maruell that so many whiche otherwise were not euell menne, haue stombled at this straw. For the Apostle doeth not wyte that the grace of the Lord labored with him, to the entent to make him selfe partener of the labour, but rather by this correction he geueth awaye all the prayse of the labour to grace only. It is not I (sayeth he) that haue labored, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfulnesse of the speache deceyued them: but specially the ill translation wherein the force of the Greke article was left out. For if it bee translated worde for worde, he doth not saye, that grace was a worker together wyth him, but that the grace that was wyth him was the worker of all. And the same thyng doth Augustine teache, not darkely, though shortly, where he thus sayeth: The good will of manne goeth before many giftes of God, but not before all. But of them whyche it goeth before, it selfe is one, then foloweth his reason: bycause it is wytten: Hys mercie hath preuented me: And his mercie shall followe me. It preuenteth manne not willyng, to make hym will: and it followeth him willyng, that he will not in bayne. With whome Bernarde agreeth bringing in the church speaking thus: Drawe me in a manner vnwillyng, that thou mayste make me willyng: drawe me lyeng flouthfull, that thou mayest make me tunne.

13 Nowe let vs heare Augustine speaking in his owne wordes, least the Pelagians of our age, that is to saye, the Sophisters of Sorbon, shoulde as they are wonte, laye to our charge that all antiquitie is agaynste vs, wherein they followe their father Pelagius, by whome longe agoe Augustine was drawn forth into the same contention. In his booke of Correction and Grace wytten to Valentine, he entreateth largely that whyche I will reherse shortly, but yet doe it in his owne wordes: that to Adam was geuen the grace of continuing in good yf he would: and to vs is geuen to will, and by will to overcome concupiscence: that he therefore had to be able if he would, but not to will that he might be able: to vs is geuen bothe to will and to be able. That the firste libertie was to be able not to sinne, oures is much greater, not to be able to sinne. And leaste he shoulde be thought to speake of the perfection to come after immortallitie (as Lombard wrongfully draweth it to that meanynge) within a little after he plucketh out this doubt. For (sayeth he) the wil of holy mē is so much kindled by the holy ghost, that they therfore are able, bicause they so will: they therefore wil, bicause God worketh that they so will. For if in so great weaknesse, in which yet behoueth the powder to be made perfect, for repressing of pride, their owne will were left vnto them, that by the helpe of God they maye if they will, and God doth not worke in them to will: then amonge so many temptations will shoulde needes fall downe for weakenesse, and therfore could not continue. Therefore is succour geuen to the weakenesse of mans will, that it shoulde be moued without swaryng or seuerpnyng by the grace of God, and therfore shoulde not sinate howe weake so euer it be. Then he entreateth more largely howe our heartes doe of necessitie follow the mouing of

God

Pl. li. fi.

Pla. xxiij. vi.

Serm. 2. in Cant.

Capite. 1.

h. Cor. xij. if.

Cap. 14.



God that worketh affection in them. And he sayeth, that the Lorde doeth drawe menne in deede with their owne willes, but with suche as he him selfe hath wrought. Nowe haue we that thyng testified by Augustines mouth, whyche we principally desire to obteyne, that grace is not onely offered by God to be receyued or refused at euery mans free election, but also that grace is the same, that formeth the electiō and will in the heart: so that euery good worke that foloweth after, is the frute and effecte thereof, and that it haue no other will obeyng it, but the same whiche it hath made. For these are also his wordes out of an other place, that nothyng but grace maketh euery good worke in vs.

But whereas he sayeth in an other place, that will is not taken awaye by graee, but from an euell will turned into a good, and holpen when it is good: he meaneth onely that manne is not so drawen, that without any motion of heart he is carried as by an outward impulsion, but that he is inwardely so affected, that from his very heart he obeyeth. That grace is specially and freely geuen to the elect, he wryteth thus vnto Boniface: We knowe that grace is not geuen to all menne, and to them to whome it is geuen, it is not geuen accordynge to the merites of workes, nor accordynge to the merites of will, but of free fauour: and to them to whome it is not geuen, we knowe that it is by the iuste iudgement of God that it is not geuen. And in the same Epistle he strongly fighteth agaynst that opinion, that the grace folowynge is geuen to the deservynge of menne, bycause in not refusynge the firste grace, they shewed themselves worthy. For he will haue Pelagius graunt, that grace is necessarie to vs for euery of our doynges, and is not geuen in recompense to workes, that it maye bee grace in deede. But the matter can not be comprehended in a shorter summe, than out of the eight chapter of his booke to Valentine of Correptione and Grace, where firste he teacheth that mans will obeyneth not grace by libertie, but libertie by grace: and that by the same grace, by affection of delite printed in him, it is framed to continuance, that it is strengthened wyth inuincible force: that while grace governeth, it neuer falleth awaye: when grace forsaketh, it by and by tombleth downe. That by the free mercie of God it bothe is conuerted to good, and beyng conuerted abideth in it, that the direction of mans wyll to good, and stedfastnesse after direction, hangeth vpon the onely will of God, and not vpon any merite of his owne.

And so to manne is lefte suche a free will,  
if we liste so to call it, as he wryteth of  
in an other place, that can neyther  
be turned to God, nor abide in  
God but by grace, and by  
grace is able all that  
it is able.

14  
Epist. c. v.

Epist. c. vi.

Epist. xlv.



Of the knowelgedge of  
The fourth Chapter.

How God worketh in the heartes of men.



It is sufficiently proued, as I thynke, that man is so holden captiue with the yoke of Sinne, that of his owne nature he can neyther aspire by desire, noz trauaile by endeavour to goodnesse, by side that, we haue reherfed a distinction betwoene compulsion and necessitie, whereby it might appere, that when he sinneth of necessitie, yet neuerthelesse he sinneth willingly. But for asmuch as while he is subiect in bondage to the Deuell, he semeth rather to be led by the deuels will than his owne, it resteth nowe to be declared of what sorte are bothe kindes of working. And then is this question to be assailed, whether in euell workes there be any thing to be attributed to God: in whiche the Scripture sheweth that there is vled some working of his. In one place Augustine compareth mans will to a horse, whiche is ready to be ruled by the will of his ryder: and God and the Deuell he compareth to ryders. If God (sayth he) sit vpon it, he like a sober and connyng rider, gouerneth it temperatly, spurreth it forwarde if it be to slowe, plucketh it backe if it be to quicke, restrayneth the wantonnesse and wildenesse of it, tameth the stubboznesse of it, and guideth it into the right way. But if the Deuell haue possessed it, he like a foolish and wanton rider, violently carrieth it through places where no waye is, driueth it into ditches, rolleth it downe steepe places, spurreth it forward to stubboznesse and fearcenesse: which similitude we wil for this time be contented with, lithe there cometh not a better in place. Where it is sayde that the will of a naturall man is subiect to the rule of the Deuell, to be stirred by him, it is not mente thereby that man as it were struing agaynst it, and resistyng is compelled to obeye, as we compell bondeslaues agaynst their wil, by reason of beyng their lordes, to do our commaundementes: but that beyng bewitched with the deceites of Satan, it of necessitie yeldeth it selfe obedient to euery leadyng of him. For whome the Lord vouchesaueth not to rule with his spirite, them by iust iudgement he sendeth away to be moued of Satan. Wherfore the Apostle sayth, that the god of this world hath blinded the mindes of the vnbeleuers ordeyned to destruction, that they should not see the light of the Gospell. And in an other place: That he worketh in the disobedient childzen. The blindynge of the wicked, and al the wicked deedes that followe thereupon, are called the workes of Satan, of whiche yet the cause is not to bee sought els where, than in the will of man, out of which ariseth the roote of euell, wherin resteth the foundation of the kingdome of Satan, whiche is Sinne.

But farre other is the order of Gods doying in such thinges. And that the same may appere moze certainly vnto vs: let the hurt done to the holy man Job by the Chaldees, be an exaple. The Chaldees killed his herdemen, and like enemies in warre, dzoue awaye his cattel for booties. Nowe is their wicked deede plainely seene, and in that worke Satan is not idle, from whome the Historie sayeth, that all this dyd procede. But Job himself did acknowledge the worke of the lord in it,

whome

ij. Cor. iij.  
iij.

Eph. ij. ij.

Job. i.



whome he saith to haue take away from him those things, that were taken away by the Chaldees. How can we referre the selfe same work to God, as authour, to Sathan as authour, and to mā as authour of it, but that we must either excuse Sathan by the company of God, or report God to be the authour of euill. Very easely: if first we loke vpon the ende, why it was done, and then the manner how. The purpose of the Lorde is by calamitie to exercise the patience of his seruant: The deuill goeth about to driue him to despaire. The Chaldees against right and lawe, seke gaine of that whiche is an other mans. Suche diuersitie in purposes, maketh great difference in the worke. And in the maner of doing there is no lesse diuersitie. The Lord leaueth his seruant to Sathan to be afflicted: and the Chaldees, whome he did chose for ministers to execute it, he did leaue and deliuer to him to be driuen to it. Sathan with his venemous stinges, pricked forward the myndes of the Chaldees, whiche othertwyle were peruerse of them selues to do that mischief: they furiously runne to do wrong, and do bynde and defile all their membres with wicked doing. Therefore it is properly said, that Sathan doth worke in the reprobate, in whome he exerciseth his kingdome: that is to say, the kingdome of wickednesse. It is also sayd, that God worketh in them after his maner, because Sathā him selfe, for as muche as he is the instrument of his wrath, according to his bidding and commaundement, turneth him self hether & thither to execute his iust iudgementes. I speake not here of Gods vniuersall mouing, wherby as al creatures are susteined, so from thence thei take their effectuall power of doing any thing. I speake only of that special doing, whiche appeareth in euery special act. We see therfore that it is no absurditie, that one selfe acte be ascribed to God, to Sathan, and to man: but the diuersitie in the ende and maner of doing, causeth that therein appeareth the iustice of God to be without fault, and also the wickednesse of Sathan and man, bewrayeth it selfe to their reproche.

The olde wynters in this point also, are somtime to precisely afraid, simply to confesse the truthe, because they feare least they should so open a wyndowe to wickednesse, to speake irreuerently of the workes of God. Whiche sobrietie as I embrace, so I thinke it nothing daungerous, if we simply holde what the Scripture teacheth. Augustine hym selfe sometime was not free from that superstition, as where he saith, that hardening and blynding, pertaine not to the worke of God, but to his foreknowledge. But the phrases of scripture allowe not these subtilties, whiche phrases do plainly shew that there is therein somewhat els of God, besides his foreknowledge. And Augustine himselfe, in his b. boke against Julianus, goeth earnestly about with a long processe, to proue that sinnes are not only of the permissio or sufferance of God, but also of his power, that so former sinnes might be punished. Lykewyle, that whiche they being fourth, concerning permission, is to weake to stande. It is oftentimes sayd, that God blyndeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that he turneth, boweth, & moueth their heartes, as I haue els where taught more at large. But of what maner þis is, it is neuer expressed, if we flee to free foreknowledge or sufferance. Therefore we answer that it is done after two maners. For first, where as when his light is taken away, there remaineth nothing but darknesse

3.

Li. de praes.  
dest. &  
grat.



## Of the knowledgē of

and blyndnesse: where as when his spirite is taken away, our heartes ware hard and become stones: where as when his direction celsseth, they are wraisted into crokednesse, it is well sayd that he doeth blinde, harden & bowe them from whome he taketh away h<sup>e</sup> power to se, obey and do rightly. The second manner, whiche commeth nere to the proprietie of the wordes, is that for the executing of his iudgementes by Sathan the minister of his wraith, he bothe appointeth their purposes to what ende it pleaseh hym, and stirreth vp their willes, & strengtheneth their endeuors. So whē Moses reherceth that king Schon did not geue passage to the people, because God had hardened his spirite, and made his heart obstinate, he by and by adioyneth the ende of his purpose: that he might (saith he) geue him into our handes. Therefore because it was Gods will to haue him destroyed, the making of his heart obstinate, was Gods preparation to his destruction.

Deut. 9.  
xxx.

4.  
Job. xij. ff.

Ezay. lviij.  
xviij.

Ezod. lxxx.  
xij. & vij. iij.  
& x. i.

Ezod. iij.  
xix.

Deut. 9.  
xxx.

Psa. C. v.  
xv.

Ezay. 6.  
xvi. & vij.  
xviij.

Ezech. xij.  
xij. & xvij.  
xx.

Ier. l. xxiij.  
Esa. x. xv.  
Depr. edest.  
sanct.

After the firste manner this seemeth to bee spoken. He taketh away the lyppe from the speakers of truth, and taketh away reason from the Elders. He taketh the heart away from them that are set ouer the people, hee maketh th en to wāder where no way is. Again, Lord why haste thou made vs mad, and hardened oure hearte, that wee shoulde not feare thee: Because they iudge rather of what sorte God maketh men by forsaking them, than how he perfourmeth his worke in them. But there are other testimonies that goe further: as are these of the hardening of Pharao. I wyll harden the heart of Pharao, that he do not heare you, and let the people go. Afterward he saith, that he hath made heauy and hardened his heart. Did he harden it, in not susseining it: That is true in deede: but he did somewhat more, that he committed his heart to Sathan, to be confirmed with obstinacie. Where vpon he had before sayd: I wyll holde his heart. The people went out of Egypt, the inhabitantes of that countrey came fourth and met the lyke ennemies. By whome were they styred vp: Cruely Moses affirmeth to the people, that it was the Lorde that had hardened their heartes. And the Prophet reciting the same historie, saith, that he turned their heartes, that they shoud hate his people. Nowe can you not say, that they stumbled being left without the counsell of God. For if they be hardened and turned, then they are of purpose bowed to that selfe thing. Moreouer so oft as it pleased him to punish the transgressours of the people, how did he perfourme his worke in the reprobate: so as a man may see, that the effectualnesse of working was in hym, & they only did seruice as ministers. Wherefore somtyme he threatened that he would call them out with his whistle, somtyme that they shoud be lyke a net for hym to entangle them, and somtyme lyke a mallet, to strike the Israelites. But specially he then declared how he is not idle in them, when he called Sennacherib an Axe, whiche was bothe directed and dryuen by his hande to cut. Augustine in one place dothe not amisse, appointeth it after this sorte: that in as muche as they sinne, it is their owne: in as muche as in sinning they doe this or that, it is of the power of God, that deuided the darkenesse as pleaseh hym.

9. Nowe that the ministry of Sathan is vled to pricke folward the reprobate, so oft as the Lorde by his prouidence appointeth them to this



this or to that, may sufficiently be proued, though it were but by one place only. For it is oftentimes sayde in Samuel, that the euell spirite of the Lorde, and an euill spirite from the Lorde, did either violently carry or leaue Saul. To say that this spirite was the holy Ghost, is blasphemous. Therefore the vncleane spirite is called the spirite of God, because it aunswereth at his commaundement and power, being rather his instrument in doing, than an authour of it selfe. This is also to be added withall, whiche Paul teacheth, that the efficacie of errour & deceiuing, is sent by God, that they which haue not obeyed the truth, may beleue lies. But there is alway great difference in one selfe same worke, betwene that whiche the Lorde doeth, and that whiche Satan and the wicked goe about. He maketh the euill instrumētes that he hath vnder his hand, & may turne whether he list, to serue his iustice. They, in as muche as they are euill, doe bring fourth in effect the wickednesse that they haue conceiued by corruptnesse of nature. The reste, of suche thynges as serue for to deliuer the maiestie of God from flaunder, and to cut of all misting from the wycked, are already sette fourth in the chapter concerning Prouidence. For in this place my purpose was only to shewe howe Satan reigneth in the reprobate mā, and how God worketh in them bothe.

Although we haue before touched, yet it is not playnely declared what libertie man hath in those doinges, whiche are neyther iust nor faulty of them selues, and belonge rather to the bodely than the spirituall lyfe. Some in suche thinges haue graunted him free election, rather, as I thinke, because they would not strine about a matter of no great importance, than that they mynded certainly to proue the same thyng that they graunte. As for me, although I confesse that they whiche doe holde that they haue no power to ryghteousnesse, do holde the thyng that is principally necessary to saluation: yet I doe thynke that this point also is not to be neglected, that we may knowe that it is of the speciall grace of the Lorde, so ofte as it cometh in our mynde to chole that whiche is for our profit, so oft as our wyl enclyneth therunto: agayne so ofte as our wyl and mynde eschueeth that whiche els would haue hurt vs. And the force of Gods prouidence extendeth thus far, not only to make the succeses of thynges to come to passe, as he shall forsee to be expedient, but also to make the wylles of men to tend therunto. Truely if we consider in our wyl the administration of outward things, we shall thynke that they are so farre vnder the wyl of man: but if we shall geue credit to so many testimonies, whiche crie out that the Lord dothe in these thynges also rule the heartes of mā; they shall compelle vs to yelde our wyl subiect to the speciall mouing of God. Who did procure the good willes of the Egyptians to the Israelites, to lende them all their mosse precious iewels: They would neuer haue founde in their heartes to haue so done of their owne accord. Therefore their heartes were more subiect to the Lord, than ruled by them selues. And truely if Jacob had not bene perswaded that God put into men diuerse affections as pleaseh hym, he would not haue sayd of his sonne Joseph, whom he thought to be some heathen Egyptian: God graunte you to fynde mercie before this man. As also the whole Church confesseth in the Psalm, that when it pleased

1. Sa. xvi.  
and. xvij.  
1. xxxij.

g. Thet. ij.  
r.

6

Ex. xi. ij.

Gen. xlij.  
xij.

Psal. C. vj.  
xlvj.



Gal. 106  
 46.  
 Sam. 11  
 6.  
 Sa. 17.  
 10.  
 10l. 2. 9.  
 10. 26.  
 36.  
 Deut. 28.  
 63.

God to haue mercie vpon it, he meekened the heartes of the cruell nations. Againe, when Saul so wared on fire with anger, that he prepared him to warre, the cause is expressed, for that the spirite of God did enforce hym. Who turned away Absolons mynde from embracing the counsell of Achitophel, whiche was wont to be holden as an oracle. Who inclined Rehabeam to be perswaded with the yong mens aduise. Who made the nations that befoze were great, to be astrayde at the comyng of Israell. Truely the harlot Rahab confessed, that it was done by God. Agayne, who threw downe the heartes of Israell with dread and fearfulness, but he that in the lawe threated that he would geue them a fearefull hearte.

7

Some man wyll take exception and saye, that these are singular examples, to the rule wherof all thynges vniuersally ought not to be reduced. But I saye, that by these is sufficiently proued that whiche I affirme, that God so oft as he meaneth to prepare the waye for his prouidence, euen in outward thynges dothe bowe and tourne the wylles of men, and that their choise is not so free, but that Gods will beareth rule ouer the fredome thereof. That thy mynde hangeth rather vpon the mouing of God, than vpon the fredome of thyne owne choyle, this daylye experience shall compell thee to thynke whether thou wyllt or no: that is, for that in thynges of no perplexitie thy iudgement and wytt oft fayleth thee, in thinges not hard to be doone thy courage fainteth: againe in thinges moste obscure, by and by present aduise is offred thee: in thynges great and perillous, thou hast a courage ouercomming all difficultie. And so doe I expounde that whiche Salomon sayeth: That the eare may heare, that the eie may see, the Lorde worketh bothe. for I take it that he speaketh not of the creation, but of the speciall grace of vsing them. And whē he wyrteth that the Lorde holdeth in his hande and boweth whether he wyll the hearte of the kyng as the streames of waters: truely vnder the example of one speciall sorte, he comprehendeth the whole generaltie. For if the wyll of any man be free from subiection, that preeminence principally belongeth to the wyll of a kyng, whiche vseth as it were a kyngdome vpon the wylles of other: but if the wyll of the kyng be ruled with the hande of God, no more shall our wyll be exempted fro the same estate. Upon this point there is a notable sayinge of Augustine. The Scripture if it be diligently looked vpon dothe shewe, that not only the good willes of men whiche he of euyll maketh good, and so beyng made by hym selfe dothe direct to good doinges and to eternal lyfe, but also these willes that preserue the creature of the world, are so in the power of God, that he maketh them to be inclined whether he wyll and when he wyll, either to doe benefites, or to execute punishmentes, by a iudgement moste secrete in deede, but the same moste righteous.

Li. de gra-  
 tia & libe-  
 ro arb. ad  
 Valent. ca.  
 20.

Here let the Readers remember, that the power of mans wyll is not to be weyed by the successe of thynges, whiche some vnskyllfull men are vnoorderly wont to doe. for they seme to them selues to proue trimly and wittely that mans wyll is in bondage, because euen the hyst Monarches haue not all thynges flowyng after their owne desire. But this power wherof we speake, is to be considered within man and not



and not be measured by outward successe. For in the disputation of freewyll, this is not the question, whether man may for outward impedimentes, perforce and put in execution all those thinges that he hath purposed in mynde: but whether he haue in euery thyng bothe a free election of iudgement, and a free affection of wyll, whiche bothe if man haue, then *Atilius Regulus*, enclosed in the narrownesse of a tonne, set full of sharpe prickes, shall no lesse haue free wyll than *Augustus Cesar*, governing a great part of the worlde with the beck of his countenance.

## The fift Chapter.

A confutation of the objections that are wont to be brought for defence of free wyll.



**T**myght seme that we haue saide enough already, concerning the bondage of mans wyll, if they that with false opinion of libertie, labour to throwe it downe hedlong, did not on the contrary part pretende certayne reasons to assaile our meanyng. First they heape by together diuerse absurdities, whereby they may bying it in hatred as a thing abhorring from common reason: afterward they set vpon it with testimonies of scripture. Bothe these enginse we shall beate back in order. If (say they) Synne be of necessitie, then celseth it to be synne: if it be voluntarie, then may it be auoyded. These were also the weapons of *Belagius* to assaile *Augustine*, with whose name we wyl not yet haue them oppressed, till we haue satisfied them, concerning the matter it selfe. I denie therefore that sinne ought the lesse to be imputed, because it is necessary. I denie agayne that this dothe followe whiche they conclude, that it may be auoyded, because it is voluntarie. For if any man will dispute with God, and seeke to escape from his iudgement by this pretense, because he coulde none otherwyle do: God hath that aunswere ready whiche we in an other place haue spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bondslaues to synne, can wyll nothing but euell. For whence cometh this want of power whiche the wycked would gladly pretende, but vpon this, that *Adam* of his owne accorde made hym selfe subiect to the tyrannie of the *Deuell*: Hereupon therefore grewe the corruption, with the bondes wherof we are holden fast tyed, for that the fyrst man fell from his creatour. If all men be iustly holden gylty of this fallynge away, let them not thinke them selues excused by necessitie, in whiche it selfe they haue a moste euident cause of their dampnation. And this I haue aboue plainely set fourth, and I haue geue an example in the *Deuel* hym selfe, wherby it might appeare, that he whiche necessarily synneth, dothe neuertheless wyllingly liane: as agayne in the electe aungels, where as their wyll can not declyne from good, yet it celseth not to be a will. Whiche same thinge *Bernard* also aptly teacheth: that we are therefore the more miserable, because our necessitie is voluntarie: whiche yet holdeth vs so subiect vnto it, that we be the bondslaues of synne, as we haue before rehearsed. The second part of theyr

Ser. 81. in  
Can.



argument is faulty, because from voluntarie it streightway leapeth to free: but we haue before proued, that it is voluntarily done whiche yet is not subiect to free election.

2

They further say: that if bothe vertues and vices procede not of free choyse of wyll, it is not reasonable that either punishment should be layde vpon man or rewarde geuen to hym. This argument, although it be Aristoteles, yet I graunt is in some places bled by Chrysostome and Hierome. But that it was a commune argument with the Pelagians, Hierome him selfe hideth not, and also reherceth it in their own wordes. If the grace of God worke in vs: then it, not we that labour, shall be crowned. Of punishmentes I aunswere, that they are iustly layde vpon vs from whome y<sup>e</sup> gyltinesse of sinne procedeth. For what matter maketh it, whether sinne be done by free or bonde iudgement, so it be done by voluntarie luste: specially syth manne is hereby proued a synner, for that hee is vnder the bondage of synne: As to the rewardes of ryghteousnesse: a greate absurditie forsooth it is, yf wee confesse that thei hange rather vpon Gods bountifullnesse, than vpon oure owne deseruynges. Howoe ofte synde wee thys thyng repeted in Augustine: that God crowneeth not oure deseruynges, but hys owne gyftes: and that they are called rewardes, not as due to oure deseruynges, but suche as are rendred to the graces already bestowed vpon vs. Wisely in deede thei note thys, that nowe ther remaineth no place for deseruynges, if thei come not oute of the fountaine of free wyll: but wher they recken that whiche we saye so farre differynge from truely thei are muche deceiued. For Augustine doubteth not, commonly to teache for necessarie, that which they thinke so vnlawefull to confesse, as wher he saith: What bee the merites of any menne what so euer thei bee: when hee commeth, not wyth due rewarde, but wyth free grace, then he alone beyng free, and that maketh free from synne. He findeth all menne sinners. Agayne, If that shall be rendred to thee that is due to thee, thou arte to be punyshed: what ys done then: God hath not geuen thee punyishment whyche ys due, butte geueth thee grace whyche ys not due. If thou wylte bee estraunged from grace, boaste of thy deseruynges. Agayne: Thou arte nothyng by thy selfe. Synnes are thyne, butte deseruynges are Gods, punymente ys due to thee: and when rewarde commeth, hee shall crowne hys owne gyftes, and not thy deseruynges. And in the same meaninge in another place, hee teacheth that grace is not of deseruynges, butte deseruynges of grace. And a lytle after hee concludeth, that God wyth hys gyftes goeth before all deseruynges, that oute of the same hee maye gather hys owne deseruynges, and doothe geue alltogether freelye, bycause hee syndeth nothyng wher vpon to saue. Butte what neede is yt to make a longer registryer, when suche sentences are often founde in hys wytynges: But the Apostle shall yet better deliuer them from thys erreure, yf they heare from what begynnyng hee conueieth the glorie of the Saintes: Whome he hath chosen, them he hath called: whome hee hath called, them hee hath iustified: whome hee hath iustified, them hee hath glorified. Why then, as witnesseth the Apostle, are the faythefull crowned: bycause by the Lordes mercye and not

Li Epist. ad  
Cteciphon.  
diacon.  
1..

In Psal. 31.

In Psal. 70

Epist. 52.  
De uerbis  
Apostol.  
sermo. 4.7

1. Cor. 11ij.  
vij.



not by theyr owne endeuoure they are booth choosen and called and iustified. Awaye therefore wyth thys bayne feare, that there shall nooe more bee anye deseruynges, yf free wyll shall not stonde. For yt ys mooste foolyshe to bee frayed awaye and to flee from that to whyche the Scrypture calleth vs. If (saythe hee) thou haste receyued all thynges, why glozyest thou, as yf thou haddest not receyued them. Thou seest that for the same cause hee taketh all thynges from free wyll, to leaue no place for deseruynges: butte as the bountifullnesse and lyberalytpe of God ys manyfolde, and impossible to bee spente oute, those graces whyche hee bestoweth on vs, bycause he maketh them oures, hee rewardeth as yf they were oure owne vertues.

Moreouer they byynge fourth that whyche maye seeme to bee taken oute of Chrystostome: If thys bee not the power of oure wyll, to choole good or euell, then they that are partakers of the same nature, muste eyther all be euell or all bee good. And not farre from that ys he, what soeuer hee was, that wrote the booke Of the calling of the Gentyles, whyche ys carryed aboute vnder the name of Ambrose; when hee maketh thys argumente, that no manne shoulde euer departe from the faythe, vnlesse the grace of God dyd leaue vnto vs the state of mutabyltpe: wherein yt ys marueyle, that so excellente menne fell besyde them selues. For howe chaunseth yt came not in Chrystostomes mynde, that yt ys Gods election that so maketh dyfference betweene menne. As for vs, wee feare not to graunte that whyche Paule wyth greate earnestnesse affyrmeth, that all togither are peruerse and geuen to wyckednesse: butte wyth hym we adioyne thys, that by Gods mercye yt cometh to passe that all abyde not in peruersenesse. Therefore whereas naturally wee are all lycke of one desease, they onely recouer health vpon whome yt hath pleased God to laye hys healyng hande. The reste whome by iust iudgemente hee passeth ouer, pyne awaye in theyr owne rotteneesse tyll they bee consumed. Neyther ys yt of any other cause, that some contynewe to the ende, and some fall in theyr course begonne. For contynuaunce yt selfe ys the gyfte of God, whyche hee geueth not to all indyfferently, butte dealeth yt to whome yt pleaseth hym selfe. If a manne aske for a cause of the dyfference, why some contynewe constantly, and some fayle by vnstedfastenesse, wee knowe none other cause butte that God susteyneth the one sorte strenghtened wyth hys power that they perysh not, and doth not geue the same strenght to the other sorte, that they maye bee examplers of inconstancie.

Further they presse vs, sayinge, that exhortations are baynelpe taken in hande, that the vse of admonitions ys superfluous, that yt ys a sonde thyng to rebuke, yf yt bee not in the power of the synner to obey. When the lyke thynges in tyme passe were objected agaynste Augustyne, hee was compelled to wyte the booke of Corruption and grace: Where althoughe hee largely reipe them away, yet hee byyngeth hys aduersaryes to thys summe: O manne, in the commaundemente learne what thou oughdest to dooe: in correc-

1. Cor. iiii.  
vii.3  
Rom. i. 2  
in Gen.Lib. 2. ca.  
4.Rom. iiii.  
r.

4



## Of the knowledge of

correction learne that by thyne owne faulte thou haste yt not: in prayer learne whense thou mayste receyue that whyche thou wouldeste haue . Of the same argumente in a manner ys the booke of the Spyrte and Letter, where hee teacheth that God meassureth not the commaundementes of hys lawe by the strengthe of manne, but when hee hath commaunded that whiche ys ryghte, hee freelye geueth to hys electe power to fullfyll yt . And thys is no matter of longe dysputacion . Fyfte wee are not onely in thys cause, butte also Chyste and all the Apostles. Howe let the other looke howe they wyl gette the maysterie in stryuyng, that matche them selues wyth suche aduersaries . Dothe Chyste, whyche testyfyeth that wee canne do no thyng wythoute hym, any thyng the lesse rebuke and chastyce them, that wythoute hym dyd euell : Dothe hee lesse exhorte euery manne to applye hym selfe to good woorkes : Howe seuerely dothe Paule inuey agaynste the Corynthians for neglectyng of charytye : and yet he prayeth for charitie to bee geuen to the same menne from God . Hee testifieth in the Epistle to the Romaines, that it is neither of hym that wyll, nor of hym that runneth, but of God that hath the mercye, and yet hee cesseth not afterwarde to admonishe, to exhorte and to rebuke. Why do they not therefore speake to the Lorde, that hee do not so lose hys labour in requyryng of menne those thynges whyche hee hymselfe alone canne geue, and in punyshyng those thynges whyche are done for wante of hys grace : Why do they not admonyshe Paule to spare them, in whose power it is not to wyll or to runne, butte in the mercie of God, goyng before them whiche nowe hath forsaken them. As if the Lorde had not a verye good reason of hys doctryne, whyche offreth yt selfe redily to be founde of them that reuerently seeke yt, but howe muche doctrine, exhortation and rebukyng do woork of themselues, to the chaungyng of the mynde, Paule declareth, when he wryteth, that neither he that planteth is any thyng, nor hee that watereth, but the Lorde that geueth the encrease onely effectually woorketh . So wee see that Moses seuerely stablysheth the commaundementes of the lawe, and the Prophetes do sharply call vpon them, and threaten the transgressors, whereas they yet confesse, that menne do then onely ware wyse, when a hearte is geuen them to vnderstande, that it is the propre woork of God to circumsise the heartes, and in steede of stony heartes to geue heartes of fleshe, to wryt his lawe in the bowells of menne : fynally in renewyng of soules to make that hys doctryne may be effectually.

5 Wherefore then serue exhortations : for thys purpose : if thei be dyspyled of the wycked wyth an obstynate hearte, they shall be for a witnesse vnto them when they shall come to the iudgemente seate of the Lorde, yea and euen nowe alreadye they beate and strike their conscience : for howe soeuer the moste frowarde manne laugheth them to scorn, yet canne he not disproue them : but thou wilt saie, what may sylly miserable menne do, yt the softenesse of heart, whyche was necessarily required to obedience, be denied him : I saye rather, why doth he excuse hym selfe, when he canne impute the hardenesse of heart to none but to hymselfe : Therefore the wycked that are wyllingly readye to

mocke

John. xv.  
v.

1. Cor. iij.  
iij.  
Rom. ix.  
xvi.

1. Cor. iij.  
vii.



mocke them oute yf the myght, are throwen downe wyth the force of them whether they will or no. But the chiefe profite towarde the faithfull is to be considered: in whome as the Lorde woorketh all thinges by his spirite, so hee leaueth not the instrumentes of his worde, & vseth the same not without effecte. Let this therfore stande whyche is true, that all the strength of the godly resteth in the grace of God, accordyng to that sayinge of the Prophete: I will geue them a newe heart that they maye walke in them. But thou wylte saye: Why are they nowe admonyshed of their duetye, and not rather left to the direction of the holy ghooste? why are they moued wyth exhortation, sythe they canne make no more haste than the styrrynge forward of the holy ghooste woorketh? why are thei chastised if at any tyme they be gone oute of the waye, syth they fell by the necessarye weakenesse of the fleshe? O man, what arte thou to apoynte a lawe for God? If it be his pleasure, that we bee prepared by exhortation to receiue the selfe same grace, whereby is wroughte that the exhortation is obeyed, what haste thou in thys ordre to bite or carpe at? If exhortations and rebukynge dyd nothyng els profyte wyth the godlye, but to reprove them of synne, they were euen for that thing onely to be compted not alltogether vnprofitable. Nowe, for asmuche as by the holy ghooste woorkynge inwardly, thei muche auaille to enflame the desire of goodnesse, to shake of sluggishnesse, to take awaye the pleasure and venymous sweetness of wyckednesse, and on the other syde to engendre a hatred and irkesomnesse therof: whoe dare caull that thei are superfluous? If any manne require a plainer aunswere, let him take thys: God woorketh after twoo sortes in hys electe, inwardly by his spirite, outwardly by his worde: By his spirite, by enlyghtninge theyr myndes, by framinge their heartes to the loue and keepinge of iustice, hee maketh them a newe creature: By his worde, he stirreth them to desire, to seke and atteine the same renuinge: by them bothe hee sheweth fourth the effectuall woorkinge of his hande, accordyng to the proportion of his dystributio. When hee sendeth the same worde to the reprobate, though he not for their amendement, yet hee maketh it to serue for an other vse: that bothe for the present time thei maie bee pressed with witnesse of conscience, and maye againste the daie of iudgemente bee made more inexcusable. So though hee pronounce that no manne commeth to hym, but whome the father draweth, and that the electe do come when thei haue hearde and learned of the father: yet doothe not hee neglecte the office of a teacher, but with his voice dyligentlie calleth them, whome it necessarily behoueth to bee inwardly taughte by the holly Ghooste, that thei maie any thinge profyte. And Paule

Ezech. xii.

Ihon. vj. xliij.

ij. Cor. ij. xvi.

Thei be verye laborious in heapinge together of testimonies of Scripture: and that they dooe of purpose, that when thei canne not oppresse vs wyth weyghte, thei maie yet with numbres. But as in battelles, when it commeth to hande strookes, the weaker multitude how muche pompe and shewe soeuer it hath, is with a fewe stripes discom-

6



fyted and putte to flyghte : so shall yt bee verye easye for vs to  
 ouerthrowe them wyth all theyr route. For, bycause the places that  
 they abuse agaynste vs, when they are ones dyuyded into theyr oꝝ  
 dres, do meete vpon a fewe specyall poyntes, wee shall wyth one aun-  
 swere satysfye many of them : therefore yt shall not bee needefull to  
 tarrye vpon dyssoluyngge euerye one of them partycularlye . Theyr  
 cheefe force they sette in the commaundementes, whyche they thynke  
 to bee so tempered to oure strengthes, that what soeuer ys proued  
 to bee requyred by the one, yt necessarylye foloweth that yt maye  
 bee perfourmed by the other . And therefore they runne throughe e-  
 uerye of the commaundementes, and by them doe measure the pro-  
 portion of oure strengthe . For ( saye they ) eyther God mocketh vs  
 when hee chargeth vs wyth hollynesse, godlynesse, obedyence, chas-  
 titie, loue, and mekenesse : and when hee forbiddeth vs vncleannesse,  
 ydolatrie, vnchastenesse, wraathe, robberye, pryde, and suche lyke : oꝝ  
 hee requyreth onely those thynges that are in oure power . Nowe, we  
 maye dyuyde into thre sortes in manner all the commaundementes  
 that they heape together . Some requyre oure fyrste conuersion  
 to God, some speake simply of the keepyngge of the lawe : some com-  
 maunde vs to contynue in the grace of God that wee haue receyued.  
 Fyrste lette vs speake of them all in generalitie, and then descende  
 to the specyall sortes . To extende the power of manne to the com-  
 maundementes of the lawe, hath in deede longe agoe begonne to  
 bee commune, and hath some shewe : butte yt proceded from mooste  
 rude ignoraunce of the lawe . For they that thynke yt a heynous  
 offence, yt yt bee sayde that the keepyngge of the lawe ys ympos-  
 sible, do reste forsoothe vpon thys mooste stronge argumente, that ells the  
 lawe was geuen in vayne . For they speake in suche sorte as yt  
 Paule hadde noe where spoken of the lawe . For, I beseeche them,  
 what meane these sayinges, that the lawe was sette bycause of trans-  
 gressions : That by the lawe ys the knoweledge of synne : That the  
 lawe maketh synne: that the lawe entred, that synne myght abounde:  
 was yt meante that the lawe was to bee lymyted to oure strengthes,  
 leaste yt shoulde bee geuen in vayne : oꝝ rather that yt was sette farre  
 aboue vs to conuince oure weakenesse : Truely by the same mans de-  
 fynition, the ende and fullfyllngge of the lawe ys Charytye . Butte  
 when hee wysheth the myndes of the Thessalonians to bee fylled  
 wyth charitie, hee dothe sufficientlye confesse, that the lawe soundeth  
 in oure eares wythoute profyte, vnlesse God inspire the whole summe  
 thereof in oure heartes.

Sala. iij.  
 r.  
 Rom. iij.  
 rr.  
 Rom. viij.  
 vii.  
 Tim. i. v.  
 Phel. iij.  
 r.

7

Truely, yt the Scrypture dyd teache nothyngge ells, butte that  
 the lawe ys a rule of lyfe where vnto wee oughte to frame oure ende-  
 uours, I woulde also wythoute delaye agree to theyr opinion : but  
 whereras yt dothe dyligently and playnely declare vnto vs the many-  
 folde vble of the lawe : yt ys conueniente rather to consyder by that  
 interpretation, what the lawe maye doe in manne . For so muche as  
 concerneth thys presente cause : yt teacheth that so sone as yt  
 hath appoynted what wee oughte to dooe, the power to obeye  
 commeth



com:nethe of the goodnesse of God, and therefore moueth vs to prayer, whereby wee maye requyre to haue it giuen vs. If there were ouelye the commaundemente and no promise, then were oure strengthe to be tryed whether they were sufficient to answer the commaundement, but syth ther are promyses ioyned wythall, whiche crye oute, that not onely oure aide, but also all oure whole power consyseth in the helpe of Gods grace, they do testifie enoughe and more, that we are altogetheer vnsuffite, muche more insufficent to keepe the lawe. Wherefore let thys proportion of oure strengthes wyth the commaundementes of Gods lawe be no more enforced, as if the Lorde hadde measured the rule of iustice, whiche hee purposed to geue in his lawe, accordynge to the rate of oure weakenesse. Rather by hys promyses wee oughte to consyder, howe vnbredye wee are of oure selues whyche in euerye behalfe do so muche neede hys grace. But whoe (saye they) shall be perswaded that it is lyke to be true, that the Lorde appointed his lawe to stockes and stones? Neyther dothe any manne goe aboute to perswade yt. For the wycked are neyther stockes nor stones; when beyng taughte by the lawe that theyr lustes do stryue agaynst God, they are proued gyltye by theyr owne wytenesse. Nor yet the godly, when beeyng putte in mynde of theyr weakenesse, they flee vnto grace. For whyche purpose serue these sayinges of Augustine. The Lorde commaundeth those thynges that we can not do, that wee maye knowe what wee oughte to aske of hym. Greate is the profite of the commaundements, yt so muche bee geuen to free wyll, that the grace of God bee the more honoured. Faythe obtayneth that whyche the lawe commaundeth, yea the laws therefore commaundeth, that faythe maye obtayne that whyche was commaunded by the lawe: yea God requyret faythe yt selfe of vs, and fyndeth not what to requyre, vnesse hee geue what to fynde. Agayne, Let God geue what hee commaundeth, & commaunde what he wyll.

That shall more plainely bee seen in reherlinge the three sortes of commaundementes which we touched before. The Lorde oftentimes commaundeth bothe in the lawe and in the Prophetes, that we be conuerted vnto hym. But on the other syde, the Prophete answereth, Conuerte me, Lorde, and I shall be conuerted: for after that thou didst conuerte me, I repented &c. He commaundeth vs to circumcise the vncircumcised kynne of oure hearte: and by Moses he declareth þ thys circumcision is done by his owne hande. He eche wher requireth newnesse of hearte, but in an other place hee testifieth þ it is geuen by himselfe. That whyche God promyseth (saith Augustine) we do not by free wil or nature, but he himselfe doth it by grace. And this is þ same note that he himselfe reherseth in the v. place among the rules of Ticonius, þ we wel make difference betwene the lawe & the promyses, or betwene the commaundementes & grace. Nowe let them goe, that gather by the commaundementes whether man be able to do any thing toward obediences in suche sorte þ thei destroye the grace of God, by whyche þ commaundementes them selues are fulfillled. The commaundemets of the seconde sorte are symple, by whyche wee are bydden to honour God, to serue & cleaue vnto hys wyll, to kepe hys commaundemtes to fo-

In Enchir.  
ad Lau. de  
grat. & li.  
arb. ca. 26.  
Hom. 29. is  
1041.

Epist. 24.

3  
10cl. 2. 12. 1  
1ere. 31. 18.

Deut. 10. 16  
& 30. 26.  
Eze. 36. 26.

Lib. de Do.  
Christi. 3. 12



same his doctrine. But there are unnumerable places that doe testi-  
 fy that it is his gyft what so ever ryghteousnesse, holynesse, godlinesse  
 or puritie may bee had. Of the thirde sorte was that exhortacion of  
 Paul and Barnabas to the faithfull, whiche is rehearsed by Luke,  
 that they shoulde abyde in the grace of God. But from whence that  
 strengthe of constancie is to be had, the same Paul teacheth in an o-  
 ther place. That remaineth, sayeth he, brethren, bee ye stronge  
 through the Lorde. In an other place he forbyddeth vs, that we doe  
 not greue the spirite of God, wherewith we are sealed vnto the  
 daye of our redemption. But because the thyng that he there re-  
 quireth, could not be performed by men, therefore he wysheth it, to the  
 Thessalonians, from God, namely, that he woulde reckon them wor-  
 thy of his holy calling, and fulfill all the purpose of his goodnesse,  
 and the woорke of faythe in them. Lykewyse in the seconde Epistle to  
 the Corinthians, entreating of almes, he oftentynes commaundeth  
 theyr good and godlye will: yet a litle after, he thanketh God that put  
 it in the hearte of Titus, to take vpon hym to geue exhortacion. If  
 Titus coulde not so muche as vse the office of his mouthe to exhorte  
 other, but only so farre as God did put it vnto hym, howe shoulde o-  
 ther haue bene wyllinge to doe, vntlesse God hym selfe had directed  
 their heartes.

The craftier sorte of them doe cauyl at all these testimonies: be-  
 cause there is no impediment, but that wee maye ioyne our owne  
 strengthes, and God to helpe our weake endeouours. They byng also  
 places out of the Prophetes, where the effect of our conuersion see-  
 meth to bee parted in halfe betwene God and vs. Tourne ye to me,  
 and I will tourne to you. What maner of help the Lord byngeth vs,  
 we haue aboue shewed, and it is not nedefull here to repete it. This  
 one thyng I woulde haue graunted me, that it is vaniely gathered  
 that there is requyred in vs a power to fulfill the lawe, because God  
 dothe comaunde the sbedience of it: for as much as it is euident, that  
 for the fulfillyng of all the commaundementes of God, the grace of the  
 lawe geuer is bothe necessary for vs and promysed vnto vs. Thereby  
 then it appeareth, that at least there is more required of vs than we  
 are able to paye. And that saying of Hieremie can not be wyped away  
 with any cauillatiōs: that the couenaunt of God made with the aun-  
 cient people, was boyde, because it was only literall, and that it coulde  
 no otherwyle bee stablyshed, than when the spirite cometh vnto it,  
 whiche frameth the heartes to obedience. Neither dothe that saying,  
 Tourne ye to me, and I will tourne vnto you, fauour their error. for  
 there is meant, not that turning of God, wherewith he renueth  
 oure heartes to repentaunce, but wherewith hee by prosperitie  
 of thynges dothe declare hym selfe fauourable and merciful: as by ad-  
 uersitie he sometime sheweth his displeasure. Where as therefore the  
 people being vered with many sortes of miseries and calamities, dyd  
 complayne that God was turned awaye from them: he aunswereth,  
 that they shall not be destitute of his fauour, if they retourne to vp-  
 rightnesse of lyfe, and to hym selfe that is the patern of righteous-  
 nesse: Therefore the place is wrongfully wrested, when it is dra-  
 wen to this pourpose, that the woорke of our conuersion shoulde  
 seme to

Eph. vi.  
col.Eph. iii.  
M.

Thes. vi.

ii. Co. viii  
E.

Zach. ii.

Jer. xii. ii



seeme to bee parted betwixte God and men. These thynges we haue comprehended so muche the shortelyer, bycause the propre place for this matter shall bee where we entreate of the Lawe.

The seconde sorte of their argumentes is muche like vnto the fyrst. They alledge the promyses wherby God dothe couenaunt wyth oure will, of whiche sorte are, Seeke good and not euell, and ye shall liue. If ye will and do heare; ye shall eat the good thynges of the earth: but if ye will not, the sworde shall deuoure you, bicause the Lordes mouth hath spoken it. Againe, If thou put awaie thine abominations oute of my syght, then shalt thou not be dryuen oute: If thou shalt obeye delygently the voyce of the Lorde thy God, and obserue and do all hys commaundementes whiche I commaunde thee this daye, then the Lorde thy God wyll set the on hye aboue all the nations of the earth. And other lyke. Thei do inconueniently & as it wer in mockerie thinke, that these benefites whiche the Lorde dothe offer in hys promyses, are assigned to oure owne wyll: vnlesse it were in vs to stablyshe them or make them voyde. And ryght easye yt is to amplifie this matter wyth eloquent complaintes, that the Lorde dothe cruelly mocke vs, when he pronounceth that his fauoure hangeth vpon oure wyll, yf the same wyll be not in oure power: And that this liberalitie of God should bee a goodly thyng forsoothe, yf hee so sette his benefytes before vs that wee haue no power to vse them: and a merueylous assurednesse of his promyses, whiche hange vpon a thinge impossyble, so as they myghte neuer be fulfilled. But of suche promyses as haue a condition adiomed, we will speake in an other place: so that it shall be plaine, that there is no absurditie in the impossyble fullfyllinge of them. And for so muche as concerneth this place: I denye that God dothe vngently mocke vs. when he moueth vs to deserue hys benefytes, whome hee knoweth to be vtterly vnable to do it. For whereas the promyses are offered both to the faythefull and to the wycked, they haue theyr vse wyth bothe sortes. As God wyth hys commaundementes prycketh the consciens of the wycked, that they shoulde not so sweetely take pleasure in theyr synnes, wythout any remembrance of hys iudgementes: so in his promyses he dothe in a manner take them to wytnesse, howe vnwoorthye they are of hys goodnesse. For who canne denye that it is mooste ryghtfull and conuenyent, that the Lorde do good to them of whome he ys honored, and punyssh the despylers of hys Maiestye, accordinge to his Seueritie. Therefore God dothe well and ordrely, when in his promyses hee adioyneth this condytpyon to the wicked that are bounde with the fethers of synne, that they shall then onely enioye hys benefytes, yf they departe from their wyckednesse: or for this purpose onelye, that they maye vnderstande that they are woorthyllye excluded from these thynges, that are due to the true woorthypers of God. Againe, bycause hee seeketh by all meanes to styre vp the faythefull to call vpon hys grace, yt shall not bee inconuenyent, yf hee attempte the same thyng also by promyses, whiche wee haue shewed that hee hath donne to greate profyte wyth commaundementes towarde them. Beynge enflourmed of the wyll of God, by hys commaundementes, we are put in minde of our miserie, whiche do wythal our heart so farre dissent fro the same, & we be therewithal prycked forward to call

10

Amos. 5.

14.

Eia. 5. 16

Ier. 4. 1.

Deu. 28. 1

Leu. 26. 3.

vpon



upon his spirit, whereby we may be directed into the ryght waye. But because our sluggishnesse is not sufficientlie sharpened with commaundementes, there are added promises whiche with a certayne sweetenesse may allure vs to the loue of them. And that the more desyre that we haue of rightuousnesse, we may bee the more feruent to seeke the fauour of God. Loe home in these requestes, (If you wyll: If you shall heare,) the Lorde neyther geueth vs power to wyll nor to heare, and yet mocketh vs not for our want of power.

21 The thyrd sort of their argumentes, hath also great affinitie with the twoo fourmer. for they bryng fourth the places wherein God reprocheth the vnthankfull people, and sayeth that they them selues onlye were the cause that they receyued not of his tender loue all kyndes of good thynges. Of whiche sorte are these places. Amaleck and the Chanance are before you, with whose swerde you shall fall, because ye would not obeye the Lorde, because I called and ye aunswered not, I wyll doe to this house as I did to Silo. Agayne, this nation hath not hearde the voyce of the Lorde their God, nor hath receyued discipline, therefore it is cast away from the Lorde. Agayne, because ye haue hardened your hearte and would not obey the Lord, all these euilles are happened vnto you. Howe (saye they,) could suche reproches be layde agaynst them whiche myght redely aunswere: As for vs, we loued prosperitie, and feared aduersitie. But where as for to obteyne the one and auoyde the other, we obeyed not the Lorde, nor hearkened to his voyce: this was the cause therof, for that it was not at our lybertie so to doe, because we were subiect to the dominion of synne. Waynly therefore are these euylles layde to our charge, which it was not in our power to auoyde. But leuyng the pretense of necessitie, wherein they haue but a weake and sickly defence, I aske of them whether they can purge them selues of all fault. for if they be founde guilty of any faulte, then the Lorde doeth not without cause reproche them, that it came to passe by their peruelnesse, that they felt not the fruite of his clemencie. Let them aunswere therefore, whether they can denie, that theyr frawarde wyll was the cause of theyr stubbournesse. If they fynde the spyng head of the euyll within them selues, why gape they to fynde out foieine causes, that they myght seme not to haue bene authours of their owne destruction: But if it be true that by their owne faulte and none others, synners are bothe deprived of the benefites of God, and chastised with punishmentes, then is there great reason why they should heare these reproches at the mouthe of God: that if they goc obstinately forwarde in their faultes, they maye learne in their miseries rather to accuse and abhorre their owne wickednesse, than to blame God of vniust crueltie: that if they haue not cast of all wyllhynnesse to learne, they may be wery of theyr synnes, by the deseruynges whereof they see them selues miserable and vndone; and maye retourne into the waye, and acknowledge the same wyth earnest confession whyche the Lorde rehearseth in chydyng them. For whyche purpose it appeareth by the solempne prayer of Daniel, whyche is in the ninth Chapter, that those chydynges of the Prophetes whiche are alledged, did auayle with the Godlye. Of the fyrst vse wee see an example in the Jewes, to whome Hieremie is

commaunded

Sam. xliij  
xliij.

Ier. xxxij  
xij.

Ier. xxxij.

Dan. ix.



commaunded to declare the cause of their miseries, whereas yet it should  
 not haue fallen otherwise than the Lorde had foresaide. Thou shalt  
 speake vnto them all these wordes, and they shall not heare thee: thou  
 shalt call them, and they shall not answer thee. To what ende then  
 did they singe to deafe men: that bringe euen lothe and vnwillinge, yet  
 they shoulde vnderstande that it was true that they heard, that it were  
 wicked sacrilege if they should lay vpon God y<sup>e</sup> blame of their euels which  
 rested in them selues. By these fewe solutions thou maist easily deliuer  
 thy selfe from the infinite heape of testimonies, whiche, for to erecte an  
 image of free will, the enemies of the grace of God are wont to gather  
 together, as well oute of the commaundementes as oute of the protec-  
 tations againste the professors of the lawe. It is reprochefully spoken,  
 in the Psalm concerninge the Jewes: A frowarde generation that  
 haue not made theyr hearte streight. Also in an other Psalm, the Pro-  
 phete exhorteth the men of hys age, not to harden theyr heartes, and  
 that bycause all the faulte of obstynacie remaineth in the peruersenesse  
 of men. But it is fondely gathered thereof, that the hearte is pliable to  
 either side, the preparinge whereof is onely of God. The Prophet saith:  
 I haue enclyned my hearte to keepe thy commaundementes: bycause  
 he had willingly and with a cherefull earnest affection of minde ad-  
 dycted himselfe to God, and yet he dothe not boaste him selfe to bee the  
 author of his owne inclination, which he confesseth in the same Psalm  
 to be the gyfte of God. Therefore we muste holde in minde the admoni-  
 tion of Paule, where he biddeth the faithfull to worke their owne sal-  
 uation with feare and trembling, bicause it is the Lorde that worketh  
 bothe the willinge and the performinge. In deede hee assigneth them  
 offices, to be doinge, that they shoulde not geue them selues to slug-  
 gishnesse of the fleshe: but in that hee commaundeth them to haue feare  
 and carefullnesse, he so humbleth them, that they may remembre that  
 the same thing whiche they are commaunded to do, is the propre worke  
 of God, wherein he plainly expresseth, that the faithfull worke, pas-  
 siuely, as I may so call it, in so muche as power is ministred them from  
 Heauen, that they shoulde cleame nothinge at all to them selues. Where-  
 fore when Peter exhorteth vs that we shoulde adde power in fayth, he  
 graunteth not vnto vs a seconde office, as if we shoulde do any thyng  
 generally by oure selues, but onely he awaketh the slothfullnesse of the  
 fleshe, wherewith commonlye fayth yt selfe is choked. To the same  
 purpose seemeth that sayinge of Paule: Extinguyshe not the spirite.  
 for slouthfullnesse dothe oftentimes crepe vpon the faythfull, yf it be  
 not corrected. Butte yf any manne conclude there vpon, that yt ys in  
 theyr owne choysse to cheryshe the lyghte beyng offred them, his igno-  
 rance shall bee easily confuted: bycause the selfe same dilygence that  
 Paule requyrez, cometh onely from God. For we are also oftentimes  
 commaunded to purge oure selues from all fylthynesse: whereas the  
 holy ghoste dothe clayme to hym selfe alone the offyce of makinge ho-  
 ly. Finally that by waye of grauntynge the same thyng, is conueyed  
 to vs that properly belongeth to God, is playne by the wordes of  
 Iohn: Whofocuer ys of God, saueh hym selfe. The aduancers of free-  
 wyll take holde of thys sayinge, as yf wee were saued partely by  
 the power of God, partely by oure owne: as though wee had not from  
 heauen

Iere. 44.  
xxv.P. lxxviiij.  
vii.  
Psal. 16.  
v. g.P. C. xij.  
C. ij.Philip. 2.  
19.

E. P. 1. 13

1. Thes.  
1. 11.

1. Cor. 13.

1. Iohn. 5.  
19.



heauen the very same safe keeping, wherof the Apostle maketh mention. For whiche cause, Christ also praieth his father to saue vs from euill, and we knowe that the godly, whyle they warre against Satan, do get the victory by no other armie and weapons, but by the armure and weapons of God. Wherfore when Peter commaunded vs, to purifie our soules in the obedience of truthe; he by and by addeth as by way of correction, (by the holy ghoste.) Finally, how all mans strength are of no force in the spirituall battell, John brieely sheweth, when he sayth, that they whiche are begottē of God, can not sinne, because the sede of God abideth in them. And in an other place, he randreth a reason why: for that our faith is the victory that ouercometh the worlde.

Yet there is alleged a testimonie out of the lawe of Moses, whiche seemeth to be muche against our saluation. For after the publishing of the lawe, he protesteth vnto the people in this maner. The commaundement that I commaunde thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither far of: It is not in heauen, but hard by thee, it is in thy mouthe and in thy hearte, thou shouldest do it.

Truely if this be taken to be spoken of the bare commaundementes, I graunt they be of no smal weight to this present matter. For though it were easy to mocke it out with saying, that here is spoken not of the easinesse and readinesse of obseruation, but of knowledge: yet euen so, peraduenture it would also leaue some doubt. But the Apostle whiche is no doubtfull expositour, taketh away all doubt from vs, whiche affirmeth that Moses here spake of the doctrine of  $\text{h}$  Gospell. But if any obstinate man wyll say, that Paul violently wrested those wordes, that they myght be drawen to the Gospell: although his boldnesse so to say shall not be without impietie, yet is there sufficient matter beside the authoritie of the Apostle to couince him withal. For if Moses spake of the commaundementes only, then he puffeth by the people with a moste vaine confidence. For what shoulde they els haue done, but throwen them selues downe hedlonge, if they had taken vpon them the keeping of the lawe by their owne strengthe, as a thing not heard for them: Where is the that so ready easinesse to keepe the lawe, where there is no accesse vnto it, but by a hedlong fall to destruction: Wherfore there is nothing more certaine, than that Moses in these wordes did meane the couenant of mercie, whiche he had published together with the streight requiting of the lawe. For in a fewe verses before he had taught, that our heartes must be circumcised by the hand of God, that we may loue him. Therfore he placed  $\text{h}$  easinesse, wherof he streightway after speaketh, not in the strength of man, but in the helpe & succour of the holy ghost, which performeth his worke mightily in our weakenesse. Albeit the place is not simply to be vnderstanded of the commaundementes, but rather of the promises of the Gospell, whiche are so far from stablyshing a power in vs to obtaine righteousnesse, that they vtterly querthrowe it. Paule considering that same, proueth by this testimonie, that saluation is offred vs in the Gospell, not vnder that hard and impossible condition, wherewith the lawe dealeth with vs, that is, that they only shall attayne it whiche haue fulfilled all the commaundementes, but vnder a condition that is easy, ready, and playne to come vnto. Therfore this testimony maketh nothing to

Joh. xviij.

i. Pet. i. xxiij.

i. Joh. iij. ii.

i. Joh. v. iij.

L. 2.

Deut. xxx. xi.

Ro. x. viij.

Deut. xxi. viij.



thyng to chalenge freedomē to the will of man.

There are also certayne other places wonte to be obiected, whete by is shewed that God sometime, withdrawyng the succour of his grace, tryeth menne, and wayteth to see to what ende they will applye theyr endeuours, as is that place in Deee: I will goe to my place till they putte it in their heart and seeke my face. It were a sonde thyng (saye they) yf the Lorde should consider whether Israell would seeke his face, vnlesse their myndes were pliable that they might after theyr owne will incline themselues to the one side or the other. As though this were not a thinge commonly vbled with God in the Prophetes, to make a shewe as yf he did despise and caste awaye his people, till they haue amended their life. But what will the aduersaries gather out of suche thzreateninges: If they meane to gather, that the people beyng forsaken of God, maye purpose their owne saluation: all the Scripture shall crye out agaynste them in so doying. If they confesse that the grace of God is necessarie to conuersion, why stryue they wyth vs: But they so graunt it necessarie, that still they will haue mans power preserued vnto him. Howe proue they that? truely not by this place, nor any like to it. For it one thyng, to departe aside from manne, and to loke what he will doe beyng geuen ouer and leste to him selfe, and an other thyng to helpe his litle strength after the measure of his weakenesse. What then (will some manne saye) doe these manners of speakyng meane: I answer that they are as muche in effecte, as yf God had sayde: For as muche as I pzeuayle nothyng wyth this stubbozne people by admonishyng, exhortyng and rebukyng, I will withdrawe my selfe a while: and sitte still and suffer them to be afflicted: I will see yf at length, after longe miseries, they wil begynne to remember me, to seeke my face. The Lordes goyng farre awaye, signifieth the takyng awaye of Prophecie: his lookyng what menne will doe, signifieth that he keepyng silence, and as it were hidyng hym selfe, dothe for a time exercise them with diuerse afflictions. Bothe these thynges he dothe to humble vs the more. For we should soner bee dulled than amended, wyth the scourges of aduersitie, vnlesse he dyd frame vs to that tractablenesse by his Spirite. Nowe whereas the Lorde beyng offended, and in a manner wried with our obstinate stubboznesse, dothe not for a time leaue vs (that is by takyng awaye his worde in whyche he is wonte to geue vs a certayne presence of hym selfe) and dothe make a proufe what we would doe in his absence, it is falsly gathered hereof that there is any strength of freewill that he should beholde and trie, for asmuch as he doth it to no other end, but to dzyue vs to acknowledge our owne beyng nothyng.

They bryng also for their defence the continuall manner of speakyng, that is vbled bothe in the Scriptures & in the talke of men. For good workes are called oures, and it is no lesse sayd that we doe the thing that is holy and pleasyng to God, than that we commit sinnes. But if sinnes be iustly imputed to vs, as procedyng from vs, truely in righteous doynges also somewhat by the same reason ought to be assigned vnto vs, for it were against reson that it should be sayd that



We do those thinges, to the doying whereof beyng vnable of our owne  
 motion, we are moued by God like stones. Therefore though we geue  
 the chiefe parte to the grace of God, yet these māners of speakyng do  
 shewe that our endeouour hath also yet a seconde parte. If that thyng  
 onely were still enforced, that good woꝝkes are called oures, I would  
 obiecte agayne, that the bread is called oures, which we pray to haue  
 geuen vs of God. What will they gette by the title of possession, but  
 that by the bountifullnesse and free giste of God, the same thyng beco-  
 meth oures, whiche otherwise is not due vnto vs? Therefore eyther  
 let them laugh at the same absurditie in the Lordes prayer, or let  
 them not recken this to be laughed at, that good woꝝkes are called  
 oures, in which we haue no pꝛopertie, but by the liberalitie of God.  
 But this is somwhat stronger, that the Scripture oftentimes affir-  
 meth that we our selues do woꝝship God, obey the law, & applie good  
 woꝝkes. Sithe these are the duties properly belongyng to the minde  
 & will: howe could it agree that these thinges are both referred to the  
 holy ghost, and also attributed to vs, vnlesse there were a certaine co-  
 municating of our endeouour w<sup>th</sup> the power of God: Out of these snares  
 we shal easily vntwinde our selues, if we wel consider the manner how  
 the spirit of the Lord woꝝketh in the holy ones. The similitude where-  
 with they enuiously pꝛesse vs is from the purpose, for who is so sonde  
 to thinke that the mouing of mā differeth nothing from the casting of  
 a stone? Neither doth any such thing solow of our doctrine. We recken  
 among the natural powers of man, to allow & refuse, to wil & not wil,  
 to endeouour and to resist, that is, to allowe vanitie and to refuse per-  
 fect goodnesse, to will euell and to be vnwillyng to good, to endeouour  
 our selues to wickednesse and to resist righteousnesse. What doth the  
 Lord herein? If it be his will to vse that peruerlnesse as an instrumēt  
 of his wꝛath, he directeth and appointeth it to what ende he wil, that  
 he by an euell hande maye execute his good woꝝke. Shall we then  
 compare a wicked manne that so serueth the power of God, when he  
 laboreth only to obey his owne lust, to a stone that beyng throwē by  
 the violence of an other, is caried neither with mouing nor sense nor  
 will of his owne? We see how much differēce there is. But what doth  
 he in good thinges, of which is our yꝛincipal question: whē he erecteth  
 his kingdome in them, he by his spirit restrayneth mans will, that it be  
 not carried by and downe with wanderyng lustes, accoꝝdyng to the  
 inclination of nature: & that it may be bent to holinesse and righteous-  
 nesse, he boweth, frameth, fashioneth and directeth it to the rule of his  
 righteousnesse: and that it should not stumbe or fall, he doth stablisch  
 and confirme it with the strength of his spirit. For which reason Au-  
 gustine sayth: Thou wilt saye vnto me: then we are wꝛought, & woꝝke  
 not. yea thou both woꝝkest and art wꝛought, and thou woꝝkest well  
 whē thou art wꝛought of that which is good. The spirit of God that  
 woꝝketh thee, helpeth them that woꝝke, and geueth him self the name  
 of a helper, for that thou also woꝝkest somwhat. In the firste parte he  
 teacheth, that mans woꝝkyng is not taken awaye by the mouyng of  
 the holy ghost, bicause will is of nature, whiche is ruled to aspire to  
 goodnesse. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of help,  
 may be gathered that we also do woꝝke somwhat, we ought not so to



take it, as if he did geue any thinge seuerally to vs: but bycause he would not cherish stouthfulnesse in vs, he so matcheth the woorking of God with oures, that to wil may be of nature, & to will well of grace. Therfoze he sayd a litle befoze, Unlessse God helpe vs, we shal not be able to ouercome, no noz yet to fight at all.

Hereby appereth, that the grace of God (as the word is takē when we speake of regeneration) is the rule of the spirit, to direct and gouerne the will of manne. And it can not gouerne it, vnlesse it correct it, refozme it, and renewe it (from whence we saye that the beginnyng of regeneration is, that that which oures might be destroyed) and vnlesse it moue it, stirre it, dzyue it forward, carry it and hold it. Whereupon we do truely saye, that al the doynge that procede from it, are wholly the only wozke of the same grace. In the meane time we denie not that it is very true that Augustine teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repayzed. For bothe these thinges doe stand very well together: that mens will be sayd to be restozed, when the faultinesse and peruersenesse thereof beyng refozmed, it is directed to the true rule of iustice: and also that a newe will be sayde to be created in manne, for asmuch as it is so defiled and cozrupted, that it needeth vtterly to put on a newe nature. Nowe is there no cause to the contrarie, but that we maye well be sayde to doe the same thyng that the spirit of God doth in vs, although our owne will do of it self geue vs toward it nothing at all, that may be seuered from his grace. And therfoze we muste kepe that in minde, which we haue els where alledged out of Augustine, that some do in vayne trauayle to finde in the will of manne some good thinge that is proprely her owne. For what so euer mixture men studie to bynge from the strength of free will to the grace of God, it is nothing but a cozruptyng of it, as if a manne would delay wine with dirty and bitter water. But although what so euer good is in the will of manne, it procedeth from the mere instincte of the holy ghozte, yet bicause it is naturally planted in vs to will, it is not wythout cause sayd, that we do those thinges whereof God chalenge the prayse to him selfe. Firste, bycause it is oures what so euer by his goodnesse he wozketh in vs, so that we vnderstand it to be not of our selues: and then bycause the minde is oures, the will is oures, the endeuour is oures, whiche are by him directed to good.

Those other testimonies beside these, that they scrape together here & there, shal not much trouble euen meane whittes that haue wel conceiued only the solutions aboue sayd. They allege that sayeng out of Genesis, Thine appetite shalbe vnder thee, and thou shalt beare rule ouer it. Whiche they expound of sinne, as yf the Lord did promise to Cain, that the force of sinne shoulde not get the vpper hande in his minde, yf he would labour in subdupng of it. But we saye that it better agreeth with the ozder of the text, that this be taken to be spoken of Abel. For there Gods purpose was to reprove the wickednesse of the enuie that Cain had conceiued against his brother. And that he doth two wayes. One, that in vayne he imagined mischief to excell his brother in Gods sight, befoze whome no honour is geuen but vnto righteousnesse: the other, that he was to much vnthāksful for the



benefite of God which he had already receyued, which could not abide his bzother, although he had him subiect vnder his authoritie. But lest we shoulde seme therefoze to embrace this exposition, bicause the other is agaynst vs: let vs admitt that God spake of sinne. If it be so, then God eyther promisseth or commaundeth that whiche he there declareth. If he commaundeth, then haue we already shewed that thereby foloweth no prooze of the power of manne. If he promisseth, where is the fulfillng of the promise: for Cain became subiecte to sinne, ouer whiche he shoulde haue had dominion. They will saye, that in the promise was included a secrete condition, as yf it had ben sayd, that he shoulde haue the victorie yf he would stryue for it. But who will receyue these croked compasses: For yf this dominion be meante of sinne, then no man can doubt that it is spoken by way of commaundement, wherein is not determined what we are able to doe, but what we ought to doe, yea though it be aboue our power. Albeit bothe the matter it selfe and the order of Grammer doe require, that there be a comparision made of Cain and Abel, bicause the elder bzother shoulde not haue ben set behinde the yonger, vnlesse he had become worse by his owne wicked doyng.

17  
Bo. 12. fol.

They vse also the testimonie of the Apostle, whiche sayth, that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. Whereby they gather that there is somewhat in mans will and endeouour, whiche of it selfe, though it be weake, beyng holpen by the mercie of God, is not without prosperous successe. But if they did soberly weye what matter Paule there entreteth of, they woulde not so vnadvisedly abuse this sentence. I know that they may bring forth Origen and Hierome for maintainers of their exposition: and I could on the other side set Augustine against the. But what they haue thought, it maketh no mater to vs, if we know what Paule meante. There he teacheth that saluation is prepared only for the, to whome the lord vouchsaueth to graunt his mercie: & that ruine & destructio is prepared for al those that he hath not chosen. He had vnder the example of Pharao declared the state of the reprobzate, and had also confirmed the assurednesse of free election by the testimonie of Moses, I will haue mercie vpon whome I will haue mercie. Nowe he concludeth, that it is not of him that willeth, or him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. If it be thus vnderstanded, that will or endeouour are not sufficient, bicause they are to weake for so great a weight, that whiche Paule sayth, had not ben aptly spoken: Therfoze awaye with these succelties, to saye: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, therfoze there is some will, there is some running. For Paules meaning is moze simply, thus: It is not will, it is not running that get vs the waye to saluation, herein is only the mercie of God. For he speaketh no other wise in this place than he doth to Titus, where he writeth, that the goodnesse and kindenesse of God appereh not by the woorkes of righteousnesse, whiche we haue done, but for his infinite mercie. They theselues y make this argument, that Paul meante that there is some will & some running, bicause he saide, that is not of him y willeth nor of him that runneth, would not geue me leaue to reason after the same fashion, that we haue done some good woorkes, bicause  
Paule

Lib. 7. in  
epist. ad  
Rom.  
Hiero. dial.  
in Pela.

Tit. 11. 11.



Paule sayeth, that we haue not attained the goodnesse of God by the good workes that we haue done. If they see a fault in this argumēt, let them open their eyes, and they shall perceiue that their owne is not without the like deceite. For that is a sure reason that Augustine re-  
 steth vpon, If it were therelofore sayd that it is not of him that willeth; noz of him that runneth, bicause neyther the will noz the runnyng is sufficient. Then it maye be turned on the contrarie parte that it is not of the mercie of God, bycause it alone worketh not. Sithe this seconde is an absurditie, Augustine doth rightfully conclude, that this is spoken to this meanyng, that there is no good will of man, vnlesse it be prepared of the Lord, not but that we ought bothe to wil and to runne, but bicause God worketh bothe in vs. No lesse vnaptly doe some wreste that sayeng of Paule: We are the workers with God,  
 whiche out of doubt ought to be restrayned only to the ministers: and that they are called workers with him, not that they bryng any thing of themselues, but bycause God vseth their seruice, after that he hath made them mete and furnished with necessarie giftes.

They bryng forth Ecclesiasticus, whoe, as it is not vnknown, is a wryter of whole authoritie is doubted. But although we refuse it not (whiche yet we maye lawfully doe) what doth he testifie for freewill: He sayeth, that man so sone as he was created, was lefte in the hande of his owne counsell: that commaundementes were geuen him, which if he obserued, he should agayne be preserued by them: that befoze manne was set life and death, good and euell: that what so euer he would, should be geuen hym. Be it, that manne receyued from his creation power to obtaine eyther life oz death. What if on the other side we aunswere that he losse it: Cruely my minde is not, to speake agaynst Salomon, whiche affirmeth that man at the beginnyng was create vpright, and he forged vnto himselfe many inuentions. But bycause manne in swaruyng, losse as it were by shipwrecke bothe him selfe and all his good thinges, it foloweth not by and by, that all that is geuen to his firste creation belongeth to his nature beyng corrupted and degenerate. Therefore I answere, not to them onely, but also to Ecclesiasticus him selfe what so euer he be. If thou meane to instruct man, to seke within him selfe power to attaine saluation, thy authoritie is not of so great force with vs, that it maye be any pzeuidice, be it neuer so small, against the vndoubted worde of God. But if thou only studie to restrayne the malice of the flesh, whiche in layeng the blame of her owne euels vpon God, vseth to seke a bayne defense for it selfe, and therelofore thou answerest that vprightnesse was geuen vnto men, whereby it maye appere that him selfe was cause of his owne destruction, I willingly agree vnto it: so that againe thou agree in this with me, that nowe by his owne faulte he is spoyled of those ornaments, wherewith God had clothed him at the beginnyng: and that so we confesse together, that now he more needeth a Phylician than a Defender.

Yet they haue nothing oftener in their mouth than the parable of Christ of the wayfaryng man, whome theues layde abrode half dead in the waye. I know that it is common almost with all wryters, that the calamitie of mankynde is represented vnder the figure of that  
 C. liij. wayfaryng

Epist. 107.  
ad Vitale.

i. Cor. 14. 18

18

Ecclesi. 15.  
viii.Ecclesi. 15.  
viii.

19

Luc. 15. 11.



Wayfaryng man. Therupō do our aduersaries gather an argumēt, that man is not so mayned with the robberie of sinne and the Deuell, but that he kepeth still remayning the leauinges of his former good thinges, for as much as it is said, that he was lett half alieue. For where is that half life, vnlesse some portion both of right reason and will remayned: firste if I would not geue place to their allegorie, I beseeche you, what wold they do: For there is no doubt that it was deuised by the fathers beside the natural sense of the Lordes wordes. Allegories ought to goe no further than they haue the rule of Scripture goyng before them: so far is it of, that they be by theselues sufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reasons, whereby I can, if I liste, ouerthrow this deuise, for the worde of God leauech notte man halfe a life, but teacheth that he is bitterly dead, for so much as concerneth blessed life. And Paule when he speaketh of our redemption, doth not say that we were healed, when we were half dead and half alieue, but that we were raysed by agayne when we were dead. He calleth not vpon them that are halfe alieue to receiue the light of Christ, but them that slepe and are buried. And in like maner speaketh the Lord him selfe, when he sayth, that the houre is come when the dead shall rise againe at his voice. With what face would they set this light allusion against so many playne sentences: But let this allegorie haue the force of a certayne testimonie, yet what shall they wyngne out of vs thereby: Maune is halfe alieue, therefore he hath somewhat left safe. I graunt: he hath a witte capable of vnderstandyng, although it pearce not to the heauenly and spirituall wisdom: he hath true iudgement of honestie: he hath some selyng of the godhed, howbeit that he atteine not the true knowelledge of God. But to what purpose come all these thinges: Cruely they byng not to passe that the same sayeng of Augustine be taken from vs, whiche is also approued by comon consent of the Scholes: that after mang fall the freely geuen good thinges, wherupon saluation hangeth, are take awaye from him, and that his naturall giftes are corrupted and defiled. Let therefore this truthe remayne with vs vndoubted, which can be shaken by no engines, that the minde of man is so estranged from the righteousnesse of God, that it conceiueth, couereth, and enterpriseth all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleanesse, and mischiefe: that his heart is so thoroughly soked in poison of sinne, that it can breath out nothing but corrupt stinke: But if at any time they doe vtter any goodnesse in thowe, yet still the minde remayneth alwaye wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitfull crokednesse, and the heart entangled with inwarde peruersnesse.

### The sixte Chapter.

That manne beynge losse, must seeke for redemption in Christ.



If the all mankinde hath perished in the persone of Adam, that excellence and nobilitie of beginnyng which we haue spokē of would so litle profit vs, that it wold rather turne to our greater shame, till God appere the redemer in the person of his only begotten Sonne, which acknowlegeth not



not men defiled and corrupted with sinne to be his worke. Therefore  
 sicke we are fallen from life into death, al that knowledge of God the  
 creatour wherof we haue entreated, were vnprofitable, vnlesse there  
 folowed also faith setting forth God a father vnto vs in Christ. True-  
 ly this was the natural order that the frame of the world should be a  
 Schoole vnto vs to learne godlinesse, from whence might be made a  
 passage for vs to eternall life & perfect felicity: but sins our falling a-  
 way, whether so euer we turne our eyes, vppward & downward, the  
 curse of God still presenteth it self vnto our sight, whiche while it pos-  
 sesseth & enrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, muste needes  
 ouerwhelme our owne soules with desperation. For although Gods  
 wil is that his fatherly fauor toward vs do stil many wayes appere:  
 yet by beholding of the world we canot gather that he is our Father  
 when our conscience inwardly pricketh vs, and sheweth that there is  
 in sinne iuste cause of forsaking, why God should not accept or reckon  
 vs for his children. By side that there is in vs both thoughtlesse and  
 vnthankfulnesse: bicause both our mindes, as they be blinded, do not  
 see the truthe, and also as all our senses be peruerse, we maliciously  
 defraude God of his glorie. Therefore we muste come to that sayeng  
 of Paule: bicause in the wisdom of God, the world knewe not God  
 by wisdom, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preachyng to saue  
 them that beleue. The wisdom of God he calleth this honozable  
 stage of heauen and earth, furnished with innumerable miracles,  
 by beholdyng whereof we ought wisely to haue knowen God. But  
 bicause we so ill profited therein, he calleth vs backe to the fayth of  
 Christ, whiche for that it semeth foolish, the vnbeleuers doe disdain.  
 Wherfore although the preaching of the crosse do not agree with mans  
 witte, yet ought we humbly to embrace it; if we desire to returne to  
 God our creatour and maker, that he maye beginne agayne to be our  
 father. Truly sins the fall of the first manne, no knoweledge of God  
 auayled to saluation, without the Mediatour. For Christe speaketh  
 not of his owne age only, but comprehendeth all ages, when he sayth  
 that this is the eternal life, to know the father the one true God, and  
 him whom he hath sent Iesus Christ. And so much the fouler is their  
 sluggishnesse, which take vpon them to set open heauen to all prophane  
 & vnbeleuing men, without his grace who, the Scripture eche where  
 teacheth to be the only gate whereby we entre into saluation. But yf  
 any wil restraine that sayeng of Christ only to the publishing of the  
 Gospel, we haue in redinesse wherwith to confute him. For this hath  
 ben a comon sentence in all ages and among al nations, that without  
 reconciliatio they that are enstranged from God & pronounced, accur-  
 sed & the children of wrath, can not please God. And here maye be also  
 alleged y which Christ answered to the woman of Samaria: ye wor-  
 ship what ye know not, but we worship that which we know: bicause  
 the saluatio is fro the Jewes. In which wordes he both condēneth of  
 falshood all the religions of the Gentiles, and also assigneth a reason  
 why, for that the Redemer was promised vnder the lawe to the only  
 chosen people. Wherupon it foloweth, that no worship euer pleased  
 God, but that whiche had respect vnto Christ. For whiche cause also  
 Paule affirmeth y al the nations of the Gentiles were without God;

i. Cor. i.  
iii.Joh. iiii.  
iiij.John. iiii.  
v.

Eph. ii.



and voide of the hope of life. Nowe whereas John teacheth, that life was from the beginnyng in Christ; and that all the worlde fell from it, we muste nedes returne to the same fountayne Christ. And therefore Christ, in so much as he is the reconciler, affirmeth him selfe to be the life. And truely the inheritance of heauen belongeth to none, but to the childzen of God. But it is not mete that they be accompted in the place and degree of childzen, that are not grafted into the body of the only begotten sonne. And John plainely testifieth, that they which belene in his name, are made the childzen of God. But bycause it is not directly my purpose yet to discourse of faith in Christ, therefore it shall for this time be sufficient to haue touched it by the waye.

2 And therefore God neuer shewed him selfe mercifull to the olde people, nor euer did put them in any hope of grace without the Mediatour. I omit to speake of the sacrifices of the lawe, wherein the faythfull were openly and plainely taught, that saluation is no where els to be sought, but in the cleansing which was performed by Christ alone. Only this I saye, that the blessed and happy state of the church hath ben alwaye grounded vpon the persone of Christ. For though God comprehended all the issue of Abraham in his couenant, yet doth Paule wisely reason, that Christ is properly that seede in whome all nations were to be blessed, for asmuch as we knowe that not all they were reckened his seede that were begotten of him accordyng to the flesh. For (to speake nothing of Ismael & other) howe came it to passe that of the two sonnes of Isaac, that is Esau and Jacob, brethren bozne at one birth, while they were yet together in their mothers wombe, the one was chosen, the other refused? Yea howe came it to passe, that the elder was reiected, and the yonger only toke place? And howe also came it to passe, that the greater parte should be forsaken? It appereth therefore, that the seede of Abraham was principally reckened in one persone, and that the promised saluation did neuer stande sure till it came to Christe, whose office is to gather together the thinges that were scattred abzode. Therefore the firste adoption of the chosen people did hange vpon the grace of the Mediatour. Whiche though it be not in so playne woordes expressed by Moses, yet it sufficiently appereth that it was commonly knowen to all the godly. For befoze that there was any kyng create amonge the people, Hanna the mother of Samuel entreating of the felicitie of the godly, euen then sayed thus in her song: God shall geue strength to his king, and shall exalt the horne of his anointed. In whych woordes he meaneth that God shall blesse his church. Wherewith also agreeth the oracle that is within a little after adioyned: The Priest whome I shall appoint shall walke befoze myn anoynted. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the will of the heauenly father was to haue the liuely image of Christ to be seene in Dauid and his posteritie. Therefore meanyng to exhorte the godly to the feare of God, he biddeth them to kisse the Sonne. Wherewith this sayeng of the Gospel also agreeth: He that honozeth not the sonne, honozeth not the father. Therefore although by fallyng awaye of ten tribes the kingdome decayed: yet it behoued the couenant to stande whiche God had made in Dauid and his successors: as also he sayde by the Prophetes: I will not altogether cut

Gal. iij.  
vi.1. Sam. ij.  
f.

Ps. ij. vij.

John. v.  
vij.1. Reg. xi.  
x. ph. xiiij.



of the kingdome, for Dauid my seruantes sake, and for Hierusalem sake, whome I haue chosen: but there shall remayne one tribe to thy sonne. Where the same thing is repeted the second and thirde time. It is also expressly added. I will afflict the seede of Dauid, but not for euer. Within a litle space of time after, it is sayd. For Dauid his seruantes sake God hath geue a light in Hierusalem, to rayse vp a sonne and to kepe Hierusalem in sauetic. Now when the state grew toward destruction, it was said agayne: God would not scatter Iuda for Dauid his seruantes sake, bycause he had spoken that he would geue a light to him and his sonnes for euer. Finally this is the summe, that all other beyng passed ouer, only Dauid was chosen, vpon whome the good pleasure of God should rest. As in an other place it is sayd: He hath refused the tabernacle of Silo, and the tabernacle of Ioseph, & he hath not chosen the tribe of Ephzaim, but he hath chosen the tribe of Iuda, the mount Sion whiche he hath loued. He hath chosen his seruant Dauid to fede Jacob his people, and Israell his inheritance. To conclude, it pleased God so to saue his church, that the safetic and preservation thereof should hange vpon that one hed, and therefore Dauid crieth out, The Lord the strength of his people, the strength of the saluations of his Christ. And by & by he addeth a prayer: Saue thy people and blesse thine inheritance: meanyng that the state of the church is with vnseparable knot ioyned to the gouernement of Christ. And in y same meaning in an other place: Lord saue vs: Let the king heare vs in the daye that we shall call vpon him. In whiche wordes he plainely teacheth, that the faithfull did vpon none other confidence flee to the helpe of God, but bycause they were hidden vnder the succour of the king. Whiche is gathered by an other Psalm. Lord saue vs: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lorde. Where it is playne enough, that the faithfull are called backe vnto Christe, that they maye hope that they shall be saued by the hand of God. The same respect hath the other prayer, where all the Church calleth vpon the mercie of God. Let thy hand be vpon the man of thy right hande, vpon the sonne of man, whom thou hast preserved (or apointed) to thy self. For though the authour of the Psalm bewaileth the scattering abroad of the whole people, yet he prayeth for their restitution in the hed alone. Where, when the people was led awaye into exile, the lande wasted, and all thinges to mans seruyng destroyed, Hieremie lamenteth the ouerthrowe of the Church, he doth principally complaine that by destruction of the kingdome all hope was cut of from the faithfull. Christ (sayth he) the spirite of our mouth is taken in our sinnes, to whome we sayd, In thy shadow we shall liue among the nations. Herby now it sufficiently appereth, that bicause God can not be mercifull to mankinde without the Mediatour, therefore Christe was alwaye set before the holy fathers in time of the lawe, to whome they might direct their sayth.

Now, where comfort is promised in affliction, specially where the deliuerance of the Church is described, there the banner of affiance and hope is auanced in Christ alone. God went out to the sauyng of his people with his Messiah, sayth Habacuc. And so ofte as the Prophetes make mention of the restozng of the Church, they call backe

i. Kings.

xxx.

i. Kings.

iii.

i. Kings.

xxxv.

Ps. lxxv.

lx. lxxv.

Psa. cv.

Ps. c. xvii.

xv. xvii.

Psal. lxxv.

xvii.

Lamēt.

20.

3

Hab. ii.

xix.



the people to the promise made to David, concerning the everlasting continuance of the kyngdome. And no maruell. For otherwise there had ben no assurance of the couenant. For whiche purpose serueth that notable aunswere of Elaye. For when he sawe that the vnbelyuyng kyng Achaz refused that whiche he had declared to him of the rayling of the siege of Hierusalem and of present safetie, as it were suddenly, he passed ouer to Messias. Beholde a virgin shall conceyue and brynge forth a Sonne, meanyng indirectly that though the king and his people by their frowardeneisse refused the promise offred vnto them, as though they dyd of purpose bende themselves to discredit the truthe of God, yet the couenant should not be voyde, but that the Redemer should come at his apoynted tyme. Finally it was the care of all the Prophetes, to the ende they might shewe that God would be mercifull, alwaye to set out that kingdome of David, whereupon hanged the redemption and everlastyng saluation. So Elaise saith: I will make a couenant with you, the saythfull mercies of David. Beholde I haue geuen him for a witnesse vnto nations, that is, because the saythfull when their state is at the worste, could not otherwise haue any hope, but by the meanes of him beyng witnesse, that God would be appeasable toward them. Likewise Hieremie, to raise them vp beyng in despeire, sayth: Beholde the dayes come, wherein I will rayse vp vnto David a righteous branche, and then shall Juda be saued, and Israell shall dwell in safetie. And Ezechiel sayth, I will rayse vp one Shepherd ouer my shepe, euen David my seruant. The Lozde will be a God to them, and my seruant David for a Shepherd. And I will make a couenaunt of peace with them. Also in another place, after he had entreated of the incredible renewyng, he sayeth: my seruant David shall be their kyng, and there shall be one shepherd ouer all, and I will make an everlastyng couenaunt of peace with them. I gather here and there a fewe places out of many, because I onely meane to haue the reders put in mynde, that the hope of all the godly hath alwaye ben reposed no where els but in Christe. And all the other Prophetes also speake agreably hereunto, as it is sayde in Osee. The children of Juda and the children of Israell shall be gathered together, and shall apoynt to themselves one hed. Whiche he afterwarde more plainely expoundeth, The children of Israel shall returne, and shall seke for the Lozde their God and David their king. And Michae speaking of the returne of the people expressly sayeth, The king shall goe befoze them, and the Lozde in their hed. So Amos meanyng to prayse the renewyng of the people, sayth: I wil in that daye rayse vp the tabernacle of David that is fallen downe, & I will hedge vp the gappes, and rayse vp the places ouerthrowen, euen because that was the only standard of saluatiō, to haue the royal glory to rise vp againe on hie in the stock of David, whiche is fulfilled in Christ. Therfore Zacharie, as his age was nerer to the appering of Christe, so dothe he more plainely crie out: be glad thou doughter of Sion, reioyse thou doughter of Hierusalē. Beholde thy king cometh, righteous and saued. Which agreeth w the place of the Psalme befoze alleged. The lozde the strength of the saluations of his anoynted, and saue vs. Where saluation is deriued from the hed to the whole body.

Esa. viij.  
xij.

Esa. lv. iij.

Hier. xxxij.  
vi.Eze. xxxij.  
xxij.Eze. xxxvij.  
xxv.

Osee. i. xij.

Osee. iij. v.

Amos. ij.  
ii.

Zac. ij. ij.



It was Gods wil to haue the Jewes so instructed with these prophecies, that to seke for their deliuerance, they should bende their eyes directly to Christ. And though they had shamefully swarued, yet could not the remembrance of that general principle be abolished, that God by the hand of Christ, as he had promised to Dauid, would be the deliuerer of his church, and so the covenant should be of his owne free graunt, wherby God had adopted his chosen. Hereby it came to passe, that this song sounded in the mouth of the children when Christe a litle before his death entred into Hierusalem, Hosanna to the sonne of Dauid. For it appereth that it was commonly known and spoken of, and according to common vse that they songe, that the only pledge of Gods mercie remainned vnto them, in the comyng of the Redemer. For this cause Christ him self, to make his disciples plainely and perfectly beleue in God, biddeth them to beleue on him self, Beleue ye in God, (sayth he) then beleue also in me. For though (to speake properly) sayth climeth vp from Christ to the father, yet he meaneth that the same faith, albeit it reste vpon God, doth by litle and litle vanish away, vlesse he become a meane to holde it in assured stedfastnesse. Otherwise the maiestie of God is to hie for mortall meene, whiche crepe vpon the ground like wormes, to atteine vnto it. Wherefore I allowe that common sayeng, that God is the obiecte of sayth, but in such sorte that it nedeth correction. Bycause Christ is not in vaine called the inuisible Image of God, but by this title we are put in minde, that if we finde not God in Christ, saluation can not be knowen vnto vs. For although among the Jewes, the Scribes and Pharisees had darkeened with false inuentions, that which the Prophetes had spoken concerning the Redemer: yet Christ toke it for a thing confessed as receiued by common consent, that there was none other remedie, despered case, and no other meane of deliuering the church, but by geuyng the Mediatour. In deede that was not commonly knowne amonge the people as it ought to haue ben, whiche Paule teacheth, that Christ is the ende of the lawe. But howe true and assured it is, doth plainely appere by the lawe and the Prophetes. I speake not yet of sayth, because there shall be els where a more conuenient place for it. Only let the reders holde this as faste stablished, that the firste degree of godlinesse be, to acknoweledge God to be a Father vnto vs, to defende, gouerne and cherishe vs, till he gather vs together into the euerlastyng inheritance of his kingedome: and that hereby it plainely appereth which we sayde euen nowe, that the knowledge of God which bringeth saluation, standeth not without Christ, and that therefore from the beginnyng he hath ben set forth vnto al the elect, that they should loke vpon him, and that in him should rest al their affiance. According to this meanyng writeth Ireneus, that the Father whiche is vnumerable, is in his Sonne measured, bycause he hath applied him selfe to the measure of our capacite, least he should drowne our mindes with the vnumeasurableness of his glozy. Whiche thing the phrentike men not considering, do wrest a profitable sentence to a wicked fantastic, as though there were in Christ but a portion of the godhed deriued from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing els, but that God is comprehended in Christ alone. That sayeng of John hath alway

Mat. xx.  
17.

Joh. viii.

Colo. i. ix

Ro. i. iii.

i. Joh. i.  
xvi.

ben



ben true: He that hath not the Sonne, neither hath he the father. For though in old time many did boſte that they worſhipped the ſoueraigne God, the maker of heauen and earth: yet bicauſe they had no Mediatour, it was impoſſible that they ſhould truely taſte of the mercie of God, and ſo be perſuaded that he was their father. Therefore bicauſe they knew not the head that is Chriſt, y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of God was but bayne among them: wherby alſo it came to paſſe, that at length falling into groſſe & filthy ſuperſtitious, they bewrayed their owne ignozance. As at this day the Turkes, although they report with ſul mouth, that the creatour of heauen and earth is their God, yet doe they thruſt an idole in place of the true God, while they ſwarue from Chriſt.

## The ſeuenth Chapter.

That the lawe was geuen, not to holde ſtill the people in it, but to nourish the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt vntill his comyng.



**B**y this continual proceſſe that we haue rehearſed, may be gathered, that the lawe was added about foure hundred yeres after the death of Abraham, not for this entent to leade awaye the choſen people fro Chriſt: but rather to kepe their mindes in expectation vntill his comyng, to kindle a deſire of him, & to confirme them in loking for him, that they ſhould not waxe faint w<sup>th</sup> long tarriance. I meane by this word Law, not only the ten comaundementes, which preſcribe a rule how to liue godlyly and righteouſly, but alſo the forme of religio deliuered by the hand of Moſes. For Moſes was not made a lawgeuer to abolith the bleſſyng promiſed to the kinred of Abraham: but rather we ſee howe euery where he putteth the Jewes in remembreance of that free couenant made with their fathers whole heires they were, as if he had ben ſent to renewe the ſame. That was moſt plainely ſet forth by the ceremonies. For what were moze vaine and fond, than for me to offer by lotheſome ſtinke of the fatte of cattel, to reconcile theſelues to God thereby: to flee to the ſprinkling of water oz bloud to waſh awaye their filthineſſe: finally, al the ſeruice of God apointed in the lawe (if it be conſidered by it ſelf, and do not containe ſhadowes and figures, which the truth ſhould answer vnto) ſhalbe but a very mockerie. Wherefore not without a cauſe bothe in Stephens ſermon, and in the Epistle to the Hebrewes is that place ſo diligently weyed, where God comaundeth Moſes to make all thinges pertainyng to the tabernacle, according to the paterne that had ben ſhewed him in the moūt. For if there had not ben ſome ſpiritual thing apointed that they ſhould tend vnto, the Jewes ſhuld no leſſe haue fondly ſpent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men that neuer earnestly applied the studie of godlineſſe, cannot without lothſome tediousneſſe abide to here ſo many ſondry faſhions of vſages: & they not only marvel why God wearied his people with ſuche a heape of ceremonies, but alſo they deſpiſe them & ſcozne them as childzeng playes. And the cauſe is, for that they conſider not the ende, fro which if the figures of the law be ſeuered, they muſte needes be condemned of vanitie. But that

Act. v. ciiiij

Heb. viij.

v.

Exod. xxx.

pl.



that same figure sheweth, that God did not therefore commaunde sacrifices, bicause he wold occupie them that worshipped him with earthly exercises, but rather to raise by their mindes hier. Whiche may also plainly appere by his nature: for as he is spirituall, so he is delited with no other worshipping but spiritual. This do the sayenges of the Prophetes testifie, wherein they rebuke the Jewes of sluggishnesse, for that thei thought that any sacrifices were of any value with God. As that bicause their purpose is to derogate any thing from the lawe: No, but accorpyng as they were true expositours of the lawe, so they would by this meane haue mens eyes directed to the marke fro which the common people strayed. Now by the grace offred to the Jewes it is certainly gathered, that the law was not boide of Christ. For Moses did set forth vnto them this ende of the adoption, that they should become a priestly kingdome to God. Whiche they could not obtaine, vnlesse there were had for the meane therof a greater and moze excellent recõciliation, than by the bloud of beastes. For what is lesse likely than Adams childzen, which by inheritably descendyng infection are al bozne the bondslaues of sinne, to be aduanced to royal dignitie, and so to become partakers of the glozie of God, vnlesse that so excellent a benefite should come vnto them from els where than from themselues? Also how could the right of priesthode remaine in force among them, who by filthinesse of sinnes were abhominable to God, vnlesse they had ben consecrate in a holy head: wherfore Peter doth very aptly turne that sayeng of Moses, where he teacheth, that the fulnesse of grace, the taste wherof the Jewes had taken vnder the law, was geuen in Christ: Ye are (sayeth he) a chosen kinred, a kingly priesthode. For to this ende tendeth that turnynge of the wordes, to shewe that they, to whome Christ appered by the Gospell, haue obtayned moze than their fathers, bicause they are all endued bothe with priestly and kingly honour, that trustyng vpon their mediatour, they maye freely be bolde to come forth into the sight of God.

And here by the waye it is to be noted, that the kingdome whiche at length was erected in the house of Dauid, is part of the law, & contained vnder the ministerie of Moses. wherupon foloweth, & as well in all the kinred of the Leuites as in the posteritie of Dauid, Christ was set befoze the eyes of the olde people as in a doble loking glasse. For, as I sayd euen now, they could not otherwise be befoze God eyther kinges or priestes, which were both the bondslaues of sinne & of death, & defiled by their owne corruptio. Hereby appereth & y sayeng of Paule is moste true, that the Jewes were holden as vnder the keeping of a Scholemaister, til the seide came for whose sake the promise was geuen. For, bicause Christ was not yet familiarly knowen, they were like vnto childzen, whose weakenesse could not yet beare a full knowledge of heauenly thinges, but how thei were by ceremonies as it were led by the hand to Christ, is befoze spokẽ, & may be better vnderstand by many testimonies of the Prophetes. For although it was commaunded them, to come dayly with newe sacrifices to appeale God: yet Gaue promise that al their sinnes shalbe cleansed with one only sacrifice. wherewith Daniel agreably sayeth: The priestes apointed of the tribe of Leui, did enter into the Sanctuarie: but of y only priest it was

Exo. 1.

1. p. 1.

2

Gal. 3.  
p. 1.E. a. 111.  
Daniel.

it was



## Of the knoweledge of

L.c. f. iij
om. f. iij
Coz. iij. vi.
Gal. iij. fif.
 It was ones sayd, þ by an othe he was chosen of God to be a priest for euer, according to the order of Melchisedech. At that time þ anointing with oyle was visible: but Daniel by his vision pronosifreth that there shal be an other manner of anointyng. And, bicause I will not carry vpon many examples, the authour of the Epistle to the Hebrewes eue from the. iij. chapter to the. xi. doth largely and plainely enough shew, that the ceremonies are nothing worth & vaine til we come to Christ.

3
 As concerning the ten comaundementes: that lesson of Paule is likewise to be kept in minde, that Christ is the ende of the law vnto saluation, to euery one that beleueth: And an other lesson, that Christ is the Spirit that quickeneth the letter whiche of it selfe slayeth. For in the first of these two, he meaneth that righteousnesse is vainely taught by commaundementes, vntill Christ doe geue it bothe by free imputation and by the spirite of regeneration. Wherefoze he worthly calleth Christ the fulfilling or ende of the law. Bycause it should nothing profit vs to knowe what God requyzeeth of vs, vnlesse he did succour vs saynting and oppzessed vnder the yoke and vntolerable burden. In an other place he teacheth that the lawe was made for transgressions, that is to byyng menne to humilitie beyng pzoued guilty of theyz owne damnation. And, bycause this is the true and only pzeparation to seke Christ, what so euer he teacheth in diuerse wordes, do al very well agree together. But bicause he then was in contentio with peruerse teachers, which sained that we do deserue righteousnesse by the wozkies of the law, to confute their errour, he was compelled somtime to speake pzecisely of the bare lawe, whiche yet otherwise is clothed with the couenant of free adoption.

Deut. xxx. fif.
 But now it is good to know, how being taught by the mozell law, we are made moze inexcusable, that our owne giltynesse maye moue vs to craue pardon. If it be true that we be taught perfectio of righteousnesse in the lawe, then this also folloiweth, that the absolute keeping thereof is perfect righteousnesse before God, that is, whereby a man maye be demed and accompted righteous before the heavenly throne of iudgement. Wherefoze Moses, when he had published þ law, doubted not to protest before heauen and earth, that he had set before Israell life and death, good and euell. And we maye not denie, but that the reward of eternal saluation belongeth to the bypight obedience of the lawe, as the lord hath pzomised it. Agayne, yet it is good to examine, whether we pezforme that obedience, vpon desert whereof we may conceiue a trust of that reward. For to what small purpose is it, to see the reward of eternall life set in keepyng of the lawe, vnlesse we further knowe whether we maye by that waye attaine to eternall life: But herein the weakenesse of the law doth shewe it selfe. For bycause that keepyng of the law is founde in none of vs al, we are excluded from the pzomises of life, and doe fall into curse onely. I doe not nowe tell what doth come to passe, but what needes muste so come to passe. For where as the doctrine of the lawe is far aboue the power of manne, he maye in deede a far of, loke at the pzomises, but yet not gather any fruite of them. Therefore this one thing remayneth, that by the goodnesse of them he may the better weye his owne miserie, while he considereth, that all hope of saluation beyng cut of, death dothe certainly.



certainely hāg ouer him. On the other side Do presse vs terrible penal lawes, which do holde entāgled & fast bound not only a few of vs, but euery one without exceptiō: they presse vs, I say, & do pursite vs, with vnappeasable rigour, so that we may se most present death in the law.

Therefore if we loke only vpon the lawe, we can do nothing but be discouraged, be confounded, & despeire, for asmuch as by it we are al damned & cursed, & kept far of from the blessednesse that he offreth to them that worshop him. Wilt thou say then, Doth the lord so mock vs? For how smally doth it differ from mocking, to shewe forth a hope of felicitie, to allure & exhort men vnto it, to protest that it is layed open for vs, whē in y meane season the entrie vnto it is foreclosed & impossible to be come to: I answer: although the promises of the lawe, in so much as they are conditional, do hang vpon the perfect obedience of y law, which can no where be found, yet are they not geuen in vaine. For when we haue lerned that they shalbe boide and of no effect vnto vs, vnlesse God embrace vs w his free goodnesse without regarde of our workes, & vnlesse we do embrace by faith the same goodnesse geuē vs by the Gospel, then want they not their effectualnesse, yea with their condition annexed. For then he doth so freely geue al things vnto vs, that he addeth this also to the heape of his bountifullnesse, y not refusing our half ful obedience, and remitting so much as it wanteth of ful perfozance, he so maketh vs to enioy the frute of the promises of the law, as if we our selues had fulfilled the cōdytion. But we wil at this presēt procede no further in this matter, bicause it shalbe moze largely to be entreated of, when we shal speake of the Justificatiō of faith.

Wheras we sayd that it is impossible to kepe the law, that is in few wordes to be both expounded and proued. For it is wont among the people commonly to be accompted an opinion of great absurditie, so far that Hierome doubted not to pronouice it accursed: what Hierome thought, I doe nothing stave vpon: as for vs, let vs learche what is trithe. I will not here make longe circumstances of diuerse sortes of possibilitie. I call that impossible, which both neuer had ben, & also is hindered by the ordinance & decree of God, that it neuer herafter maye be. If we recozde from the farthest time of memozie, I saye that there hath none of the holy mē, that beyng clothed with the bodie of death, hath euer atteyned to that full perfection of loue, to loue God with all his heart, with al his minde, with al his soule, with all his power: Againe, that there hath ben none that hath not ben troubled with concupiscence. Who can saye Naye: I see in deede what maner holy men foolish superstition doth imagine vnto vs, euen such whose purenesse the heauenly angels do scarcely counteruaile: but against bothe the Scripture & profe of experience. I saye also, that there shall none herafter be, that shall come to the marke of true perfection, vnlesse he be loosed from the burden of his bodye. For this point there are open testimonies of Scripture. Salomon said, there is not a righteous mā vpon the earth that sinneth not. And Dauid sayd: euery liuing manne shall not be iustified in thy sight. Job in many places affirmeth y same. But Paul most plainly of all: that the flesh lusteth agaynst the spirit, and the spirit agaynst the flesh. And by no other reison he proueth that all that are vnder the law, are subiect to the curse, But bycause it is

written

i. Reg. viij.

Pl. c. xliij.

Sal. iij. p.



Deu. p. vii  
p. vi.

Wzitten, that cursed are al they that doe not abide in al the cōmaundes mentes therof: meanyng, or rather taking it as a thing confessed, that no man can abide in them. And what soeuer is forespoke by the Scriptures, that must be holden for perpetual, yea & necessarie. With such sutteltie did the Pelagians trouble Augustine, sayeng that there is wzong done to God, to say that he doth cōmaund moze thā the faithful are able by his grace to perfozme. Augustine, to auoide their cauillation cōfessed, that the lozd might in deede, if he wold, aduaūce a moztal man to the purenesse of Angels: but that he neither hath done so at any time, noz wil do, bicause he hath otherwise affirmed in the Scriptures. And y do I also not denie. But I adde further, that it is incōueniēt to dispute of his power against his truth, and that therfoze this sentence is not subiect to cauillations if a man should saye, that that thing is impossible to be, wherof the Scriptures do pronounce that it shal not be. But if ther dispute of the word: when the Disciples asked y lozd, who may be saued, he answered: with men in deede it is impossible, but with God al things are possible. Also Augustine with a most strōg reason stiffly defendeth, that in this flesh we neuer yelde to God the due loue that we owe him. Loue (saith he) so foloweth knowledge, that no man can perfectly loue God, but he that hath first fully knowē his goodnesse. We, while we wāder in this world, see by a glasse and in a darke speach: it foloweth therfoze, that our loue is vnperfect. Let this therfoze remaine out of controuersie, that in this flesh it is impossible to fulfil the law, if we behold the weakenesse of our owne nature, as it shal yet also in an other place be pzoued by Paule.

Mat. p. iij.  
p. v.  
Lib. de spiritu & litera.Ro. viij.  
iij.

But that the whole mater may be moze plainly set tozth: let vs in a compendious order gather by together the office and vse of the lawe which they cal Mozall. Now, as far as I vnderstand, it is cōteined in these thzee partes. The first is, that while it sheweth to euery man the righteousnesse of God, y is the righteousnesse which only is acceptable to God, it admonish, certifie, pzoue guilty, yea & condemne euery mā of his owne vnrightousnesse. For so is it nedeful y man blinded & dzonke with loue of himself, be dzruen both to the knowledge & the confession of his own weakenesse & vncleannesse: for asmuch as if his vanitie be not euidently conuincid, he swelleth with mad affiance of his owne strength, & can neuer be bzought to think of the sclēdernesse therof, so long as he mesureth it by the pzoportion of his owne wil. But so sone as he beginneth to cōpare his strēgth to the hardnesse of y lawe, there he findeth matter to abate his courage. For how so euer he befoze conceiued a great opinion of it, yet by and by he seleth it to pante vnder so great a burden, & then to shake & solter, at laste euen to fall downe and faint. So being taught by the scholing of the lawe, he putteth of that arrogācie wherwith befoze he was blinded. Likewise he is to be healed of an other diseale of pziue, wherof we haue said that he is sick. So long as he is suffred to stand to his own iudgemēt, he deuileth Hypocritie in stede of righteousnesse, wherwith beyng cōtēted, he riseth by in courage, by I whote not, what forged righteousnesse, against y grace of God. But so sone as he is cōpelled to trie his life by the balaunce of the law, thē leauing the pzelumption of y counterfait righteousnesse, he seeth himself to be an infinite space distāt frō holinesse: againe, that he



he floweth full of infinite vices, wherof before he seemed cleane. For the euils of luste are hidden in so deepe and crooked priuie corners, that they easily deceiue the sighte of man. And not withoute cause the Apostle saith, *¶* he knew not luste, except *¶* lawe had saide: Thou shalt not luste: bicause except it be by the lawe disclosed out of her lurking holes, it destroyeth miserable manne so secretly, that he feeleth not the deadly darte thereof.

Rom. viij. vij.

So the lawe is like a certaine lookinge glasse wherein we beholde, *7* firste oure weakenesse, & by that oure wickednesse, & laste of all by them booshe oure accursednesse, euen as a glasse representeth vnto vs the spottes of our face. For when power sayeth man to folowe righteoussnesse, then muste he needes sticke faste in the myre of synnes. And after sinne by & by foloweth curse. And of how muche *¶* greater transgressiō the lawe holdeth vs gyltye and conuicte, with so muche the more greuous iudgemente it condemneth vs. For this purpose maketh the sayenge of the Apostle, that by the lawe is the knoweledge of synne. For ther he speaketh onely of the firste office of the lawe, the prooffe wherof is in synners not yet regenerate. And like to this are these twoo sayenges, that the lawe entred that synne mighte abounde, and therefore that it is the ministracion of death that worketh wraethe and slayeth. For without doubt so muche more groweth iniquitie, with how muche more vnderstandynge of synne the conscience is stricken, bycause vnto breache of lawe is added obstinacie againste the maker of the lawe. It foloweth therefore that the lawe armeth the wraethe of God to the destruction of the synner, bicause of it selfe it can do nothinge but accuse, condemne and destroy. And as Augustine writeth, if the spirite of grace be absente, the lawe is presente with vs, onely to thys ende, to accuse vs and kyl vs. And yet when thys is sayde, neyther is the lawe dishonored thereby, nor any thinge taken from the excellence thereof. Truly, yf oure will were wholly framed and disposed to the obedience of the lawe, then plainly the onely knoweledge of it were sufficient to saluacion. But for asmuche as oure fleshely and corrupte nature fighteth, as an enemye with the spirituall lawe of God, and is nothinge amended with *¶* discipline therof, this foloweth that the lawe whiche was geuen for saluacion, (if it had founde fitte hearers) tourneth to the occasiō of sinne & death. For lithe we are all proued transgressours of it, the more plainly *¶* it openeth the righteoussnesse of God, so muche the more on *¶* other side it discloseth oure iniquitie: *¶* more surely *¶* it confirmeth the rewarde of life and saluacion laide vp for ryghteousnesse, so muche the more assured it maketh the destruction of the wicked. So farre is it of therefore that these saynges shoulde be to the dishonoure of the lawe, that they muche auaille to the more glorious commendacions of Godes bountie. For truely it herby appeareth that we are hindered by oure owne wickednesse, and peruersenesse, that we enioye not the blessednesse of life set openly abroade for vs by the lawe. Wherby the grace of God that helpeth vs without *¶* succoure of *¶* lawe, is made so much the sweeter, and the mercie more louely that geneth it vnto vs, wherby we learne that hee is neuer wearied with often doynge vs good and heapinge newe giftes vpon vs.

Rom. iij. xij.

Rom. v. xx. ij. Cor. iij. Rom. iij. xv.

De corre. &amp; gratia Vide Ambrosij. cap. 1. de iac. &amp; uita beata. cap. 6.

Rom. viij.

8

f. i. the



the testimonie of the lawe, it is not done for thys purpose ( if at leaste we well profyte in it ) to make vs fall downe with despere, or with discouraged miudes to tumble down hedlong. In deede the reprobate are amased after that manner, butte that ys by reason of theyr obstinatie, but with the chyldren of God, there behoueth to be an other ende of instruction. I graunte, the Apostle testifieth that we are all condemned by iudgemente of the lawe, that euery mouthe maye be stopped, and that all the woorlde maye become bounde vnto God: but yet the same Apostle in an other place teacheth, that God hath concluded all vnder vnbeleife, not to de stroye all, or to suffer all to perishe, butte that hee myghte haue mercye of all, that leuinge the foolishe opinion of their owne strength, thei myghte vnderstande, that they stande & are vpholden by the onely hande of God: that they beyng naked and emptye, maye flee to hys mercye, that they maye rest them selues wholly vpon it, hyde them selues wholly in it, take holde of yt alone in steede of righ teousnesse and merites, whyche is layed open in Christe for all menne, who soeuer they bee that wyth true faythe do desyre and looke for yt. For God in the commaundementes of the lawe appeareth butte a rewarde of perfecte ryghteousnesse, whereof we all are destitute, and on the other syde a rygorous iudge of euell doynge. But in Christe hys face shyneth full of grace and lenitye, euen towarde the wretched and vnwoorthy synners.

9  
Of profytinge, to craue the grace of hys helpe, Augustine speaketh ofte, as when hee wyrteth to Hylarie, The lawe commaundeth that endeuorynge to doe the thynges commaunded, and beyng wearyed with oure weakenesse vnder the lawe, wee shoulde learne to aske the helpe of grace. Agayne to Arelins. The profyte of the lawe is to conuince manne of hys owne weakenesse, and compell hym to craue the whylke of grace that ys in Christe. Agayne to Innocente of Rome, The lawe commaundeth, & Grace mynystreth strengthe to do. Againe to Valentine: God commaundeth those thynges that wee canne not doe, that wee maye learne to knowe what to aske of hym. Agayne: The lawe was geuen to accuse you; that beyng accused you shoulde feare, that fearinge you shoulde craue pardon, and not presume of your owne strengthes. Againe: The lawe was geuen for this purpose, of greate to make lyttle, to shewe that thou haste no strengthe of thyne owne to ryghteousnesse, that thou as poore, vnwoorthy and needye, shouldest flee vnto grace. After, hee tourneth hys speache to God and saythe: Do so Lorde, do so mercyfull Lorde, commaunde that which canne not bee fullfylled: yea, commaunde that whyche canne not but by thy grace bee fullfylled, that when menne canne not fullfyll yt by theyr owne strengthe, euerye mouthe maye bee stopped, and no manne maye thynke hym selfe greate. Let all bee lyttle ones, and lette all the woorld be gyltye before thee. But I am not wyse to heape by so manye testimonies, sythe that holly manne hathe wyrtten a booke proprely of that matter, whyche hee hathe intituled, Of the Spirite and Letter. The seconde profytinge hee dothe not so lyuely describe, eyther bycause hee knewe that yt dyd hange vpon the former, or bycause hee dyd not so well vnderstande it, or bycause hee wanted woordes where wyth dystrictely and playnely to expresse hys meaninge

Rom. iij.  
ff.Rom. xi.  
ffij.

Epist. 200.

Epist. 200.

Epist. 95.

Libro de  
corre. &  
gratia.  
In psal. 70  
In psal. 118

Serm. 27.



meaninge of it, whiche yet he rightly conceyued: but this firste office of the lawe is not idle euen in the reprobate also. For though they goe not thus farre forward with the children of God, that after the thringing downe of their flesh they bee renewed and flourish againe in the inward man, but amased with the firste terroure do lie still in desperation: yet it serueth to shewe fourth the equytie of Gods iudgemente, that their consciences be tossed with such wayes. For they euer willingly desire to make thysse agaynst the iudgemente of God. Nowe while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonysht with the testimony of the lawe and their conscience do bewraie in them selues what they haue deserued.

The second office of the lawe, is that thei whiche are touched with no care of that whiche is iuste and right, valesse they be compelled, when they heare the terrible penall ordinaunces therrin, may be restrayned at least with feare of punishment. But they are restrained, not by cause their inward minde is moued or affected withall, but because beyng as it were bridleed, they withhold their hande from outward worke, and do kepe in their perversenesse within them, whiche otherwise they woulde haue outragiously poured oute. Thereby they become truelye neither the better, nor s more righteous before God. For although beinge lettred either by feare or by shame, they dare not put that in practise which they haue conceiued in their minde, nor openly blowe abroad the rages of their lust: yet haue they not a hearte framed to the feare & obedience of God, yea the more that they holde backe themselues, so much the stronger within they are kindeled, they burne, they boyle, ready to do any thinge, and to breake fourth any whether, if this terroure of the lawe did not staye them. And not that onely, but also they moste spitefully hate the lawe, and do detest God the lawemaker, so that yf they coulde, they woulde very faine take him awaie, whome they canne not abide, neither when he commaundeth rightfull thinges, nor when he reuengeth him vpon the despisers of his maiestie. In some in deedes more darkely, & in some more plainely, but in all generally s are not regenerate, is this feelinge, that they are drawn to the followinge of the lawe not by willinge submission, but resisting and against their willes, only by violence of feare. But this constrained and enforced righteousness is necessarie for the publike common state of men, the quiet wherof is herein provided for, while ordre is taken that all thinges be not confounded with vproze, whiche woulde come to passe, if all thinges were lawefull for all men. Yea it is not vnprofitable for the chyldren of God to bee exercised wyth thys Schoolyng, so longe as they before they callynge beyng yet destytute of the spryte of sanctification, are still wanton with the follye of the flesh. For when they are drawn backe, though it be but from outward licentiousnesse, by the terroure of gods vengeance, although for that they are not yet tamed in minde, they goe for the present time but a little forward, yet they partely growe in bre to beare the yooke of Christe, so that when they are called, they be not altogether rude and rawe to dyscipline, as to a thynge vnknowen. Thys offyce the Apostle seemeth proprely to haue touched, when i. Tim. i. 10



doers & prophane men, slayers of their parentes, & murdherers, fornicators, Sodomites, robbers of children, lyers and periured men, & what soeuer ells is againste sounde doctrine. For he sayeth, that it is a staye to the wylde outragynge lustes of the fleshe, that ells woulde straye abroad without measure.

ii  
Sal. iii.  
p.iii

But to bothe maye that bee applyed whyche hee saythe in an other place, that the lawe was to the Jewes, a Schoolemayster to Chyrste, for there are twoo sortes of menne, whome wyth her schoolyng hee leadeth by the hande to Chyrste. The one sorte, of whome wee fyrste spake, bycause they are so full of assyance of theyr owne strengthe or ryghteousnesse, are not meete to receiue the grace of Chyrste, vnlesse they bee fyrste emptyed, therefore the lawe bynygeth them downe to humilitie by knoweledge of them selues, that so they maye bee prepared to desyre that whyche before they thoughte they wanted not. The other sorte neede a bydle to be holden backe, leaste they so geue loose the reines to the wantonnesse of theyr fleshe, that they fall of alltogether from all studye of ryghteousnesse. For where the spyryte of God doth not yet gouerne, there sometime lustes do so boile, & it is in greate perille leaste they throwe downe the soule that is subiecte to them into the forgetfullnesse and despisinge of God: and so woulde it come to passe if God did not wyth this remedie prouide for it. Therefore those whom hee hath apoynted to the inheritauce of his kyngedome, yf he do not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the workes of the lawe vnder feare, vntyl the tyme of his visitation, not that chaste and pure feare such as ought to be in chyldren, but yet a profitable feare for this that they may according to their capacite be taught by introduction to true godlynesse. Of thys we haue so many proues, that it needeth noe example. For who soeuer haue any tyme contynued in not knowynge of God, wyll confesse that this happened vnto them, that they were holden by the bydle of the lawe in some feare & obedience of God, vntil the time that beinge regenerate by hys spirite, they beganne hartelye to loue hym.

12

The thirde vse, whiche is also the principall vse, and more nearely loketh vnto the propre ende of the lawe, concerneth the faithfull, in whose heartes allready lyueth and reigneth the spirite of God. For although they haue the lawe wyrtten and grauen in their heartes by the finger of God, that is to saye, be so affectioned and mynded by the direction of the spirite that they desire to obeye God, yet doe they still twoo waies profite in the lawe. For it is to them a verye good meane, wherby they maie dayly better & more assuredly learne what is the will of the Lord whyche they aspyre vnto, and maye bee confyrmed in the vnderstandynge thereof. As if a seruaunt be already bente with all the affection of hys hearte, to please hys Lorde: yet hath hee neede dylygentelye to searche oute and marke the fashions of hys Lorde, that hee maye frame and applye hym selfe vnto them. And lette none of vs exempte hym selfe from thys neede. For no manne hath hether to attained to so greate wysedome, but that hee may by dayly instruction of the lawe gette newe profyete in procedynge to the purer knoweledge of Godes wyll. Then bicause wee neede not onely doctrine but also exhortation: thys other profyete shall the seruaunt of God take by the lawe, to be by the



the often meditation thereof stirred by to obedience, to be strengthened in it, to be holden backe from the slipperry waye of offendinge. For after thys manner, muste these holly ones dyue forwarde them selues, whyche wyth howe greate cherefullnesse so euer they traunyle to Godwarde accordyng to the spirite, yet thei are alwaye laden with the sluggishnesse of  $\text{f}$  fleshe, that they procede not wyth suche full redinessse as thei oughte. To thys fleshe is the lawe yeven as a whyppe, that lyke a slowe and dull Ass yt maye be prynced forwarde to worke, yea to the spirituall manne, bycause hee is not yet dyspatched of the burden of the fleshe, yt shall bee a continuall yoke that suffereth hym not to stande still. Euen to thys vse Dauid hadde respecte, when hee dyd sette fourth the lawe with those notable praises: The lawe of the Lorde ys vndefiled, conuertynge soules: the iustices of the Lorde are bpryghte, and chearynge heartes: the commaundemente of the Lorde ys bryghte, that geueth lyghte to the eyes.  $\text{Psal. cxi.}$  Agayne: A launterne to my feete ys thy woorde, and a lyghte vnto my pathes. and innumerable other that hee reherseth in all that  $\text{Psalme}$ . Neyther are these thynges agaynste the sayinges of Paule, wherein is shewed, not what vse the lawe mynystreth to the regenerate, butte what yt ys able to geue to manne of yt selfe. Butte here the Prophete reporteth wyth howe greate profyte the Lorde doothe instructe them by readynge of hys lawe, to whome hee inwardely inspyreth a readynesse to obeye. And hee taketh holde not of the commaundementes onely, butte also the promyse of grace annexed to the thynges, whyche onely maketh the bytternesse to waxe sweete. For what were lesse ansteable than the lawe, yt yt shoulde onely wyth requyryng and threathenynge trouble soules carefully wyth feare, and bere them wyth terroure: Butte specially Dauid sheweth, that hee in the lawe conceyued the Mediatoure, wythoute whome there ys no delyte or sweetenesse.

Whyche whyle some vnskyllfull menne canne not discretie, they boldely shake awayne all Moyses, and bydde the two tables of the lawe farrewell, bycause they thynke yt ys not agreable for Chyrtians to cleaue to that doctrine that conteyneth the ministracion of death. Lette thys prophane opynyon departe farre oute of oure myndes. For Moyses taughte excellently well, that the same Lawe whyche wyth synners canne engendyre nothyng butte death, oughte in the holly to haue a better and more excellent vse. For thus, when hee was redde to dye, hee openly sayde to the people: Laye youre heartes vpon all the woordes that I doe testyfy to youe thys daye, that ye maye commytte them to youe chyldren, that ye maye teache them to keepe, to doe, and to fulfill all the thynges that are wyrtten in the volume of thys lawe, bycause they are not baynely commaunded you, butte that enerye one shoulde lyue in them: butte yt no manne canne denye that there appeareth in yt an absolute paterne of ryghteousnesse, then eyther wee muste haue no rule at all to lyue iustely and bpryghtely, or els yt ys not lawefull for vs to departe from yt. For there are not manye butte one rule of lyfe whyche ys perpetuall and canne not bee bowed. Therefore, whereas Dauid maketh the lyfe of a ryghteous manne continually busied in the meditation of the lawe, let vs not referre that to one age onely, bycause it is mooste meete for

 $\text{Psal. cxi.}$   
vi. $\text{Psal. c.}$   
ff. c. b.

13

 $\text{Deut. xxx}$   
vi. $\text{Psal. l. ij.}$



all ages to the ende of the woorld: and lette vs not therefore be fray-  
ed awaie, or flee from beyng instructed by it, bycause yt appoynteth a  
muche more exacte holynesse than we shall perfourme, whyle wee shall  
carry about the parson of our bodie. For nowe yt executeth not against  
vs the office of a rygorous exacter that wyll not be satysfied, but wyth  
hys full taske perfourmed: butte in thys perfection where vnto it ex-  
horteth vs, it sheweth vs a marke, towarde whyche in all oure lyfe to  
endeuoure, is no lesse profitable for vs, than agreable wyth oure dutie.  
In whyche endeuoure if we faile not, it is well. For all thys lyfe ys a  
race, the space whereof beyng runne oute, the Lorde wyll graunte vs  
to attaine to that marke, towarde whyche our endeuoures do trauaile  
a farre of.

14 Some therefore, whereas the lawe hath towarde the saythfull a  
power to exhorte, not suche a power as maye bynde theyr consciences  
with curse, butte suche as wyth often callynge on, maye shake of slug-  
gishnesse and pynche imperfection to awake it: many when thei meane  
to expresse thys delyueraunce from the curse thereof, do saye, that the  
lawe is abrogate to the saythfull. (I speake yet of the lawe moral) not  
that it dothe no more commaunde them that whyche is ryghte, butte  
onely that it be no more vnto them that whych it was besore, that is,  
that it do no more, by makynge astrayde and confoundynge their con-  
sciences, damne and destroye them. And truly suche an abrogation of  
the lawe, Paule dothe plainely teache, and also that the Lorde himselte  
spake of it, appeareth by thys that he woulde not haue confuted that  
opinion that he shoulde dissolue the lawe, vnlesse it hadde been com-  
monly receyued amonge the Jewes. Butte forasmuche as it could not  
ryse causelessly and wythoute any coloure, it is lykely that it grewe v-  
pon false vnderstandynge of hys doctryne, as in a manner all erroures  
are woute to take occasion of truthe, but leaste we shoulde also stumble  
at the same stone, let vs dyligently make distinction, what is abrogate  
in the lawe, and what remayneth yet in force. Where the Lorde protes-  
teth that he came not to destroye the lawe, butte to fullfill yt: and that  
till heauen and earthe passe awaie, no one iote of the lawe sholde passe  
awaie, butte that all shoulde be fullfylled: he sufficiently confymeth  
that by hys comminge nothynge shoulde be taken awaie from the due  
keepinge of the lawe. And so: good cause: sithe he came rather so: this  
ende, to heale offences. Wherefore the doctrine of the lawe remayneth  
so: all Christians, inuiolable, which by teachynge, admonyshynge, rebu-  
kyng and correctynge maye frame and prepare vs to euerye good  
woorke.

15 As so: those thynges that Paule speaketh of the curse, it is euident  
that they belonge not to the verrye instruction, butte onely to the  
force of byndynge the conscience. For the lawe not onely teacheth, butte  
also wyth authoritie requyret that whyche yt commaundeth. If yt  
be not perfourmed, yea yt duetye be slacke in any parte, it bendeth  
her thunderbolte of curse. For thys cause the Apostle sayth, that all  
they that are of the woorkes of the lawe, are subiecte to the curse. by  
cause it is wytten: Cursed is euery one, that fullfylleth not all. And he  
sayeth, that they be vnder the woorkes of the lawe, that do not sette  
ryghtepusnesse in the so:geuenesse of synnes, by whyche we are loosed  
from

Mat. v.  
Fol.

Gal. iii.  
F.  
De. xxvi.  
Fol.



from the rigoure of the lawe. He teacheth therefore that we muste bee loosed from the bondes of the lawe, vnlesse we wyll miserablye peryshe vnder them. But from what bondes: the bondes of that rigerous and sharpe exactinge, that releaseth nothing of the extremitie of the lawe, and suffereth not any offense unpunished. From this curse (I saye) that Christe mighte redeeme vs, he was made a curse for vs. For it is wrytten: Cursed is euery one that hangeth vpon the tree. In the capter followinge in deede he sayth, that Christe was made subiecte to the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe: but all in one meanynge, for he by and by addeth, that by adoption we mighte receiue the righte of children. What is that: that we shoulde not be opprelled wyth perpetuall bondage, that shoulde holde oure conscience fast strained with anguyshe of death. In the meane tyme thys alwaye remaineth vnshaken, that there is nothings withdrawn of the authoritie of the lawe, but that it oughte styll to bee receyued of vs wyth the same reuerence and obedience.

Of ceremonies it is otherwise, whiche were abrogate not in effecte, but in vse onely. And this, that Christe by hys commynge hath made an ende of them, doth so no thing diminish their holynesse, that it rather setteth them fourth and maket them glorious. For as they shold haue geuen but a vaine shewe to the olde people, vnlesse the power of the deathe and resurrection of Christe had bene shewed therein, so if they hadde not cessed, wee coulde not at this daye discerne to what purpose they were ordeyned. Therefore Paule, to proue that the keepinge of them, nowe is not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, teacheth that they weare shadowes whereof wee haue the bodye in Christe. We see therefore howe in the abolishinge of them, the truely shyneth better than if they did still a farre of, and as it were, with a veile spred before, shewe a figure of Christe that hath alreadye playnely appeared. And therefore the veile of the Temple at the deathe of Christe was torne in twoo peeces and fell doونه: because nowe the true and expresse image of the heauenly good thynges was come to lyghte, whyche before had been but vnperfectly begonne wyth darke rude draughtes, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues saythe. Hereunto scructh the sayeng of Christe, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vnto the tyme of Ihon, and that from that tyme forwarde, the kyngdome of God beganne to bee ioyefullye preached: not meaninge that the holy fathers were without the preachynge that conteyneth the hope of saluation, and of eternall lyfe, but because a farre of, and vnder shadowes onely they dyd beholde that whiche wee at thys daye see in the full lyghte. But why it behoued that the Church of God shoulde clymbe by hyer from those firste instructions, Ihon the Baptist declareth: for that the lawe is geuen by Moses, but grace & truth beganne by Iesus Christe. For althoughe the purginge of sinnes were truely promised in the olde sacrifices, & the Arke of the couenant was a sure pledge of the fatherly fauoure of God, yet all this had been but a shadowe, if it had not ben grounded vpon the grace of Christe, wherin is sounde perfect and eternal stedfastnesse. Let this then remaine sure, & although & ceremoniall vsages of & lawe haue cessed to be obserued, yet by & ende of them it is & better knowen, how great was & profite of them before Christes cominge,

Gal. iii. v.  
E. iii. iii.  
Deut. xxi.  
xiii.

16

Colof. ii.  
xvii.

Mat. xxiii.  
ii.

Heb. x. i.  
Luc. xvi.  
xvi.

Iho. i. xv.



minge, wyth in takinge awaye the vse of them hath sealed the force & effecte of them with his deathe.

17

Coloss. ii.

vii.

Somewhat more harde is the point that Paule noteth, And he hath renued you together with him, when ye were deade by sinnes, and the vncircumcision of your flethe, forgeuinge you of all your offences, blotting out the handwritting that remained in y<sup>e</sup> decrees against vs, whyche was contrarie vnto vs, and he hath taken it awaye, fastninge it to the crosse &c. For he seemeth to stretch the abolyshinge of the lawe somewhat further, that nowe we haue nothing to do with the decrees thereof. For thei erre that expound it onely of the lawe morall, whose vnapeassable rigouce rather then doctrine thereof thei thinke to be taken away. Some more deeply weying the wordes of Paule, do espie that it is properly spoken of the lawe ceremoniall, and doe shewe that this worde Deuill, doth more than ones so signifie in Paule. For to the Ephesians he saith thus: He is our peace, that maketh both to be one, y<sup>e</sup> maketh voide the law of commaundementes consistinge in y<sup>e</sup> decrees, y<sup>e</sup> he might make two in himselfe into one new man. It is no doubt that he speaketh ther of the ceremonies, for he calleth it the partition wherewith the Jewes were seuered from the Gentiles: wherefore I graunt that those first expositors are rightfully reprovod by these: but yet mee thinkes that these do not sufficientely well set fourth the minde of the Apostle. For I like not at all, to haue these two places compared together in all pointes, when his purpose was to aduertise the Ephesians of their adoption into the felowship of Israel, he teacheth y<sup>e</sup> the stoppe is taken awaye, whereby they were before tyme kepte asunder, that was in ceremonies. For the vsages of washinges and sacrifices, wherewith the Jewes were made holy vnto the Lorde, did seuer them from the Gentiles. But in the epistle to the Colossians, whoe seeth not that he toucheth a hyer misterie. In deede the point of the disputation ther, is of Mosaicall obseruations, wherunto the false Apostles did labour to diuine the Christian people. But, as in the Epistle to the Galatians he fetcheth that controuersie further of, and as it wer bringeth it back to the first heade therof, so doth he also in this place. For if in y<sup>e</sup> ceremonies you consider nothing els but a necessitie of y<sup>e</sup> vse of them, to what purpose was it, to call it a handwritting against vs: moreouer to set the whole summe in a manner of our redemption in this, that it shold be cancelled: Wherefore the matter it selfe trieth out, that here is some more secret thing to be considered. And I truste that I haue attained the naturall vnderstandinge of it, if at leaste this be graunted me to bee true, which in one place is most truli written by Augustine, yea that he hath taken out of the plaine wordes of the Apostle, that in the Jewish ceremonies was rather a confession than a cleansinge of sinnes. For what did thei els by sacrifices, but confesse the selues in their conscience guilty of death, that did put cleansinges in their place: What did thei with their cleansinges, but testifie them selues to be vncleane: And so was the handwritting of their sinne, and vncleannesse oft renewed by them, but ther was no discharge in that testifying thereof. For whyche cause the Apostle writeth that at lengthe by meane of the deathe of Christe, was perfourmed the redemption of the offences that remayned vnder the olde Testamente. Therefore the Apostle dothe woorthily call the ceremonies

Heb. vii. 6  
17. & 18.

Heb. ix. 10



ceremonies Handwrittinges againste those that obserue them: for as much as by them they did openly seale to their owne damnation & vncleannesse. And it hindereth not, that they were also partakers of the same grace with vs. for this they obteyned in Chryste, not in the ceremonies, whyche there the Apostle dothe seuer from Chryste, bicause being at that time vsed, they did obscure the glorie of Chryste. Thus learn we, that the ceremonies, if they be consydered by them selues, are well and fittly called handwoytynge againste the saluation of men, bicause they were as solemne instrumentes that testified their beinge bounde. When the false Apostles wente aboute to binde the Chrystian Churche to them againe, Paule did not withoute cause admonysh the Colossians, by fetchinge their signification of them further of, to what poynte they shoulde fall backe agayne, if they suffered them selues in such sorte to be yoked by them. for there withall was the benefite of Chryst wrested awaie from them, in as muche as he hauinge ones performed the eternall clensinge, hath vtterly abolyshed these dayly obseruations, whiche were onely of force to seale sinnes, but coulde do nothing to the puttynge awaye of them.

## The eyghte Chapter.

An exposition of the ~~Mo~~all lawe.



Ere I thinke it shall not bee from the purpose, to enterlace the ten Commaundementes of the lawe wyth a shorte exposition of them, bycause thereby both that shall better appere which I haue touched, that the same keeping of them whiche God hath ones appoynted remaineth yet in force: and then also we shall haue besides that a prose of the seconde poynte, that the Jewes dyd not onely learne by it what was the true force of godlines, but also by the terroure of the iudgement, syth they sawe themselves vnable to keepe it, they were compelled whether they woulde or no, to be drawen to the Mediatore. Nowe in the setting forth the summe of those thinges that are requyred in the true knowledg of God, wee haue already taught, that we can not conceyue hym accordynge to his greatnesse, butte that by and by his maiestie presenteth it selfe vnto vs to binde vs to the worship of him. In the knowledg of our selues we haue set this for the chiefe pointe, that beyng boide of the opinion of oure owne strength, and cleane stripped of the truste of our owne righteousness, and on the other side discouraged and beaten downe wyth conscience of our owne needynesse, we shoulde learne perfect humilitie and abacement of oure selues. The Lorde setteth fourth bothe these poyntes in his lawe, where firste chalenging to himselfe due power to gonerne, hee calleth vs to the reuerence of his diuine maiestie, and appoynteth oute vnto vs wherein it standeth and consisteth: & then publiclyng a rule of his righteousness, (against the righteousness where of oure nature as yt ys peruerse & croked, doth alway striue, & beneth the perfectio wherof our power as of it selfe it is weake & feble to do good, lieth a great way bylowe) he reproveth vs both of weakenesse and vnrighteousnesse. Moreover that inwarde lawe whyche we haue before saide to bee grauen and as it were imprinted in the heartes of all men,



Doth after a certaine manner enforme vs of the same thinges that are to be learned of the two tables. For oure conscience doth not suffer vs to slepe a perpetuall slepe withoute feelynge, but that it inwardly is a wytresse and admonysher of those thynges that we owe to God, and layeth before vs the difference of good and euell, and so accuseth vs when we swarue from oure dutie. But manne beinge wrapped in such darkenesse of erreours as he is, scarce euen slenderly tasteth by that lawe of nature, what worship pleaseth God: but truly he is very farre distante from the righte knoweledge thereof. By side that, hee is so swollen with arrogancie and ambition, & so blinded with selfeloue, & he can not yet loke vpon, and as it wer, descende into himselfe to learne to submitte and humble himselfe, and confesse his owne myserie. Therefore (as it was necessarie bothe for oure dulnesse and stubbornesse) the Lorde hath set vs a lawe wyttten, whyche shoulde bothe more certainly testifie that whyche in the lawe naturall was to obscure, and also shoulde shake awaye oure drouensesse and more liuely touche oure mynde and remembrance.

2 Nowe it is casye to vnderstande what is to be learned of the lawe; that is, that as God is oure creatoure, so of ryght he hath the place of oure father and Lorde, and that by thys reason we owe to him glorie, reuerence, loue & feare. Yea and also that we are not at oure owne liberty, to solowe whether soeuer the luste of oure minde doth moue vs, but that we oughte to hange vpon hys backe, and to reste onely vpon that whyche pleaseth hym. Then we learne, that he delitech in ryghteousnesse and vpryghtnesse, that he abhorreth wyckednesse, and therefore, that vnlesse we wyll wyth wycked vnthankfullnesse fall awaye from oure creatoure, wee muste necessarily obserne ryghteousnesse all oure life longe. For if then onely we yelde vnto him the reuerence that we owe, when we preferre his will before oure owne, it soloweth, that there is no other due worship of him, but the obseruation of righteousnesse, holynesse and cleanness. Neither maye we pretende this excuse that wee wante power, and lyke wasted debtors be not able to paye. For it is not conueniente that wee shoulde measure the glorie of God by oure owne power: for whatsoeuer we bee, he alwaye abydech lyke to hym selfe, a louer of ryghteousnesse, a hater of wickedesse. Whatsoeuer he requyret of vs (by cause he canne requyre nothyng butte that whyche is ryghte) by bonde of nature we muste of necessitie obey: but that we are not able, is oure owne faulte. For if we be holden bounde of oure owne luste wherein sinne reighneth, so that we are not loose at libertie to obey oure father, there is no cause why we shoulde allege necessitie for oure defense, the euell whereof is bothe within vs, and to be imputed vnto oure selues.

3 When we haue thus farre profited by the teaching of the lawe, then muste we by the teachinge of the same lawe also descend vnto our selues: whereby at lengthe we may carry away two thynges. The firste is, by comparing & righteousnesse of & lawe with our life, to learne, & we are farr of from being able to satisfie & will of God, & & therefore we are not worthy to haue place among his creatoures, much lesse to be reckned among his children. The second is in considering oure strength, to learn & it is not onli insufficiet to fulfil & law, but also vtterli none at al.



Herpon solo weth bothe a distruste of oure owne strength, & a care and fearefullnesse of mynde . For conscience canne not beare the burden of iniquitie, but that by and by the iudgement of God is present before it: and the iudgemente of God canne not bee felte , butte that it stryketh into vs a dycafull horroure of deathe. And lykewise beyng constrained wyth pious of her owne weakenesse, it canne not choose butte by and by fall into despere of her owne strength. Both these affectiones do engendrie humilitie and abatemente of courage . So at lengthe it cometh to passe , that man made a frayde wyth felinge of eternall death, which he seeth to hange ouer him by the deseruinge of his owne unrighteousnesse, turneth hym selfe to the onely mercy of God, as to the onely hauen of saluation : that seelyng that it is not in hys power to paye that he oweth vnto the lawe , desperinge in hym selfe , hee maye take breathe againe and beginne to craue and looke for helpe from els where.

Butte the Lorde not contented to haue procured a reuerence of hys righteousnesse , hath also added promyses and threatnynges , to fyll oure heartes wyth loue of hym, and wyth hatred of wyckednesse . For, bicause oure mynde is to blynde, to be moued with the onely beautie of goodnesse , it pleased the mooste mercyfull father of hys tendre kyndnesse, to allure vs wyth sweetenesse of rewardes, to lone and longe for hym. He pronounceth therfore, that wyth hym are rewardes layed vp for vertue, and that hee shall not spende his labour in bayne , whosoever he bee, that shall obey hys commaundementes. Hee proclameth on the other syde, that hee not onely abhorreth vnryghteousnesse, but also that it shall not escape vnpunished, for that hee wyll bee a reuenger of the contempte of hys maiestie. And, to exhorte vs by all meanes, hee promyseth as well the blessinges of thys present lyfe , as also eternall blessednesse, to their obedience that keepe his commaundementes: and to the transgressors therof, he threateneth bothe present miseries and the punymente of eternal death. For the same promise, (he that doth these thynges, shall liue in them: ) and also the threatenynge that answereth it, (the soule that synneth, the same shall dye.) doe wythoute doubte belonge to the immortalitie or deathe that is to come, and shall neuer be ended . All be it, wheresoever is mentioned the good wyll or wrath of God , vnder the one is contained eternitie of lyfe , vnder the other eternall destruction . Of present blessinges and curses there is a longe registrye reherced in the lawe . And in the penall ordinaunces appeareth the soueraigne cleannesse of God, that can suffer no iniquitie: but in his promyses, byside his greate loue of righteousnesse, (which he can not finde in his hearte to defraude of her rewarde) ther is also proued his merueilous bountifullnesse . For wheras we and all oures are indetted vnto his maiestie, by good ryght whatsoener he requyreth of vs, he demaundeth it as due det, but the payment of det is not worthy of rewarde. Therfore he Departeth with his owne right, when he offereth rewarde to oure obediences, which we do not yelde of oure selues as thinges þ were not due: but what those promyses do bring vnto vs, is partly said alreadye , and partly shall appeare moze plainly in place fitte for it . It sufficeth for this present, if we remembre and consyder, that there is in the promyses of the lawe , no small commendation of  
righteousnesse

4

Leu. xliij.  
v.  
Eze. xlvij.  
iii. & xx.

Leu. xxvi.  
iii.  
De. xxxij.  
i.



ryghteousnesse, that it maye the more certainly appeare howe muche the keepynge thereof pleaseeth God: that the penall ordinaunces are set for the more detestation of vnrightheousnesse, leaste the synner, delited with the sweete flatteringes of vyces, holde forget that the iudgement of the lawemaker is prepared for hym.

5 Nowe whereas the Lorde geuyng a rule of perfecte ryghteousnesse, hath applyed all the partes thereof to hys owne wyll, therein is declared that nothyng is to hym more acceptable than obedyence, whiche is so muche more diligently to be marked, as the wantonnesse of mans mynde is more ready to deuylse nowe and then dyuerse sortes of worshyppinge to winne his fauoure wythall. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, bycause it is naturally planted in the witte of manue, hath shewed and yet dothe shewe fourth the it selfe, that menne do alwaye delyte to inuente a waye to obtayne ryghteousnesse bysye the woorde of God, whereby it commeth to passe, that the commaundementes of the lawe haue but small place amonge the woorkes that are commonly called good woorkes, while that innumerable rate of mennes woorkes occupyeth almoste all the roome. But what other thyng meante Moses than to restraine suche lycentiousnesse, when after the publyshynge of the lawe hee spake thus to the people: Geue heede, and heare all the thynges that I commaunde thee, that it may bee well to thee and to thy children after thee for euer, when thou shalte doe that whyche is good and pleasaunte before thy God. What I commaunde thee, that onely do: adde not vnto it, nor dymynyshe yt. And before, when hee hadde protested, that thys was hys wysedome and vnderstandynge before other nations that hee hadde receyued iudgementes, ryghteousnesse and ceremouies of the Lorde, hee saide futher, keepe therefore thy selfe and thy soule carefully, that thou forgette not the woordes whyche thine eyes haue seene, and that at no tyme they fall oute of thy hearte. For, bycause God did foresee, that the Israelites woulde not reste, butte that after they hadde receyued the lawe, they woulde besyde it trauaile in byngynge fourth the newe ryghteousnesse, yf they were not severely holden backe: therefore hee pronounceth that herein is conteyned the perfection of ryghteousnesse, whyche shoulde haue bene the strongest staye to holde them backe, and yet they dyd cesse from that boldenesse so muche for bydden them. Butte what of vs: wee are surely comprehended wyth in the same charge: for it is no doubtte that that continueth still wherby the Lorde hath chalenged to hys lawe the absolute doctryne of righteousnesse, yet wee not contented therewyth, doe monsterously trauaile with forgyng and coppinge of newe good woorkes one vpon an other. For the healinge of thys faulte, the best reindye shall bee, yf thys thoughte shall be stedfastely settled in vs, that the lawe is geuen vs from God to teache vs a perfect ryghteousnesse: & therein is taught no righteousnesse, butte the same that is examined, by the appoynted rule of Gods wyll: that therefore newe fourmes of woorkes are baynely attempted to winne the fauoure of God, whose true worshype standeth in onely obedyence: butte rather that suche studye of good woorkes as wandereth oute of the lawe of God, is an intolerable desylynge of Gods ryghteousnesse and of the true ryghteousnesse.

Augustine

Deut. xij.  
viij.Deut. iij.  
ij.



Augustine also say the moſte truly, whyche calleth the obedience that is done to God, ſometime the mother and keeper, ſometime the originall of all vertues.

But when wee haue expounded the lawe of the Lorde, then more ſtylely and with more poſite ſhall that be confirmed which I haue before ſpoken of the office and vſe of the lawe. But before that I beginne to diſcuſſe euery ſeueral commaundemente by it ſelſe, it ſhall be good now to geue ſuche leſſons as ſerue to the vniuerſall knoweledg thereof. Firſt let vs holde for determined, that the life of man is inſtructed in the lawe, not onely to outwarde honeſtye, but alſo to inwarde and ſpirituall righteouſneſſe. Whiche thyng whereas no man can denye, yet ther be fewe that rightly marke it. That commeth to paſſe, becauſe they loke not vpon the lawemaker, by whole nature the nature of the lawe alſo ought to be weied. If any kinge do by proclamation forbid to committe fornication, to kill, or to ſteale: in this caſe I graunt that yf a man do onelye conceiue in his minde a liſte to committe fornication to ſyne, or to ſteale, & do not committe any of theſe thynges in deede, he is out of the compaſſe of this prohibition. And the reaſon is, for that, becauſe the foreſighte of a mortall lawemaker, coude not extende but to outwarde civilitie: his commaundementes are not broken, but when the outwarde offences are committed. But God (whole eye nothinge eſcapeth, and whyche regardeth not ſo muche the outwarde ſhewe as the cleanneſſe of the hearte) vnder the forbiddinge of fornication, manſlaughter and thefte, forbiddeth liſte, wrathe, hatred, couetyng of an other manns, guyle, and what ſeuer ys lyke to theſe. For in ſo muche as hee ys a ſpirituall lawemaker, hee ſpeaketh no leſſe to the ſoule than to the bodye. Butte the manſlaughter of the ſoule, are wrathe and hatred: the thefte of the ſoule, ys euell deſyre and couetouſneſſe: the fornycation of the ſoule, ys liſte. Butte mans lawes alſo (wyl ſome man ſaye) haue regarde to ententes and wylles, and not to ſuccelles of fortune. I graunte, but yet they are ſuche ententes and wylles, as haue outwardly broken oute. They weye wyth what entente euerye outwarde acte hath been done, butte they ſearche not the ſecrete thoughtes. Therefore they are ſatyſfied when a manne onely wythholdeth hys handes from offendynge. On the other ſyde, bycauſe the heauenly lawe ys made for oure myndes, therefore the reſtraynte of myndes ys pryncypally needefull to the keepinge thereof. Butte the common ſorte of menne, euen when they mightylie diſſemble there contempt of the lawe, doe frame theyr eyes, their feete, their handes, and all the partes of their bodye to ſome obſeruation of the lawe, in the meane time thei holde their hearte moſte farre of from all obediencie, and thynke them ſelues well dyſcharged, yf they keepe cloſe from menne that whyche thei do in the ſighte of God. They heare yt ſayde: Thou ſhalte not kyll: Thou ſhalte not committe adulterie: Thou ſhalte not ſteale: they drawe not onte their ſwerde to kil: thei ioyne not their bodyes with harclothes: they laye not their handes vpon other menns goodes. All thys ys well hytherto. Butte in their whole heartes they breathe oute murders, they boile in liſte, thei caſt their eyes aſyde at all mens goods, and deuoure them with couetyng.

Now



nowe wanteth that which was the chiefe pointe of the lawe. Whence, I praie you, cometh so grosse dullnesse, but that leauinge the lawe maker, thei rather measure righteousness by their owne witte. Against these doth Paule mightily crye oute, affirminge that the lawe is spirituall: whereby he meaneth, that it not onely demaundeth an obedience of the soule, mynde and wyll, but also requireth an Angelike purenesse, whiche hauinge all y<sup>e</sup> fylthynesse of y<sup>e</sup> flethe cleane wypped awaye, maye sauoure nothinge but of the spirite.

7 When we saie that this is the meaninge of the lawe, we thruste not in a newe exposition of oure owne, but we folowe Christ the best exposition of the lawe. For when the Pharises hadde infected the people with a false opinion, that he perfourmeth the lawe that hathe wyth outewarde worke committed nothinge againste the lawe, he reproued this moste perilous erroure, and pronounced that vchaste lookinge at a woman ys fornication: hee protested that they are manslayers that hate their brother, for he maketh them gyltye of iudgement that haue but conceiued wrathe in their munde, & them gyltye of the counsell that in murmuringe or grudginge haue vttered any token of a displeased minde: and them gyltye of Hell fyre, that with tauntes and raylynge breake fourth into open anger. They that haue not espied these thynges, haue famed Christe to be an other Moses, the gener of the lawe of the Gospell, whiche supplied the imperfection of the lawe of Moses. Whereupon cometh that common prynciple of the perfection of the lawe of the Gospell, whyche farre passeth the oulde lawe, whiche ys a moste pernicious opinion. For hereafter, wher we shal gather a summe of the commaundementes, it shall appeare by Moses himselfe, howe reprochefully thei dishonoure the lawe of God. Truly it sheweth that all the holynesse of the fathers dyd not muche dyffer from hypocryse, and it leadeth vs awaye frome that onely and perfecte rule of ryghteousnesse. But it is very easye to confute that erroure: for that they thoughte that Christe did adde vnto the lawe, whereas he did but restore the lawe to her integritie, whyle hee made it free, and cleansed yt beinge obscured with lies, and defiled with leuen of the Pharises.

8 Let this be oure secounde note, that there is alwaye more conteyned in the commaundementes and prohibitions, than is by wordes expressed, whiche yet is so to be tempered, that it bee not like a Lesbian rule, whereby licenciously wrestlinge the Scriptures, we may make of euery thinge what we lyst. For many bringe to passe by this vnmeasured libertie of runninge at large, y<sup>e</sup> wyth some the authoritie of Scripture groweth in contempte, and other some despere of vnderstandinge it. Therefore, yf yt bee possyble, wee muste take some suche waye, that maye by ryghte and perfecte pathe leade vs to the wyll of God, wee muste I saie searche howe farre oure exposition maye errecede the boundes of the woordes, that it maye appeare that it is not an addition of mennes gloses knitte to the woorde of God, butte rather that the pure and naturall meaninge of the lawe geuer ys saythefully rendered. Truly in a manner in all the commaundementes yt ys so manifest, that there are figuratiue speaches, meaninge more in expressinge parte that he maye woorthily bee laughed at that wyll restraine the meaninge of the lawe to the narrownesse of the wordes. It is eident therefore



therefore, that sober exposition dothe passe beyonde the woordes: but howe farre, that remaineth harde to iudge, vnlesse there be some measure appoynted: wherefore I thynke thys to be the best measure, that if it be directed to the entente of the commaundemente, that is, that in euery commaundemente be weyed, why it was geuen vs. As for example: Euery commaundemente is either by waye of byddyng, or of forbidding: the tructh of bothe sortes shall fourthwith be founde, if we consider the entent or the ende thereof. As the ende of the fiftē commaundement is, that honoure is to be geuen to them to whome God appoynteth it. This therefore is the summe of the commaundement, that it is righte and pleaseth God, that wee honoure them to whome he hath geuen any excellence, and that he abhorreth contempte and contumelie againste them. The entente of the fyrste commaundemente is, that God alone be honored. The summe therefore of the commaundement shall be, that true godlinesse, that is to say, true worship of his maiestic pleaseth God, and that he abhorreth vngodlinesse. So in euery commaundement we muste looke, vpon what matter yt treateth: then muste we searche oute the ende, till we fynde what the lawemaker doth testifie therein proprely to please or displease him: and laste of all muste wee drawe an argument from the same to the contrarie, after this manner: If this pleaseth God, then the contrary displeaseth him: if this displeaseth hym, then the contrary pleaseth him: if he commaunde this, then he forbidde the contrary: if he forbid this, then he commaunde the contrary.

That whiche is now somewhat darkely touched, shall in expounding of the commaundementes become very plaine by practyse, wherfore yt suffyseth to haue touched it, sauing that this last pointe, is to be shortly confirmed with some profe thereof, bicause otherwise either it sholde not bee vnderstanded, or beinge vnderstande, it might parhappes at the beginninge seeme to sounde lyke an absurditie. Thys needeth no profe, that when a good thing is commaunded, the euell is forbidden & is contrarie to it: for ther is no man but he will graunt it me. And common iudgemente will not much sticke to admitte, that when euell thinges are forbidden, the contrarie dueties are commaunded. It is an vniuersall opinion that vertues are commended, when the contrarie vices are condemned. But we require somewhat more than those formes of speache do signifie commonly amonge the people. For thei for the mooste part take the vertue contrary to any vice, to be the absteyning from the same vice: we say & it procedeth farther, & is to contrarie duties & doinges. Therefore in this commaundenent, Thou shalt not kyll, the common sense of men will consider nothing ells, but that we must absteyne from all hurt doing, or lust to do hurte. I say that there is further conteined, & we hold by all & helpes that we may, succoure the life of oure neigheoure. And, leaste I speake without a reason, I proue it thus: God forbidde & our brother be hurte or misused, bicause he willeth & our neigheours life be deare & precious vnto vs: he doth therefore require withall those dueties of loue that may be done by vs for the preferatiō of it. And so may we see how & ende of & commaundement doth alway disclose vnto vs al & we are therein commaunded or forbidde to do.

But why God, in suche as it were halfe commaundements hath by



figures rather secretly signified, than expressed what his will was, whereas there are wonte to be many reasons rendered thereof, this one reason please th me about: & rest. Bicause þ flesh alway endeuoreth to extenuate the fylthinesse of sinne, & to colour it with faire pretences, sauinge where itt is euery palpable for grossnesse; he hath set forth for an example in every kinde of offence that whiche was moste wicked and abhominable, at the hearinge whereof oure very senses might be moued with horrour, therby to empreinte in oure myndes a more haynous detesting of euery sorte of sinne. This manie times deceiueth vs in weyginge of vices; þ if thei be any thinge secret, we make them seme small. These deceites the Worde dothe disclose, when hee accustome th vs to referre althe whole multitude of vices to these principall heads, which do best of all shewe; how muche euery kinde is abhominable. As for example, wrath and hatred are not thoughte so heynous euells, when thei are called by their owne names, but when they are forbidden vs vnder the name of man slaughter, we better vnderstande how abhominable they are before God, by whose worde they are set in the degree of so horrible an offence: and we moued by his iudgement, do accustome oure selues better to weye the haynousnesse of those faultes that before seemed but lyghte vnto vs.

11  
 Thyrdely is to be considered, what meaneth the diuidynge of the lawe of God into twoo tables, whereof all wisemen wyll iudge that there is somtime mention made not vnfytly from the purpose, nor withoute cause. And we haue a cause ready, that dothe not suffer vs to remaine in doubt of this matter. For God so diuided his lawe into twoe partes, in whiche is contained the whole righteousnesse, that he hath assigned the fyrrste to the dueties of religion that do peculiarly pertaine to the worshipinge of his Godheade, the other to the dueties of Charitie whiche belonge vnto men. The first foundation of righteousnesse is the worship of God: whiche beinge ones ouerthrowen, all the other membres of righteousnesse are torne in sunder and dissolued, like to the partes of a horne vniointed and fallen downe. For what manner of righteousnesse wyllt thoue call yt, that thou beest not men wyth robberye and extorcions, if in the meane time by wicked sacrilege thou spoylest Gods maiestie of his glozie: that thou defilest not thy bodye with fornication, if with thy blasphemies thou prophanely abuse the sacred name of God: that thou murtherest no man, if thou trauaile to destroye and extinguishe the memorie of God: Wherefore righteousnesse is vaine without religion, and maketh no better shew, than if a mangede bodye with the heade cutte of, shoulde be broughte fourth for a beautifull syghte. And religion is not onely the principall part of righteousnesse, but also the very soule wherewith it breatheth: and is quickened. for men keepe not equitie and loue amonge them selues without the feare of God. Therefore we saye, that the worships of God is the beginning and foundation of righteousnesse, bicause when it is taken awaie, al the equitie, continence and temperance that men vse amonge them selues, is vaine and tryflinge before God. We saye also that it is the springe heade and liuely breathe of righteousnesse, bicause hereby men do learne to lyue amonge them selues temperately, and wythoute hurte doyng one to an other, if they reuerence God as  
 the



the iudge of right and wrong. Wherefore in the first table he instructeth vs to godlinesse and the proppre duties of religion, wherewith his maiestie is to be worshipped: in the other he prescribeth howe for the feares sake of his name, we ought to behaue our selues in the fellowship of men. And for this reason our Lord (as the Euāgelistes reherse it) did in a summe gather the whole law into two principall pointes, the one that we should loue God with al our heart, with al our soule, with all our strength: the other, that we loue our neighbour as our selues. Thus thou seest how of the two partes wherein he concludeth the whole lawe, he directeth the one toward God, and apointeth the other toward men.

But although the whole law be cōteined in two principall pointes, yet, to the ende to take away al pzetense of excuse, it pleased our God, to declare in the ten commaundementes moze largely and plainly al thinges that belong both to the honour, feare and loue of himself, and also to that charitie, whiche he cōmaundeth vs to beare to men for his sake. And thy studie is not ill spent to knowe the diuision of the commaundementes, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherein euery man ought to haue his iudgement free, for whiche we ought not contentiously to strine with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needes touche this point, least the readers shoulde eyther scozne or maruell at the diuision that we shall vse, as newe and lately deuised. That the law is diuided in ten wordes, bicause it is oft approued by the authozitie of God himselfe, it is out of controuersie, wherfore there is no doubt of the number, but of the manner of diuiding. They that so diuide them, that they geue thre cōmaundementes to the first table, and put other. viij. into the second, do wipe out of the number the cōmaundement concernyng images, or at least they hide it vnder the first: whereas without doubt it is seuerally set by the Lord for a commaundement, and the tenth commaundement of not couetyng the thinges of his neighbour, they do fondly teare into two. Beside that it shal by and by be done to vnderstande, that suche manner of diuidyng was vnknownen in the purer age. Other do reckē, as we do, fower seuerall cōmaundementes in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commaundement. As for me, bicause vnlesse I be conuincid by euident reason, I take the ten wordes in Moses for ten commaundementes, me thinkes I see so many diuided in very fit order. Therefore, leauyng to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best allow, that is, that the same whiche these latter sorte make the first cōmaundement, shal be in stede of a preface to the whole law, and then shal follow the cōmaundementes, fower of the first table, and sixe of the seconde, in suche order as they shal be rehearsed. Augustine also to Boniface agreeth with vs, whiche in rehersyng them kepeth this order: that God only be serued with obedience of religion, that no idole be worshipped, that the name of the Lord be not taken in vaine, when he had before seuerally spokē of the widowish cōmaundemēt of the Sabbot. In an other place in deede that first diuision pleaseeth him, but for to slender a cause, that is, bicause in the number of thre, if the first table consist of thre cōmaundementes, the misterie of the trinitie moze plainly appereth. Albeit in the same place

Mat. viij.  
xxvij.  
Luce. x.  
xxij.

12

Lib. 2. q. 9.  
uct. Test.



Of the knoweledge of

he Wicketh not to confesse that otherwise he rather liketh our diuision. Byt of these, the authour of y<sup>e</sup> Unperfect worke byō Matthew is of our side. Iosephus, vndoubtedly accozding to the cōmon consent of his time, assigneth to either table fiue cōmaundementes. Whiche is bothe against reason, bicaule it confōideth the distinction of religion & charitie, and also is confuted by the authoritie of the Lord himself, which in Matthew rekeneth the cōmaundement of honozing our parētes, in the number of the secōd table. Now let vs heare God himself, speaking in his owne wordes.

Mat. xx.  
ff.

The first Commaundement.

I am the Lord thy God, whiche haue brought thee out of the lande of Aegypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no straunge Gods before my face.

13 Whether you make the first sentence a part of the first cōmaundement, or reade it seuerally, it is indifferēt to me, so that you do not denie me that it standeth in stede of a pzeface to the whole law. First in making of lawes is heede to be takē, y<sup>e</sup> they be not shortly after abrogate by cōtempt. Therfoze God first of all pzouideth, that the maiestie of the lawe that he shall make, maye neuer at any time come in contempt. For stablishing wherof he bseth thzee maners of argumentes. First he chalengeth to him self power and right of deminion, wherby he may constraîne his chosen people, that they must of necessitie obey him: then he setteth w<sup>th</sup> a pzomise of grace with swetenesse therof to allure thē to studie of holinesse. Thirdly he reciteth the benefite that he did for them, to repzoue the Jewes of vnthankfulnessse, if they do not with obedience answer his kindnesse. Under the name of Jehouah, the Lord, is meant his authoritie & lawful dominiō. And if al thinges be of him and do abide in him, it is right that all thinges be referred to him, as Paule sayeth. Therfoze we are with this word alone sufficiently bzought vnder the yoke of Gods maiestie, bicaule it weremōstruous for vs to seke to withdr̄aw our selues frō vnder his gouernement, out of whome we can not be.

Rom. xi.  
ffvi.

14 After that he hath shewed that it is he that hath power to commaund, to whome obedience is due, lest he should seme to dr̄awe by only necessitie, he also allureth with swetenesse in pronouneyng, that he is the God of the Churche. For here is hidden in this sprache a mutuall relation, whyche is conteyned in the pzomise: I will bee to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. Wherupon Christ pzoueth that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob haue immortall life, by this that God testified that he is their God. Wheretoze it is as muche in effecte, as yf he should saye thus: I haue chosen you to be my people, not only to doe you good in this pzesent life, but also to geue you the blessednesse of the life to come. But to what end this tendeth, it is noted in diuerse places in y<sup>e</sup> law. For whē y<sup>e</sup> Lord doth bouchsaue to deale thus mercifully with vs, to call vs into the companie of his people, he choseth vs (sayth Moses) y<sup>e</sup> we should be a peculiar people vnto him self, a holy people, and should kepe his commaundementes.

Ier. xxxi.  
ffviii.  
Mat. xxv.  
ffv.

Deu. xxi. vi  
v. xxi. v.  
x. xxv. xxv

From



From whence also cometh this exhortion: Be ye holy, for I am holy. Now out of these two is deriued that protestation that is in the Prophet: The sonne honoureth the father, & the seruant honoureth his Lord. If I be a lord, where is my feare? If I be a father, where is my loue? Now foloweth the rehearsal of his benefite, whiche ought to be of so much moze force to moue vs, as the faulte of vnthankfulness is moze detestable euen among men. He then did put Israel in remembrance of a benefite lately done, but such a one as for y<sup>e</sup> miraculous greatnesse thereof beyng worthy to be had in remembrance for euer, should remaine in force w<sup>th</sup> their posteritie. Moouer it is most agreable for this present matter. For the Lord semeth to say y<sup>e</sup> they were deliuered out of miserable bondage for this purpose, that they should with obediēce and redinesse of seruice honoz him, the authoz of their deliuerance. He vseth also, (to the ende to holde vs fast in the true worshipping of him alone) to set out himself with certayne titles, whereby he maketh his sacred maiestie to be differently knowne from al idoles & forged gods. For, as I sayd befoze, suche is our redy inclination to vanitie, ioyned with rash boldnesse, that so sone as God is named, our minde cā not take hede to it self, but that it by and by falleth away to some vaine inuention. Therefore, when the Lord meaneth to bryng a remedie for this mischief, he setteth out his owne godhed with certayne titles, and so dothe compassse vs in, as it were within certayne grates, leaste we should wander hether and thether & rashly forge our selues some new God, if forsakyng the liuing God, we should erect and idole. For this cause, so oft as the Prophetes meane properly to point out him, they clothe him, and as it were enclose him, within those markes, wherby he had opened himself to the people of Israel. And yet when he is called the God of Abraham, oz the God of Israel, when he is set in the temple of Hierusalem among the Cherebins, these and like formes of speache do not binde him to one place oz to one people, but are set only for this purpose, to staye the thoughtes of the godly in y<sup>e</sup> God, whiche by his couenant, that he hath made with Israel, hath so represented himself, that it is no waye lawefull to varie from such a paterne. But let this remaine stedfastly emprinted, that there is mention made of the deliuerance to this ende, that the Jewes might the moze cherefully geue themselues to the God that doth by right clayme them vnto him. And we (least we should thinke that the same nothyng belougeth to vs,) ought to consider, that the bondage of Egypt is a figure of the spiritual captiuitie, wherin we are al holden bound, vntil our heuēly deliuerer do make vs free by the power of his arme, & conuey vs into the kingdome of libertie. As therfore, when in the olde time he minded to gather together the Israelites that were scattered abroad, to the worshipping of his name, he deliuered them out of the intolerable dominion of Pharao, wherewith they were oppressed: so al those to whō at this daye he professeth him self a God, he doth nowe deliuer from the deadly power of the Deuell, whyche was in a shadowe signified by that corporal bondage. Wherfore there is no man, but his minde ought to be inflamed to harken to the lawe whyche he heareth to haue proceeded from the soueraigne king. From whome as al thinges take their beginnyng, so is it mete that they haue also their ende

Leu. xij. 12

Mal. i. 11

15

Exo. iij. 12  
 Anos. i. 11  
 Habac. ii.  
 psal. lxxv. 11  
 1. psal. i.  
 El. psal. lxxv.  
 vi.



appointed and directed to him. There is no manne (I saye) but he ought to bee rauished to embrace the lawmaker, to the keepinge of whose commaundementes, he is taught that he is peculiarly chosen: from whose bountie he loketh bothe for flowynge store of all good thinges, and also the glozy of immortall life: by whose maruellous power and mercie, he knoweth himself to be deliuered out of the lawes of death.

16 After that he hath grounded and stablished the authoritie of his lawe, he setteth forth y first comaundement, That we haue no straung Gods before him. The end of this commaundement is, that God wil only haue pzeeminencie, & wholly enioy his owne authoritie amēg his people. And y it maye so be, he comaundeth that there be farre frō vs all vngodlinesse & superstitiō, wherby the glozy of his godhed is either diminished oz obscured: and by the same reason he comaundeth, that we shozhip and honour him with true endeuour of godlinesse. And the very simplicitie of the wordes themselues do in a manner expresse the same. For we can not haue God, but we muste also comprehend therein al thinges that properly belong to him. Wher eas therfore he forbiddeth vs to haue other Gods, he meaneth thereby, that we should not geue awaye els where that whiche is propre to him. For although the thinges that we owe vnto God be innumerable, yet not vnfitly they may be brought vnto fower principall pointes: Adozatiō, wherunto as a thing hanging vpon it, is adioyned spirital obedience of conscience: Affiance, Inuocation, & Thankesgeuyng. Adozation I cal the reuerence & worshop whiche euery one of vs yeldeth vnto him, when he submitteth himself vnto his greatnesse: wherfore I do not without cause make this a part therof, that we yeld our consciences in subiection to his lawe. Affiance, is an assurednesse of restyng in him by reknowleging of his powers, whē reposing al wisdom, righteousnesse, power, truthe & goodnesse in him, we thinke our selues blessed with only partakynge of him. Inuocatiō, is a resoziyng of our minde to his faith and help as to our only succour, so oft as any necessitie pzeisseth vs. Thankesgeuyng, is a certayne thankfulness whereby the prayse of all good thinges is geuen vnto him. Of these, as God suffreth nothyng to be conueyed awaye els where, so he commaunded all to be wholly geuen to him self. Neither shall it be enough to absteyne from hauyng any straunge God, vnlesse thou restrayne thy self in this, that many wicked contemners at wouste, which thinke the rediest way, to scozne all religions: but true religion muste goe befoze, whereby our mindes may be directed to the liuyng God, with knowledge whereof they beyng endued, maye aspire to reuerence, feare and worshop his maiestie, to embrace the communicatyng of all his good thinges, euery where to seke for his helpe, to reknowledge and aduaunce with confession of prayse the magnificence of his workes, as to the only marke in al the doynges of our life. Then, that we beware of peruerse superstition, wherby our mindes swaruyng from the true God, are drawē hether and thether as it were vnto diuerse gods. Wherfore, if we be contented with one God, let vs call to remembzance that whiche is beforesayd, that all forged gods are to be dzyuen farre awaye, and that the



the worſhip is not to be tozne in ſonder, whiche he alone claymeth to himſelf. For it is not lawfull to take awaye any thing frō his glorie, be it neuer ſo litle, but that all thinges that belong to him may wholly remayne with him. The percell of ſentence that ſoloweth (Before my face) encreaſeth the hainouſneſſe: for that God is prouoked to ialouſie, ſo oft as we thruſt our owne inuētions in his place, as if an vnchaſte woman by bzingyng in an adulterer openly befoze her huſbādes eyes ſhould the moze bere his minde. Therefore when God testified that with his preſent power and grace he loked hpō the people that he had choſen, the moze to fray them from the wicked act of falling from him, he geueth them warnyng that there can be no new gods brought in, but that he is witneſſe and beholder of their ſacrilege. For this bolde- neſſe is encreaſed with much wickedneſſe, that man thinketh that in his ſleyngeſ away he can begile the eyes of God. On the other ſide, God cryeth out that what ſo euer we purpoſe, what ſo euer we goe about, what ſo euer we practiſe, it cometh in his ſight. Let therefore our conſcience be cleane euen from the moſt ſecret thoughtes of ſwar- yng from him, if we will haue our religion to pleaſe the Lord. For he requireth to haue the glozy of his godhed whole and vncorrupted, not only in outward confeſſion, but alſo in his eyes, whiche do behold the moſt ſecret cozners of heartes.

*The ſecond Commaundement.*

17

Thou ſhalt not make to thee any grauen image, nor any ſimilitude of thoſe thinges that are in heauē aboue, or in earth beneth, or in the waters vnder the earth. Thou ſhalt not worſhip them, nor ſerue them.

As in the firſt cōmaundement he prouounced that he is the one God byſide whom there are no others gods to be deuiled or had, ſo now he moze openly declareth what maner of God he is, & with what kinde of worſhip he is to be honozed: that we maye not preſume to forge any carnal thing for him. The ende therefore of this commaundement is, ſ̄ he will not haue the lawefull worſhip of him, to be prōphaned with ſuperſtitious vſages. Wherfoze in ſumme, he calleth and draweth vs away from the carnal obſeruations, which our fooliſh minde is wont to inuent, when it conceiueth God accordyng to her owne groſneſſe. And therefore he frameth vs to the lawful worſhip of him, that is the ſpirituall worſhip, and which is apointed by him. He ſpeaketh of the groſſeſt faulte that is in this offenſe, namely outward idolatrie. And there be two partes of this comnaūdement, The firſt reſtrayneth our libertie, that we doe not preſume to make ſubiect to our ſenſes or by any forme to repreſent God, which is incomprehenſible. The ſeconde part forbiddeth vs to honoz any images for religious ſake. Mozoner he moztly reciteth al ſ̄ formes wherwith he was wont to be expreſſed in ſhape, by the prōphane and ſuperſtitious nations. By thoſe thinges that are in heauen, he meaneth the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres, and paraduerture alſo birdes, as expreſſyng his meanyng



Deut. liij.  
v.

in the fourth of Deuteronomie he meaneth as well birdes as starrs. Whiche note I would not haue spoken of, but that I sawe some vnskilfully to applie it to Angeles. Therfoze I omitte the other partes, bicause they are sufficienly knowen of themselues. And we haue already in the first boke taught plainely enough, that what so euer visible formes of God man doth inuent, they are directly contrarie to his nature, and that therfoze so sone as images come forth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

18

The penall ordinance that foloweth ought not a litle to auayle to make of our slouthfulnesse. For he threteneth: That he is the Lord our God, a yelous God, that visiteth the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children vnto the thirde and fourth generation, in them that hate his name, and sheweth mercie vnto thousandes to them that loue him and kepe his commaundementes. This is as much in effect, as yf he should haue sayde, that it is he only vpon whome we ought to sticke. And to byngge vs thereunto, he speaketh of his power, that doth not without punishment suffer it selfe to be contemned or diminished. Here is in deede set the name El, whyche signifieth God. But bicause it is deriued of strength, do expresse the sense the better, I did not sticke so to translate it, or to put it into the texte. Then he calleth himselfe ielous that can abide no fellow. Thirde he affirmeth that he will be a reuenger of his maiestie and glozie yf any doe transference it to creatures or to grauen images, and that not with a short or scender reuenge, but suche as shall extend to the chylzen and chyldezens children, and chyldezens childrens children, that is suche as shall be followers of their fathers vngodlinesse: as also he sheweth a perpetuall mercie and bountifulnesse vnto longe continuance of posteritie, to those that loue him and kepe his lawe. It is a common manner with God to take vpon him the persone of a husband towarde vs. For the coniunction wherewith he bindeth himself vnto vs, when he receiueth vs into the bosome of his church, is like vnto a certaine holy wedlock, that muste stande by mutuall faythfulnesse. As he dothe all the duties of a faythfull and true husbände, so agayne he requireth of vs suche loue and chastitie as ought to be in wedlocke, that we yelde not our soules to Satan, to lust, and to filthy desires of the flesh, to be defiled by them. wherupon he that rebuketh the Apostasie of the Jewes, complaineth that they did throwe away chastitie, & were defiled with adulteries: Therfoze, as the husband, the moze holy & chaste that he himselfe is, the moze is he kindled to anger yf he see his wiues minde encline to a strang louer: so the lord that hath wedded vs vnto himself in truthe, testifieth that hath a most seruently burnyng ialousie, so oft as neglecting the purenesse of his holly marriage, we are defiled with wicked lustes, but specially then when we trasserre to any other, or do infect with any superstition the worship of his name, whiche ought to be most vncorrupted: For asmuch as by this meane we doe not only breake the faith geuen in wedlocke, but also do defile the very wedding bed with bynggng into it adulterers.

Iere. liij.  
Sec. ij.

19

In the thretening is to be seen what he meaneth by this, when he sayth, that he will visit the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third & fourth generation. For, beside that it standeth not with  
the



the equitie of gods iustice, to punish þ innocent for an others offence: God him self also sayth, that he will not make the sonne to beare the wickednesse of the father. But this sentence is moze than ones repeated, of prolongyng the punnishmentes of the sinnes of the auncesters vpon the generations to come. For so doth Moses oftentimes speake vnto him: Lord, lord, that rendrest the iniquitie of the fathers to the children, vnto the third & fourth generatiõ. Likewise Jeremie: Thou that shewest mercie in thousandes, that rendrest the iniquitie of the fathers into the bolome of the children after them. Many, while they trauaile much in losyng this knot, thinke that it is to be vnderstãded only of tempozall punnishmentes, whiche if the children suffer for the parentes faultes, it is no absurditie, for asmuch as they are oftentimes layed vpon thẽ for their saluation, which is in deede true. For Elaye declared to Ezechias, þ his sonnes shuld be spoiled of the kingdome, & caried into exile for the sinne þ he had comitted. The houses of Pharaõ & Abimelech were plaged for offending Abrahã. But when þ is alledged for assoliling of this question, it is rather a shift than a true exposition. For here & in like places he threteneth a moze greuous reuenge than that it may be limited within the boundes of this present life. It is therfore thus to be taken: þ the iust curse of the Lord, lieth not only vpon the head of the wicked mã himself, but also vpon his whole familie: when the curse ones lieth vpon them, what is els to be looked for, but þ the father being destitute of the spirit of God, liue most wickedly, & the sonne likewise forsaken of the lord for the fathers fault, do follow the same way of destruction: & finally, the childes childe, & the childe of the childes childe, þ cursed seede of detestable mẽ do fal hedlong after thẽ.

First let vs see, whether such reuenge be vnsemely for the iustice of God. If al the nature of mã be dãnable, we know þ destruction is prepared for thẽ, to whõ þ lord vouchsaueth not to comũicate his grace. Neuerthelesse thei do perish by their owne vnrighteousnesse, & not by vnrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there left any cause to quarel, why they be not holpẽ by the grace of God to saluation as other are. Wheras therfore this punnishment is laied vpon wicked mẽ & euil doers for their offenses, þ their houses be depriued of þ grace of God during many generatiõs: who cã accuse God for this most iust reuenge. But þ Lord on þ other side pronõceth, þ the punnishment of the fathers sinne shal not passe ouer vnto þ sonne. Note what is ther entreated of. Whẽ the Israelites had bẽ long & continually vexed w many calamities, thei began to vse for a Prouerbe, þ their fathers had eatẽ a sower grape, wherwith þ childrens teeth were set on edge: wherby thei meant, that their fathers had comitted sinnes, wherof thei, being otherwise righteous, & not deseruing it, did suffer þ punnishment, rather by þ vnappeasable wraathfulnesse of God, thã by a moderate seueritie. The Prophet pronõceth vnto thẽ þ it is not so: bicause they are punished for their owne offenses, & þ it standeth not w the iustice of God, þ the righteous sonne shuld suffer punnishment for the noughtinesse of þ wicked father. Which thing also is not cõtained in this present ordinance. For if the Visiting, whereof mention is now made, be fulfilled when þ lord taketh away frõ the house of the wicked his grace, the light of his truth & other helpes of saluation: in this that the children being blinded and

Eze. xlvii  
ff.Num. xxi  
vii.Jer. xxxi  
viii.Esa. lxxvii  
vii.Gen. xxi  
xvii. & xviii.

20

Eze. xlvii  
ff.



foraken of him, do goe on in the steppes of their fathers, they susteine curses for their fathers offenses. But in asmuch as they are put to re-  
porall miseries, & at last to eternall destruction, herein they are puni-  
shed by the iust iudgement of God, not for the sinnes of other, but for  
their owne iniquitie.

21

en. xvij.  
vij.  
2ou. ff.  
vij.

On the other side is offered a promise of enlarging the mercie of God  
into a thousand generations, whiche promise is also often founde in  
the Scriptures, & is set in the solemne couenant of the churche: I will  
be thy God, and of thy seede after thee. Whiche thinge Salomon ha-  
uing respect vnto, writeth that the childre of the righteous shalbe bles-  
sed after their death not only by reason of holy bringing vp, which al-  
so not a litle auaieth thereunto, but also for y blessing promised in the  
couenāt, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the  
godly. Herupon groweth great cōfort to the faithfull, great terrour to  
the wicked. For it euen after death, the remembrance bothe of righte-  
ousnesse & wickednesse be of so great force with God, that the cursing  
of the one, and the blessing of the other redoundeth vnto posteritie,  
much more shal it light & rest vpon the heads of the doers themselues.  
But it maketh nothing agaynste vs, that the issue of the wicked many  
times cometh to good pzofo, and the issue of the faithfull swarueeth out  
of kinde: because the lawmaker meante not here to stablish such a per-  
petual rule as should derogate his free election. For it sufficeth for the  
comforte of the righteous and for the terrour of the sinner, that the  
penaltie is not vayne or of no effect, although it doe not alwaye take  
place. For as the temporall punishmentes that are layed vpon a fewe  
wickedmen, are testimonies of the wrath of God agaynst sinnes, and  
of the iudgement that shal one day be geuen vpon all sinners, although  
many escape vnpunished euen to the ende of their life: so when God  
geueth one example of this blessing to shew mercie and boūtifulnesse  
to the sonne for the fathers sake, he geueth a pzofo of his constant and  
perpetual fauour to them that worshop him: and when he ones pur-  
sueth the wickednesse of y father in the sonne, he sheweth what iudge-  
ment is prepared for all the reprobate for their owne offences. Which  
assurednesse he had in this place principally respect vnto. And by the  
way he cōmendeth vnto vs the largenesse of his mercie, whiche he ex-  
tendeth vnto a thousand generations, whereas he assigned but only  
fower generations to vengeance.

22

*The third Commaundement.*

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God  
in vayne.

The end of this cōmaundement is, y his will is to haue the maie-  
stie of his name to be holy among vs. Therfore the summe shalbe, that  
we do not defile it with contemptuously & irreuerently vsing it: with  
whiche prohibition the cōmaundement hangeth orderly together, that  
we take studie and care godlily to reuerence it. Therefore we ought  
so to order our selues both in our mindes & our tonges, that we ney-  
ther thinke nor speake any thing of God himself or his misteries, but  
reuerently



reuerently & with much sobrietie: that in weyeng his woꝝkes, we conceiue nothing but honozable toward him. These three things I say, it behoueth vs not negligently to marke, that what so euer our minde conceiueth of him, what so euer our tong vttereth, it may sauour of his excellencie, & maye agree with the holy hyghnesse of his name: and finally may serue to aduance his magnificence. That we do not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy woꝝde & reuered misteries either to ambition, or to couetousnesse, or to our owne triflinges: but that as they beare the dignitie of his name empꝛinted in the, so thei may kepe their honour & estimation among vs. Last of al, that we do not carp againe, or speake euell of his woꝝkes, as these wretched men are wont to babble reprochefully against them: but that what so euer we reherse done by him, we report it with woꝝdes of praise of his wisdom, righteousnesse and goodnesse. That is to sanctifie the name of God. Where otherwise is done, it is defiled with vaine and peruerse abuse, bicause it is violently carried fro the right vse wherunto only it was apointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoyled of his dignitie, and by litle and litle brought to contempt. Now, if there be so much euell in this rash redinesse to vse the name of God out of season, much moze mischief is in this, if it be employed to euell vses, as they do that make it to serue the superstitions of Necromancie, cruell execrations, vnlawfull couerations, & other wicked enchaunteinentes. But swearing is chiefly mentioned in the commaundement, as the thing wherin the peruerse abuse of Gods name is most detestable, that thereby we may be the better altogether frayed awaye from all defilyng thereof. But that here is commaundement geue of the woꝝhip of God, and of the reuerence of his name, and not of the truthe and equitie that is to be kept among men, appereth by that that he afterward in the second table condemneth periurie and false witnessse, wherby hurt is done to the felowship of me: but it were in vaine to repete it agayne, if this commaundement entreated of the dutie of charitie. And also the diuision of the law it self requireth it, bicause as it is said, God did not in vaine apoint two tables for his law, wherby is gathered y in this commaundement he chalengeh his owne right to himself, & defendeth the holynesse of his name, and teacheth not what men owe to men.

First is to be learned what is an othe. It is a takyng of God to witnessse, to confirme the truthe of that whiche we speake. For those cursed speeches that conteine manifest reproches against God, are vniworthy to be reckened among othes. That suche takyng to witnessse, whan it is rightly done, is a kinde of woꝝhippyng of God, is shewed in diuerse places of the Scripture. As whē Elaye prophecieth of the calling of the Assyrians and Egyptians into felowship of the couenāt w Israel, they shal speake (sayth he) in the tong of Chanaan, & shal swere in the name of the Lord. That is to say, in sweryng by the name of the Lord, they shal yelde a confession of his religion. Againe when he speaketh of the enlargemēt of his kingdome, he sayth: Whosoever shal blesse himself, shal blesse in the God of the saythfull: and he that shal swere in the land, shal swere in the true God. Hieremie sayth, Yf they shal teach y people to swere in my name as thei haue taught the to swere by Baal, they shalbe buylded vp in the middes of my house.

23

Esa. xlii.  
viii.Esa. lvi.  
vi.Iere. xli.  
vii.



And for good cause it is sayde, that when we call upon the name of the Lord to witnesse, we doe witnesse our religion toward him. For so wee confesse that he is the eternall and vnchaungeable truthe, whome we call upon, not onely as a moste substantiall witnesse of truthe aboue all other, but also as the only defense thereof, whiche is able to byyng forth hidden thynges into light, & then as the knower of heartes. For where testimonies of menne doe fayle, there we flee to God for witnesse, specially where any thyng is to be proued that lieth secreete in conscience. For whyche cause the Lord is bitterly angry with them that sweare by strange gods, and he iudgeth that manner of swearing to be a manifest of manifest falling from his allegiance: Thy sonnes haue forsaken me, and do swere by them that are no gods. And he declareth the haynoulnesse of this offense by threathenyng of punishment: I will destroye them that sweare by the name of the Lord, and swere by Melchan.

Ier. v. vij.

Soph. i. b.

24

Nowe when we vnderstande that it is the Lordes will that there be in our othes a worshippinge of his name: so muche the more diligent hede is to be taken, that in stede of worshippinge they doe not containe dishonour, contempt or abacement of it. For it is no small dishonour, when periurie is committed in swearing by him, wherefore it is called in the lawe, Profanation. For what is lefte to the Lord when he is spoyled of his truthe: he shall then cease to be God. But truely he is spoyled thereof, when he is made an affirmer and approuer of falshood. Wherefore, when Josua minded to dyeue Achan to confesse the truthe, he sayd: My Sonne, geue glorie to the Lord of Israell. meanyng thereby, that the Lord is greuously dishonored yf a manne sweare falsly by hym. And no maruell. For we doe as much as in vs lieth, in a manner, to stayne his holy name with a lye. And that this manner of speache was bled amonge the Jewes so ofte as any was called to take an othe, appereth by the like protestation, that the Pharisees vse in the Gospell of John. To this heedefulnesse the formes of othes that are bled in the Scriptures doe instructe vs: The Lord lyueth, The Lord doe these thinges vnto me, and adde these thynges, The Lord be witnesse vpon my soule. Whyche doe proue, that we can not call God for witnesse of our sayenges, but that we also wishe him to take vengeance of our periurie, if we speake deceyptfully.

Leut. xij.

vij.

Josue. vij.

ix.

John. v.

xxiii.

i. Sa. xiiii

ii. Reg. vi

xxi.

ii. Coz. i.

xxiii.

25

The name of the Lord is made vile and common, when it is bled in superfluous othes, although they bee true. For in suche case it is also taken in bayne. Wherefore it shall not be sufficient to absteyne from swearing falsly, vnlesse we do also remember, that swearing was suffred and ordeined not for luste or pleasure, but for necessities sake: and therfore they goe beyond the lawfull vse thereof, that applye it to thinges not necessarie. And there can no other necessitie be pretended, but where it is to serue eyther religion or charitie, wherein at this daye menne doe to muche licentiously offende, and so muche the more intolerably, for that by very custome it hath cessed to be reckened for any offense at all, whiche yet befoze the iudgement seate of God is not slenderly weped. For euery where wythout regarde, the name



name of God ys defiled in trisyng talkes, and yt ys not thought that they do euell, bicause by long suffred and vnpunished boldnesse, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickednesse. But the comāndement of the Lord remayneth in forze, the penaltie abideth in strength, and shall one daye haue his effect, whereby there is a certayne speciall reuenge proclaymed agaynst them that vse his name in bayne. This commaundement is also transgressed in another poynt, that in our othes we put the holy seruantes of God in the place of God, with manifest vngodlynesse, for so we trāsferre the glorie of his godhed to them. Neyther is it without cause, that the Lord hath geuen speciall commaundement to swere by his name, and by speciall prohibition forbiddē, that we should not be heard swere by any strange gods. And the Apostle evidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swear yng do call vpon a hier than themselues, and that God whiche had none greater than his owne glozy to swere by, did swere by himselfe.

The Anabaptistes not contented wyth this moderation of swear yng, do detest all othes without exceptiō, bycause the prohibition of Christ is generall: I saue vnto ye, swere not at all, but let your tale be yea yea, and nay nay, what so euer is moze than this, is of euell. But by this meane, they do without consideration stumble agaynst Christ: while they make him aduersarye to his father, and as if he had come downe from heauen to repeale his fathers decrees. For the eternall God doth in the lawe not only permit swear yng as a thynge lawfull, whiche were enough: but also in necessitie doth commaunde it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his father: that he bringeth no other thynge, but that whiche his father commaunded him, that his doctrine is not of himselfe, &c. What then wil they make God contrarie to himselfe, whiche shall afterwarde forbidde and condemne the same thing in mens behauiours, whiche he hath before allowed by comānding it: But bycause there is some difficultie in the wordes of Christ, let vs a litle wepe them. But herein we shall neuer atteyne the truth, vnlesse we bende our eyes vnto the entent of Christ, and take heede vnto the purpose that he there goeth about. His purpose is not eyther to release or restrayne the lawe, but to reduce it to the true and naturall vnderstandyng, whiche had ben very muche depzaued by the false gloses of the Scribes and Pharisees. This yt we holde in minde, we shall not thinke that Christ dyd viterly condemne othes, but onely those othes whiche doe transgresse the rule of the lawe. Thereby it appereth, that the people at that time did forbear no manner of swear yng but periuries, whereas the lawe dothe not only forbidde periuries, but also all idle and superfluous othes. The Lord therefore the most sure expositour of the lawe, doth admonish them, that it is not only euell to forswere, but also to sweare. But howe to sweare? in bayne. But as for these othes that are commēded in the lawe, he leaueth them safe and at libertie. They seme to fight somewhat moze strongly when they take earnest holde of this worde At all, whiche yet is not referred to the worde Swear, but to the foyms of swear yng that are after reherled. For this was also parte of their error, that when they did sweare by heauē and earth, they

Deut. xl.  
iii. 7. p.  
Exod. xxii.  
xiii.

26

Matth. v.  
Jac. v.

Exod. xxi.  
ii.  
John. viii.  
xvi.

Matth. v.  
xxiii.



they thought that they did not touch the name of God. Therfoze after the principall kinde of offense againſt this commaundement, the lord doth alſo cut of from them all byeſtiſtes, that they ſhould not thinke that they haue eſcaped, if not ſpeakyng of the name of God they call heauen and earth to witneſſe. For here by the way it is alſo to be noted, that although the name of God be not expreſſed, yet men by indirect formes do ſweare by him, as if they ſweare by the liuely light, by the bread that they eate, by their Baptiſme, or other tokens of gods liberalitie toward them. Neither doth Chriſt in that place where he forbiddeth them to ſweare by heauen and earth & Hieruſalem, ſpeake it to correct ſuperſtition, as ſome men falſly thinke, but he rather conſuteth their ſophiſticall ſutteltie, whiche thought it no faulte babblingly to thzowe out indirect othes, as though they ſpared the holy name of God, whiche is engrauen in all his benefites. But otherwiſe it is, where either a moztal man, or a dead man, or an Angel, is put in the place of God: as amonge the pzophane nations ſtatterie deuifed that ſtinkyng forme of ſweryng by the life or ſoule of the kyng: for then the falſe making of gods doth obſcure and miniſh y glozy of the one only God. But when we meane only, to procure credit to our ſayenges by the holy name of God, although the ſame be indirectly done, yet in al ſuch triſtyng othes his maiestie is offended. Chriſt taketh fro this licentiousneſſe, all pzetense of excuſe, in this that he forbiddeth to ſweare at al. And James tendeth to the ſame purpoſe, recityng the ſame woꝝdes of Chriſt whiche I haue befoze alleged, bycauſe that ſame raſh boldeneſſe hath alwaye ben in the woꝝld, whiche is a pzophane miſuſe of the name of God. For if ye referre this woꝝde. At all, to the ſubſtance, as if without any exceptio it were altogether vnlawfull to ſweare: wherefoze ſerueth that expoſition whiche is added afterward: Neither by heauen nor by earth, &c: Whereby it ſufficiently appereth that thoſe cauillatiōs are met withall, by which the Jewes thought their fault to be excuſed.

27

Therefore it can not nowe be doubtfull to ſounde iudgementes, that the Lorde in that place did onely repproue thoſe othes that were forbidden by the lawe. For he himſelfe whiche ſhewed in his life an examplar of the perfection that he taught, did not ſticke to ſweare when occaſion required. And his diſciples, whome we doubt not did obeye theyꝝ maifter in all thinges, ſolowed the ſame example: whome dare ſaye that Paule wold haue ſwoꝝne, yf ſwearing had ben vtterly forbidden: but when matter ſo required, he ſware without any ſticking at it, yea ſomtime adding an execration. But this queſtion is not yet ended, bicauſe ſome do thinke that only publike othes are excepted out of this pzohibitiō, as thoſe othes y we take when the Magiſtrate doth offer them to vs & require them of vs. And ſuch as Princes ble to take in ſtabliſhing of leagues, or y people when they ſweare allegeance to their Prince, or y Soldiar whē he is put to an othe for his true ſeruiſe in y warre, & ſuch like. And to this ſort they adioyne, & that rightfully, ſuch othes, as are in Paule to cōfirme y dignitie of y goſpell, for aſmuch as y Apoſtles in their office ar not priuate mē but publike miniſters of god. And truly I denie not y thoſe ar y ſafeſt othes, bicauſe they ar defended w ſoudeſt teſtimonies of ſcripture. The magiſtrate is

commaun-

Iac. v. vii.

Heb. vi.  
xvi.



cōmaunded in a doubtful case to drine the witnessse to an othe, & he on the other side to answer by othe: & the Apostle sayth, that mēs controversies are by this meane ended. In this cōmaundement bothe these haue a perfect allowance of their offices. Yea & we maye note, that among the old heathen men, the publike and solemne othe was had in great reuerēce, but cōmon othes that were vsually spoken without consideration, were either nothing or very litle regarded, bicause they thought that in these they had not to do with the maiestie of God at al. But yet it were to much dangerous to condemne priuate othes, that are in necessarie cases soberly, holyly, & reuerently taken, whiche are mainteined both by reason & examples. For if it be lawfull for priuate men in a weighty & earnest matter to appele to God as iudge betwene them, much moze is it lawfull to call hym to witnessse. But the case: thy bzother will accuse thee of false bzeache of faith, thou endeuozeest to purge thy self accordyng to the dutie of charitie, & he by no meanes will suffer himself to be satisfiied. If thy good name come in perill by his obstinate maliciousnesse, thou shalt without offense appele to the iudgement of God, that it will please him in time to make thine innocency knowen. Now if the weight of the wordes be considered, it is a lesse matter to call him to witnessse. Therefore I see not why in this case we should affirme, that the calling hym to witnessse is vnlawful. And we are not without many examples therof. For though the othe of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech be sayde not to serue for our purpose, bycause it was made in the name of a publike companie, yet Jacob and Laban were priuate mē, which stablished a couenant with mutuall othe betwene themselues. Booz was a priuate man, whiche by the same meane cōfirmed his promise of marriage to Ruth. Abdias was a priuate man, a iuste manne and fearyng God, whiche affirmed vnto Elias by othe, the thing that he mraunt to persuaide him. Therefore I haue no better rule, but that othes be so tempered, that they be not vnauided, that they be not common without regard, that they be not vled of ragyng lust, noz trisyng, but that they serue iuste necessitie, as where the Lordes glorie is to be mainteyned, or the edification of our bzother furthered, to whiche ende the commaundement of the lawe tendeth.

Gen. xxi.  
xxij. and.  
xxv. xxi. &  
xxi. liij.  
Ruth. iij.  
xij.  
i. Rc. xviii.  
r.

#### The fourth Commaundement.

29

Remember that thou kepe holy the Sabbath day. Sixe dayes shalt thou worke and do all thy workes. But on the seuenth day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no worke. &c.

The end of this cōmaundement is, that we beyng dead to our owne affections & workes, should be busied in meditation of the kingdome of God, & to the same meditation should be exercised, by such meanes as he hath ordyened. But bicause this cōmaundement hath a peculiar & severall consideration frō the rest, therfore it must haue also a severall manner of exposition. The old wryters vse to call it a shadowy commaundement, for y it conteyneth the outward obseruation of the day;

whiche



whiche by the coming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherin I graunt they say truely, but they touche but half the matter. Wherfore we must fetch the exposition of it farther of. And (as I think) I haue marked y there are three causes to be considered, wherupō this commaundement consisteth. For first the heauenly lawmaker meant vnder the rest of the seuenth daye, to set out in figure to the people of Israel the spirituall rest, whereby the faithfull ought to cesse from their owne workes, that they might suffer God to worke in them. Secundarily, his wil was to haue one appointed daye, wherein they should mete together to heare the lawe, and execute the ceremonies, or at leest bestowe it peculiarly to the meditation of his workes: that by such calling to remembrance, they might be exercised to godlinesse. Thirdly, he thought good to haue a day of rest graunted to seruants, and such as liued vnder the gouernement of other, wherein they might haue some cessyng from their labour.

29

But we are many wayes taught, that the same shadowing of the spirituall rest, was the p̄ncipal point in the Sabbath. For y<sup>e</sup> Lorde requiried the keeping of no commaundement in a maner moze seuerely, than this: when his meaning is in the Prophetes to declare that al religiō is ouerthrowen, then he complaineth that his Sabbates are polluted, defiled, not kept, not sanctified: as though that pece of seruice beyng omitted, there remained no moze wherin he might be honored. He did set forth the obseruing therof with hie praises. For whiche cause the faithful did among other ozacles maruelously esteeme the renewing of the Sabbath. For in Pehemiah thus spake the Levites in a solemne couocation, Thou hast swemed to our fathers thy holy Sabbath, & hast geuen them the commaundementes & the ceremonies, & the law by the hand of Moses. You see howe it is had in singular estimation among al the commaundementes of the law. All whiche thinges do serue to set forth the dignitie of the misterie, which is very wel expressed by Moses and Ezechiel. Thus you haue in Exodus. See y<sup>e</sup> ye kepe my Sabbath day, bicause it is a token betwene me & you in your generations: that you maye know that I am the Lorde that sanctifie you: kepe my Sabbath, for it is holy vnto you. Let the childzen of Israel kepe the Sabbath and celebrate it in their generations, it is an euerlastyng couenāt betwene me & the childzen of Israel, and a perpetual token. yet Ezechiel speaketh moze at large. But the summe therof cometh to this effect, that it is for a token wherby Israel should knowe that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifying of our owne will, then appereth a most apt relation of the outward signe with the inward thing it self: we must altogether rest, that God may worke in vs: we must depart from our owne wil, we must resigne by our heart, we must banish all lustes of the flesh. Finally, we muste cesse from all the doynge of our owne witte, that we maye haue God working in vs, that we maye reste in him, as the Apostle also teacheth.

This perpetual cessyng was represented to the Jewes, by the keeping of one daye among seuen: whiche daye, to make it be obserued with greater deuotion, the Lorde commaunded with his owne exāple. For it auailleth not a litle to sicke by mans endeuour, that he maye know that he tendeth to the folowynge of his creatour. If any man

searche

30



teache for a secret signification in the number of seuen : For asmuch as that number is in the Scripture the number of perfection, it was not without cause chosen to signifie euerlastyng continuance. Wherewith this also agreeth that Moses in the day that he declared that the Lord did rest from his workes, maketh an ende of describyng the succeeding of dayes & nightes . There maye be also brought an other probable note of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shewe that the Sabbath should neuer be perfectly ended, til it came to the last day. For in it we beginne our blessed rest, in it we doe dayly procede in profityng moze and moze . But bicause we haue still a continuall warre with the flesh, it shall not be ended vntill that sayeng of Elaye be fulfilled, concernyng the continuynge of newe Moone with newe moone, of Sabbath with Sabbath , euen thers when God shall be all in all . It may seme therfoze y<sup>e</sup> the Lord hath by the .vij. day set forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbath at the lasse daye , that our whole life might by cōtinuall meditation of the Sabbath, aspire to this perfection.

If any man mislike this obseruation of the number as a matter to curious, I am not agaynst him, but that he maye moze simply take it: that the Lord ordeyned one certaine day, wherein his people might vnder the scholyng of the lawe bee exercised to the continuall meditation of the spirituall reste : And that he assigned the seuenth daye, eyther bycause he thought it sufficient , oz that by settinge forth the likenesse of his owne example, he might the better moue the people to kepe it : oz at leaste to put them in mynde, that the Sabbath tended to no other ende , but that they should become like vnto their Creatour. For it maketh small matter, so that the misterie remayne whiche is therein principally set forth ; concernyng the perpetuall reste of our workes. To consideration whereof the Prophetes did nowe and then call backe the Jewes , that they shoulde not thynke themselues discharged by carnall takyng of their rest. By side the places alre dy alleged, you haue thus in Elaye: If thou turne awaye thy foote from the Sabbath, that thou doe not thine owne will in my holy daye , and shalt call the Sabbath delicate and holy of the glorious Lord, and shalt glozifie him while thou doest not thynne owne wayes , and sekest not thine owne will to speake the worde, then shalt thou be delited in the Lord, &c. But it is no doubtte , that by the comyng of our Lord Christ, so muche as was ceremoniall herein, was abrogate . For he is the truthe, by whose presence all figures do vanish awaye: he is the bodie at sight, whereof the shadowes are leste . He, I saye, is the true fulfillyng of the Sabbath , we beyng buried with hym by Baptisme, are grafted into the felowship of his death , that we beyng made partakers of the resurrection, we maye walke in newnesse of life . Therfoze in an other place the Apostle writeth, that the Sabbath was a shadowe of a thing to come: and that the true bodie, that is to saye, the perfect substance of truthe is in Christ, whiche in the same place he hath well declared. That is not cōteyned in one day, but in the whole course of our life , vntill that we beyng vterly dead to our selues, be filled with the life of God. Therfoze superstitious obseruing of daies ought to be far from Christians.

Esa. lxxl.  
viii.i. Cor. xv.  
xviii.

31

Esa. lxxij.  
viii.

Ro. vi. xiii

Coloss. ii.  
xvi. & xviii.

But



But for asmuche as the two later causes ought not to be reckened among the olde shadowes, but doe belong alike to all ages: sins the Sabbath is abrogate, yet this hath still place with vs, that we should mete at appointed dayes to the hearyng of the worde, to the breaking of the mysticall bread, and to publike prayer: & then, that to seruantes and laborers be graunted their rest from their labour. It is out of doubt that in commaundyng the Sabbath the Lord had care of bothe these thinges. The first of them hath sufficient testimonie by the only vse of the Jewes to proue it. The second, Moses spake of in Deuteronomie in these wordes: that thy man seruant and thy mayde seruant maye reste as well as thou: remember that thou thy selfe didst serue in Egypt. Againe in Exodus: that thy Ox and thy Ass maye rest, and the sonne of thy bondwoman maye take breath. Who can denie that bothe these thinges do serue for vs as well as for the Jewes? Meetings at the church, are commaunded vs by the word of God, and the necessitie of them is sufficiently knowen in the very experience of life. Unlesse they be certainly appointed and haue their ordinarie daies, how can they be kept? All thinges by the sentence of the Apostle are to be done comly and in order among vs. But so farre is it of, that comlynesse and order can be kepte without this policie and moderation, that there is at hand present trouble and ruine of the church, if it bee dissolued. Now if the same necessitie be among vs, for relese whereof the Lord appointed the Sabbath to the Jewes: let no man saye that it belongeth nothyng vnto vs. For our moste prouident and tender Father, willed no lesse to prouide for our necessitie than for the Jewes. But thou wilt saye, why do we not rather dayly mete together, that the difference of dayes maye be taken awaye? I would to God, that were graunted, and truely spirituall wisdom was a thyng worthy to haue dayly a pece of the time cut out for it. But yf it can not be obtained of the weaknesse of many to haue dayly meetings, and the rule of charitie doth not suffer vs to exact moze of them, why should we not obey the order whiche we see layed vpon vs by the will of God?

I am compelled here to be somewhat long, because at this day many vnquiet spirites do rayse trouble, concerning the Sondag. They crie out that the Christian people are nourished in Jewishnesse, because they kepe some obseruation of dayes. But I answer, that we kepe those dayes without any Jewishnesse, because we do in this behalfe far differ from the Jewes. For we kepe it not with streight religion as a ceremonie, wherein we thinke a spirituall misterie to be figured, but we retaine it as a necessarie remedie to the keepng of order in the church. But Paul teacheth that in keepng thereof they are not to be iudged Christians, because it is a shadow of a thing to come. Therefore he feared that he had labored in vayne amonge the Galatians, because they did still obserue dayes. And to the Romanes he affirmeth that it is superstition if any man do make differēce betwene daye and daye. But whoe, sayng these mad men only dothe not see, of what obseruyng the Apostle meaneth? For they had no regarde to this political ende and the order of the church, but wheras they kept them still as shadowes of spirituall thinges, they did euen so muche darken the glozy of Christ and the light of the Gospell. They did not therefore

Deut. v.  
xij.Exo. xv.  
xij.1. Cor. xij.  
xl.Coloss. ij.  
xvi.Gal. iij.  
r.Ro. xij.  
v.



therfore cesse from handy workes, bicause they were thinges that dyd call them away from holy studies and meditations, but for a certayne religion, that in cessinge from worke thei did dreame that thei still kept their misteries of olde time deliuered them. The Apostle, I saie, inueth against this disordered difference of daies, & not againste the lawefull choise of daies that serueth for the quietnesse of Christian felowship, for in the Churches that he himselfe did ordeine, the Sabbath was kept to this vse. For he appoynteth the Corynthians the same daye, wherein thei shoulde gather the collection to releue the brethren at Hierusalem. If they feare superstition, there was more danger thereof in the feaste dayes of the Jewes, than in the Sundayes that the Christians nowe haue. For, so as was expediente for the ouerthrowinge of superstition, the daie that the Jewes religioulye obserued is taken awaie: and, so as was necessarie for keepinge of comelinesse, ordre, and quiet in the Church, an other daye was appoynted for the same vse.

Albeit the olde fathers haue not without reason of their choise, put in place of the Sabbath daie the daie that we call Sundaie. For where as in the Resurrection of the Lorde is the ende and fullfyllinge of that reste, whereof the olde Sabbath was a shadowe: the Christians are by the very same daye that made an ende of shadowes, put in mynde that thei shoulde no longer sticke vnto the shadowishe ceremonie. But yet I do not so reste vpon the numbze of seuen, & I wolde binde the Church to the bondage thereof. Neither wil I condemne those Churches, that haue other solemne dayes for their meetings, so that thei be withoute superstition, whiche shall bee, if thei be onely applyed to the obseruation of Discipline and well appoynted ordre. Let the summe hercof be thys as & truely was geuen to & Jewes vnder a figure, so is it deliuered vs without any shadowes at all. Firste that in all oure life longe we shoulde be in meditation of a continuall Sabbath or rest from oure owne workes, that the Lorde may worke in vs by his spirit: then that euery man priuately so ofte as he hath leysure, shoulde diligently exercise himselfe in godly calling to minde the workes of God, and also that we al shoulde keepe the lawefull ordre of the Church appoynted, for the hearinge of the woorde, for the ministracion of the Sacramentes and for publike prayer: thirdely that we shoulde not vngently oppresse them that bee vnder vs. And so do the trifelynges of the false prophetes banish awaie that in the ages paste haue infected the people wyth a Jewythe opinion, that so muche as was ceremoniall in this commaundement is take away, whiche thei in their tongue call the appoyntinge of the seuenth daye, but that so muche as is morall remaineth, whiche is the keepinge of one daie in the weke. But that is nothinge ells in effect, than for reproche of the Jewes to change the daye, and to keepe still the same holinesse in their minde. For there still remaineth wyth vs the lyke signification of mysterie in the daies as was amonge the Jewes. And truely we see what good thei haue done by such doctrine. For thei that cleaue to their constitutions, do by theise as muche as exceede the Jewes in grosse and carnall superstition of Sabbath: so that the rebukinge that are readde in Esaie, do no lesse fittly serue for them at these dayes, than for those that the Prophete reprobued in hys tyme. Butte this generall doctrine is principally to be kept, that leaste religion shoulde fall awaie

1. Cor. xvi.  
ij.

34

Hist. trip.  
lib. 9. c. 38

Esa. i. xij.  
& liij. xij



or waie faint among vs, holy meetinges are to be diligently kept, and those outward helpe are to be vsed that are profitable for to nourishe the worshipping of God.

*The fyste Commaundement.*

53

Honoure thy Father and thy Mother, that thou maist liue longe vpon the Lande which the Lorde thy God shall geue thee.

The ende of this commaundement is, that bicause the Lorde deli-  
teth in the preservation of his ordie, therefore he willet that those de-  
grees of preeminence which he hath ordeined be not broken, the summe  
therfore shalbe that we reuerence those whome the Lord hath set ouer  
vs, that we yeld to them honore, obedience and thankfullnesse. Wher-  
vpon foloweth that it is forbidden vs, to withdraue any thyng from  
their dignitie, either by contempt or obstinate or vnthankfulness. For so  
doth the worde Honoure, in the Scripture signifieth very largely: as  
when the Apostle sayth, that the elders whiche rule well are worthy of  
doble honore, he meaneth not oneli h reuerence ys due vnto them, but  
also such recompense as their ministerie deserueth. And bicause this co-  
mmaundement of subiection, doth most of all disagree with the puerse-  
nesse of mans nature, which as it swelleth with greedinesse of climbing  
hie, so it hardly abideth to be broughte lowe: therefore he hath set that  
kinde of superioritie for example, which by nature is moste amiable and  
lesse enuious: bicause he mighte the easelyer meken and reclaime oure  
minde to the vse of submission. Therefore the Lord doth by little & litle  
traîne vs to all lawefull subiection by that which is most easy to beare,  
for asmuch as the rule of all is alike. For to whome he geueth any pre-  
minence, he doth communicate his own name with them, so farre as is  
necessarie to preserve the same preeminence: The name of Father,  
God, and Lorde, do so belong vnto him alone, that so ofte as we heare  
one of them named, our minde muste needes be touched with a feeling  
of his maiestie. Therefore whom he maketh partakers of these things,  
he maketh to glister with a certaine sparke of his brightnesse, that thei  
may be honorable euery one accordinge to his degree. Therefore in him  
that is oure father we haue to consider somewhat of h nature of God,  
bicause he beareth not the name of God without cause. He that is our  
Prince or oure Lorde, hath some partakinge of honore with God.

36

Wherefore it ought not to be doubted that God doth here set a gene-  
rall rule, that as we knowe any man to be by his ordinaunce set ouer  
vs, so we yelde vnto him reuerence, obedience, thankfulness, and suche  
other duties as it lieth in vs to do. And it maketh no difference, whe-  
ther thei be worthy or vnworthy. For of what sorte soeuer thei be, thei  
haue not without the prouidence of God atteyned that place, by reaso-  
whereof the lawemaker woulde haue them to be honored. yet namely  
he hath geuen commaundemente of reuerence to parentes, that  
haue brought vs into this life, to whiche reuerence very nature ought  
in a manner to instructe vs. For they are monsters and not men, that  
breake the authorite of parentes with dishonore or stubburnesse. There-  
fore



Therefore the Lord commaunded all the disobedient to their parentes, to be slaine, as men vnworthy to enioye the benefite of lighte, that doe not reknowledge by whose meanes thei came into it. And by many ad-  
 ditions of the lawe it appeareth to bee true that wee haue noted, that there are three partes of honour that he here speaketh of, Reuerence, Obedience, and Thankfullnesse. The firste of these the Lorde estab-  
 lysheth when he commaundeth him to be killed that curseth his father or his Mother, for there he punisheth the contempte and dishonoure of them. The seconde he confirmeth when he appointeth the punishment of death for h disobedient and rebellious children. To the thirde belongeth that sayinge of Christe in the systene of Matthew, that it is the commaundement of God that we do good to oure parentes. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of a commaundement, he expoundeth that therein obedience is required.

There is annexed a promise for a commendation, whyche dothe the rather putte vs in minde, howe acceptable vnto God is the submission that is here commaunded. for Paule bleseth the same pricke to stirre vp oure dulnesse when he saiet: that this is the fyrste commaundement with promise. for the promise that went before in the first Table, was not speciall and properly belonginge to one commaundement, but extended to the whole lawe. Nowe this is thus to be taken: The Lorde spake to the Israelites peculiarly of the lande whiche he had promised them for their inheritance. If then the possession of lande was a pledge of Gods bountyfullnesse: let vs not meruell if it pleased God to declare his fauoure by geuinge lengthe of lyfe, by whiche a man might longe enioye hys benefite. The meaninge therefore is thus. Honour thy father and thy Mother, h by a longe space of life thou maist enioye h possession of that lande that shalbe vnto thee for a testimony of my father. But sith all the earthe is blessed to the faithfull, we doe not woorthly reckon this present life amonge the blessinges of God. Therefore thys promise dothe likewise belonge vnto vs; for asmuche as their continuance of hys life is a profe of Gods good will. for it neither is promised to vs, nor was promised to the Jewes; as though it were contained blessednesse in it selfe, but bicause it is wonte to bee to the Godlye a token of Gods tender loue. Therefore if it chaunce that an obediente child to his parentes be taken out of this life before his ripe age, whyche vs oftentimes seen, yet doth God no lesse constantly continue in the performance of his promise, than if he shoulde rewarde hym wyth a hundred Acres of lande; to whome he promised but one Acre. All consyseth in this, that we should consider h long life is so farre promysed vs, as it is the blessinge of God, and that it is his blessinge so farre as it is a profe of his fauoure, whiche he by death doth muche more plentifully and perfectly witnesse and shewe in effect to his seruantes.

Moreouer, when the Lorde promiseth the blessinge of this presente life to the children that honour their parentes with such reuerence as they ought, he doth wythall secretly saye, that most assured curse hangeth ouer the stubborne and disobedient children. And that the same shoulde not wante execution: hee pronounceth them by hys lawe subiecte to the iudgemente of deathe, and commaundeth them to be putte to execution: and if they escape that iudgemente, hee hymselfe taketh

37

38

Leu. x.  
 Pro. x.  
 Deu. xx.  
 Mat. xv.  
 Eph. v.  
 Coloss. i.  
 ff.



vengeance on them by one meane or other. For we see howe greate a numbre of that sorte of menne are slaine in battailes and in fraies, and some other tourmented in strange vnaccustomed fashions, and they all in a manner are a prooffe that thys threathing is not vayne. Butte yf any escape to olde age, syth in this lyfe beyng deprived of the blessinge of God, they doe nothyng butte miserably languyshe and are reserued for greater paynes hereafter, they are farre from beyng partakers of the blessing promised to the Godly chyl dren. Butte thys ys also by the waye to bee noted, that wee are not commaunded to obey them butte in the Lorde. And that is euident by the foundation befoze layed: for they sitte on hye in that place wherebnto the Lorde hath aduanced them, by communicatinge with them a portion of hys honoure. Therefore the submission that is vsed towarde them, oughte to bee a steppe towarde the honouringe of that soueraigne father. Wherefoze, yf they moue vs to transgresse the lawe, then are they woorthily not to be accompted parentes, butte straungers that laboure to wythdrawe vs from obedience to the true father. And so ys to bee thoughte of Princes, Lordes and all sortes of superiours. For it is shamefull & agaynste conuenience of reason, that theyr preeminence sholde preuaile to presse downe hys hyghnesse, sicke theyres as it hangeth wholye vpon it, so ought onely to guide vs vnto it.

*The sixte Commaundement.*

Thou shalt not kyll.

39

The ende of thys commaundemente is, that for asmuche as God hath bounde together all mankinde with a certayne vnitie, that euery man ought to regarde the safetie of all men, as a thinge geuen hym in charge. In summe therefore, all violence and wronge, yea and all harme doinge, whereby oure neighboures bodie maie bee hurte, is forbidden vs. And therefore we are commaunded, if there be any power of succore in oure trauaile to defende the life of oure neighboures, that we faithfully imploye the same, that wee procure those thynges that maye make for theyr quiet, that we watche to keepe them from hurte, and yf they be in any daunger, that we geue them our helping hande. If thou consider that it is God the lawmaker that so saithe, then thinke with all that his meaninge is by thys rule also to gouerne thy soule. For yt were a fonde thinge to thynke, that he which espieth the thoughtes of the hearte, and principally resteth vpon them, shoulde instructe nothing but the body to true righteousnesse. Therefore the manslaughter of the hearte is also forbidden in this lawe, and an inward affection to preserue oure brothers life is here geuen in commaundement. The hande in deede bryngeth fourth y manslaughter, but the minde conceiueth it, when it is infected with wrathe and hatred. Loke whether thou canst be angry wyth thy brother wythout burning in desire to do him hurt. If thou canst not be angry with him, then canst thou not hate him, for asmuche as hatred is nothyng butte an olde rooted anger. Although thou dissemble and goe aboute to winde oute thy selfe by vaine circumstances,



circumstances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an effectiō to hurte. If thou wilt still dallye oute with thyntes to defende it, it is allready pronounced by the mouthe of the holy Schooste, that hee is a manslayer that hatethe hys brother in hys hearte. It is pronounced by the mouthe of the Lorde Christe, that hee is gyltye of iudgemente that is angry wyth hys brother: that hee ys gyltye of the counsell that saythe Racha: that hee is gyltye of Hell fyre, that saythe vnto hym, foole.

The Scripture noteth twoo poyntes of equitie, vpon whyche this commaundement is grounded: bycause manne is bothe the image of God and oure owne fleſhe, wherefore vnlesse we well desyre the image of God, wee muste haue care to touche manne none otherwyse, than as a sacred thyng: and vnlesse we will putte of all naturallnesse of man, we muste cheryſhe him as oure owne fleſhe. That manner of exhortation þ is fetched from y redemption and grace of Christ, shall be entreated of in an other place. God willed these twoo thinges naturally to be considered in man, that myght perswade vs to the preseruatiō of him, that we sholde both reuerence the image of God emprinted in him, and embrace oure owne fleſhe. He hath not therfore escaped the crime of manslaughter, that he hath kepte him selfe from shedding of blode. If thou committe any thinge in dede, if thou go about any thinge with endeuoure, if thou conceiue any thyng in desire and purpose that ys against the safetie of an other, thou arte holden gilty of manslaughter. And againe: If thou do not trauayle to thy power and as occasion may serue to defende his life, thou doest with like haynoulnesse offende the lawe. But if there be so muche care taken for the safetie of his body, let vs hereby gather, howe muche studie and trauaile is due to the safetie of hys soule, whyche in the Lorde syght dothe infinitely excell the bodye.

### The ſeuenth Commaundement.

Thou shalt not committe  
adulterie.

The ende of the commaundement is, that, bycause God loueth charytie and cleanness, therfore all vncleanness oughte to departe farre a waye from vs. The summe therfore shall be, that we be desyred wyth no vncleanness or lustfull intemperance of the fleſhe: Wherevnto answereth the affyrmatiue commaundemente, þ we chastely & continently ordre all the partes of oure lyfe. Butte fornication hee forbiddeth by name, to whyche all vnchaste luste tendeth, that the fylthynesse of that whyche is more grosse and sensible, for somuche as it also desyleth the body, hee myghte byyng vs to abhorre all fylthye luste. Syth manne was created in thys estate, not to liue a solitarie lyfe, butte to vse a helper ioynd vnto hym: and sing that by the curse of synne he is driuen the more to this necessitie, the Lorde hath in this behalfe prouyded helpe for him so muche as was sufficient, when he ordemed marryage, when he sanctified with his blessing y feloweship begonne by his



authoritie. Whereby foloweth, that all other feloweship of manne and woman oute of mariage, is accursed before hym, and that the felowship of mariage it selfe, was ordained for remedie of necessitie, that wee shoulde not runne oute into vnbrydled luste. Therefore lette vs not flatter oure selues, sith we heare that man can not be coupled with womā out of mariage, without the curse of God.

42 Nowe for as muche as by the condition of nature, and by luste more enkyndled syns the fall of manne, wee are become doubtely subiecte to desire of companie of women, excepte it bee those whome God of hys singular grace hath exempted from it: let euerye man loke well what is geuen unto hym. Virginitie, I graunt, is a vertue not to be despised: butte syth it is to some denied, and to some graunted but for a tyme, let them that are troubled with incontinence and struinge wyth it, carne not gette the vpper hande, resorte to the helpe of mariage, that so they maye keepe chastitie in the degree of their vocation. For they that can not conceiue thys woorde, if they do not succoure their owne intemperance wyth the remedie that is offered and graunted them, they stryue agaynste God and resyste his ordinaunce. And let no man carpe against mee (as many do at this daie) that being ayded with the helpe of God, hee canne do all thynges. For the helpe of God is presente onely wyth those, that walke in his waies, that in their vocation from whiche they do all wythdrawe them selues; whyche forsakynge the helpes of God, do frauaile to ouercome and master their necessities wyth vayne rashe boldnesse. The Lorde assymeth that continence is a singular gyfte of God, and of that sorte that are not geuen generally, nor vniuersally to the whole bodye of the Church, but to a fewe membres thereof. For fyrste hee sayth, that there is a certayne kynde of menne, that haue gelded them selues for the kyngedome of Heauen, that is, that they myght the more loosely and freely applye them selues to the affayres of the heauenly kyngedome. But, that no man shoulde thinke that suche geldinge is in the power of manne, hee shewed a little before, that all men are not able to receiue it, butte they to whome it is peculiarlye geuen from heauen, wherebpon he concludeth: He that canne take it, let him take it. Butte Paule yet assymeth it more playnly, where hee wyrteth, that euerye manne hath hys propre gyfte of God, one thus, and an other thus.

43 Whereas we are by open declaration admonysht, that it is not in euery mannes power to keepe chastitie in single lyfe, althoughe wyth studie and trauaile he indeuoure neuer so muche vnto it, and that it ys a peculiar grace, whiche God geueth but to certayne men, that he may haue them the more ready to his worke: do wee not striue against God and nature whiche he hath institute, if we doe not applye the kinde of oure lyfe to the proportion of oure power. Here the Lorde forbiddeth fornication, therefore hee requyrez cleannesse and Chastitie of vs. To keepe the same there is butte one way, that euery manne measure him selfe by his owne measure. Neyther let a manne despise mariage as a thinge vnprofitable or superfluous for hym, nor otherwise desire synge life, vnlesse he be able to liue without a wife. And therein also let him not prouide onely for the quiet and commoditie of the fleshe, but onely that beyng loosed from this bonde, he maye be the more in readinesse  
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and prepared to all dueties of Godlynesse. And for asmuche as this benefite is geuen to many but for a time, let euery man so longe absteyne fro marriage as he shalbe meete to liue to kepe single estate. If strength faile him to tame his luste, let hym learne that the Lorde hath the nowe layed vpon him a necessitie to marry. Thys the Apostle sheweth when he commaundeth that to auoyde fornication euery man haue his owne wife, and euery woman haue her owne husbände, that he that can not liue continently, shoulde marry in the Lorde. fyyste he declareth, that the mosste parte of men are subiect to the vice of incontinence: and then of those that be subiecte vnto it, he excepteth none, but commaundeth all to that onely remedie, wherewith vnchastitie is resisted. Therefore if they that bee incontinent do neglect to helpe their infirmitie by thys meane, thei sinne euen in this that thei obey not the commaundement of the Apostle. Neyther let hym flatter hymselfe that toucheth not a woman as though hee coulde not bee rebuked of vnchastitie, while in the meane season hys minde burneth inwardly with luste. For Paule defineth chastitie to be a cleannesse of the mynde, ioyned wyth chastitie of the bodye. A woman vnmarried (saythe hee) thynketh vpon those thynges that are of the Lorde, for asmuche as shee is holy bothe in bodye and in spirite. Therefore when hee byngeth a reason to confirme that former commaundement, he dothe not onely saie, that it is better for a man to take a wyfe, than to defile hym selfe with companie of a harlote, but hee sayth, that it is better to marry than to burne.

Nowe yf maryed folkes do confesse that their felowship together is blessed of the Lorde, they are thereby admonished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute luste. For though the honestie of marriage do couer the fylthiennesse of incontinence, yet it oughte not fourthwyth to be a prouocation thereof. Wherefore let not married folkes thynke, that all thynges are lawefull vnto them, but let euery housband haue his owne wyfe soberly, and lykewyse the wyfe her housebände, and so doinge, lette them committe nothyng vnbeseeinge the honestie and temperance of marriage. For so oughte marriage made in the Lorde to be restrained to measure and modellie, and not to ouerflowe into euery kynde of extreme lasciuiousnesse. Thys awantonnesse Ambrose re-  
reproued wyth a sayeng very soze in deede, but not vnfyte for it, when he calleth the housbände, the adulterer of hys owne wyfe, whyche in vse of wedlocke hath no care of shamesfastnesse or honestie. Waste of all, let vs consider what lawemaker doth here condemne fornication, euen he whyche syth of hys owne right he oughte to possesse vs wholly, requyret purenesse of the soule, spirite and bodie. Therefore when hee forbiddeth to committe fornication, hee also forbiddeth with wanton attyre of bodie, wyth vncleanly gestures, and with fylthy talke to laye wayte to trappe an others chastite. For that sayinge is not withoute good reaso, which Archelaus spake to a yongmā aboue measure wantonly an deintely clothed, that it made no matter in what parte he wer filthilye vnchaste: if wee haue regarde vnto God that abhorreth all filthinesse in what so euer parte either of oure soule or bodie it appeareth. And to put thee oute of doute, remembre that the Lorde here commendeth chastitie. If the Lord require chastitie of vs, then he condemneth all that euer is agaynste it. Therefore if thou couet to shewe

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obedience, neither let thy mynde burne inwardly wyth euell luste, nor lette thine eyes runne wantonly into corrupte affections, nor let thy bodye be trimmed by for alluremente, nor lette thy tongue with filthy talke entise thy mynde to lyke thoughtes, nor lette thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intemperance. For all these vices are, as it were, certayne blottes, wherewith the purenesse of chastitie ys bespotted.

*The eyghte Commaundement.*

45

Thou shalt not steale.

The ende of thys commaundemente is, bycause God abhorreth vnrightheousnesse, & euery man may haue hys owne rendred vnto hym. The summe therefore shall bee, that wee are forbidden to gape for other mens goodes, and that therefore we are commaunded euery man to employ hys faythfull trauaile to preserve to eche manne hys owne goodes. For thus we ought to thinke, that what euery man possesseth is not happened vnto hym by chaunce of fortune, but by the distribution of the soueraigne Lorde of all thinges, and therefore no mans goods can be gotten from hym by euell meanes, but & wronge be done to the disposition of God. But of theftes there be many kyndes: one standeth in violence, when the goodes of an other are by any manner of force and robbing licenciousnesse bereued. The other kynde consisteth in malicious deceite, where they are guylefully conueyed awaye. An other sorte there is that standeth in a more hidden sutteltie, when they are wronge from the owner by coloure of law. An other sorte in flatterie, where they are sucked awaye by pretense of gifte. But, leaste we shoulde tarry to longe vpon rentinge of all the seuerall kyndes of theftes, lette vs knowe, that all crafty meanes whereby the possessions and money of oure neyghboures are conueyed vnto vs, when they ones goe by croked wayes from syncerenesse of hearte, to a desire to beguile, or by any meane to do hurte, are to be accompted for theftes. Althoughe by pleadinge the lawe, they maye preuaile, yet God doth not otherwyse way the. For he seeth & long captious suttelties, wherewith & guileful man beginneth to entangle the simpler minde, till at length he drawe him into his nettes. He seeth the harde and vngentle lawes, wherewith the myghtier oppresseth and throbeth downe the weaker. He seeth & allurementes, wherewith as with baiteth hookes, & craftier taketh thee vnto ware. All whyche thinges are hidden from the iudgement of man, and come not in his knoweledge. And thys manner of wronge is not onely in money, in wares, or in landes, but in euery mans ryght. For we defraude oure neyghboure of his goodes, if we denye him those dueties whiche wee are bounde to doe for hym. If any idle factore or baylye do deuoure his masters substance, & is not heedefull to the care of his thurst, if he either do wrongfully spoyle, or doe ryoutously waste the substance committed vnto him, if a seruant do mocke his master, yf he disclose his secretes by any meanes, if hee betraye his life and hys goodes: agayne if the Lorde doe cruelly oppresse his householde, they are before God gylty of theftes. For he both withholdeth and conueieth

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an other mans goodes, which perfourmeth not that whiche by the office of his callinge he oweth to other.

We shall therefore ryghtly obey thys commaundement, if being contented with oure owne estate, we seeke to get no gaine but honest and lawefull, if we couet not to waxe riche with wroong, nor goe aboute to spoyle oure neighbour of hys goodes that oure owne substance maye encrease, if we labour not to heape vp cruell riches & wroonge oute of other mens blood, if we do not immeasurably scrape together euery way, by right and by wroonge, that either oure couetousnesse maye bee filled, or oure prodigalitie satisfied. But on the other side, lette this bee our perpetuall marke, to ayde all men faithfully by counsell and helpe to kepe their owne so farre as we may: but if we haue to do with false and deceytfull men, let vs rather be redy to yelde vp some of our owne, then to strue with them. And not that onely, butte lette vs communicate to their necessities, & with our store releue their nede, whome we see to be oppressed with harde and pooze estate. fynally, lette euery man loke howe muche he is by duety bounde vnto other, and lette him faithfully paye it. For this reason lette the people haue in hondoure all those that are sette ouer them, let them patiently beare their gouernement, obey their lawes and commaundementes, refuse nothinge that they maye beare, still keepinge God favorable vnto them. Againe, lette them take care of their people, preserue comon peace, defende the good, restraine the euell, and so orde all thinges, as redy to geue accompte of their office to the soueraigne iudge. Lette the Ministers of Churches faithfully applye their ministerie, and not corrupt the doctrine of saluation, but deliuer it pure and syncere to the people of God, and let them instructe them not onely with learning, but also wyth example of lyfe: fynally, let them so be ouer them, as good sheperdes be ouer the shepe. Let the people lykewise receiue them for the messingers and Apostles of God, geue them that honoure whercof the hyst maister hath vnto saued them, and minister vnto them suche thinges as are necessarie for their life. Lette parentes take on them to feede, rule and teache their children, as committed to them of God, and greue not, nor turne away their mindes from them with crueltie, but rather cheryshe and embrace them with suche lenitie and tendernesse, as becommeth there person. After whiche manner, we haue allredy sayde, that children owe to their parentes their obedience. Let yonge men reuerence olde age, euen as the Lorde willed that age to be honorable. Let olde men also gouerne the weakenesse of youth with their wisdom and experience, wherin thei excell yonge men, not ratinge them with rough and loude bragginges, but temperinge seueritie with mildenesse and gentlenesse. Lette seruantes shewe them selues diligent and scrutable to obey: and that not to the eye, but from the hearte, as seruinge God himselfe. Also lette maisters shewe them selues not testie and harde to please, nor oppresse them with to much sharpenesse, not reprochefully vse them, but rather acknowledge that thei are their brothren and their felowe seruantes vnder y<sup>e</sup> heauenly Lord, whom thei ought mutually to loue & gently to entreat. After this maner, I sai, let euery mā consider what in his degre



and place he oweth to his neighbour, & let him paie that he oweth. Moreover our mynde oughte allwayes to haue respecte to the lawe maker, that wee maye knowe that this lawe is made as well for our myndes, as for our handes, that men shoulde studie to defende & further the commodities and profite of other.

*The nynthe Commaundement.*

Thou shalt not be a lyeng witnesse agaynste thy neighbour.

4.7

The ende of thys commaundement is, that bycause God whyche is trueth abhorreth lyinge, we oughte to obserue trueth without deceitfull coloure. The summe therefore shall be, that wee neither hurte any mans name either with slaunders or false reportes, nor hinder him in his goodes by lyeng: synally that wee offende no manne, by luste to speake euell, or to bee busie: with whiche prohibition is isyned a commaundement, that so farre as we maie, we employe our saythfull endeuoure for euery man in affyrminge the trueth, to defende the safetie bothe of his name and goodes. It seemeth that the Lorde purposed to expounde the meaning of his commaundement in the thre and twenty Chapter of Exodus in these woordes. Thou shalt not vse the voyce of lyeng, nor shalt ioyne thy hande to speake false witnesse for the wicked. Agayne, Thou shalt flee lyeng. Also in an other place he doth not onely call vs awaie from lyeng in this pointe that wee be no accusers, or whysperers in the people, but also that no man deceiue his brother, for hee forbiddeth them bothe in seuerall commaundementes. Cruely it is no doute, but that as in the commaundementes before, hee hath forbidden crueltie, vnchastitie and couetousnes, so in this he restraineth falshoode. Whereof there are two partes as wee haue noted before. For either wee offende the good name of our neighbour by maliciousnesse and frowarde mynde to backbite, or in lyeng and sometime in euell speakinge we hinder their commodities. There is no dyfference whether in thys place be vnderstanded soleimne & iudiciall testimonie, or common testimonie that is vsed in priuate talkes. For wee muste alway haue recourse to thys pynckle, that of all the generall kyndes of vices one speciall sorte is sette for an example, whereunto the reste maie bee referred, and that that is cheefely chosen, wherein the fylthynesse of the faulte is moste apparant. All be it, it were conuenient to extende it more generally, to slaunders and synister backebytinges, where with our neighbour are wrongefully greued, for that falshoode of witnessing whiche is vsed in iudiciall courtes, is neuer withoute periurie. But periuries in so muche as thei do prophaine and desile the name of God, are already sufficiently mette withall in the thirde commaundement. Wherefore the righte vse of this commaundement is, that our tonge in affirminge the trueth to serue bothe the good name and profite of our neighbour. The equitie therof is more than manifest. For if a good name be more precious than any treasures, what so euer they bee: then is it no lesse hurte to a man to bee spoiled of the goodnesse of his

Exod. xxiii  
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Ex. ii. xix  
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his name than of hys goodes. And in learninge hys substaunce, some time false wytnesse dothe as muche as vyolence of handes. And yet yt is marneyleus wyth howe neglygent carelesnesse menne do commonly offende in thys poynte, so that there are founde verye fewe that are not notably sycke of thys desease: we are so muche delyted wyth a certayne poysoned sweetnesse bothe in searchyng oute and in dysclosyng the euells of other. And lette vs not thinke that it is a sufficient excuse, yf oftentimes wee lye not. For hee that forbyddeth thy brothers name to bee defyled wyth lyenge, wyll eth also that it bee preferued vntouchted so farre as the truthe will suffer. For howe soeuer hee taketh hede to hym selfe onely, so that hee tell no lye, yet in the same he secretly confesseth that hee hath some charge of hym. Butte thys ought to suffice vs to kepe safe our neighbours good name, that God hath the care of yt. Wherefore wythoute doubtte all euell speakyng is vtterly condemned. Butte wee meane not by euell speakyng, that rebukyng whyche ys vsed for chastismente: nor accusation, or iudiciall processe, whereby remedye is soughte for an euell, nor publyke reprehension whyche tendeth to putte other synners in feare, nor be traynyng of faultes to them for whose safetie it behoued that they shoulde bee forewarned leaste they shoulde bee in daunger by ignoraunce: butte we meane onely hatefull accusyng, whyche aryseth of malyciousnesse and of a wanton wyll to backebyte. Also thys commaundement is extended to this poynte, that we couet not to vse a scoffyng kinde of plesauntnesse, but myngeled wyth bytter tauntes, thereby bytyngely to touche other mennes faultes vnder pretense of pastime, as manye doe that seeke prayse of merry conceytes wyth other mennes shame yea and greefe, also when by suche wanton raylyng many tymes oure neighbours are not a lyttle reproched. Nowe yf wee bende oure eyes to the lawe maker, whyche muste accordyng to hys ryghtefull authoritie beare rule no lesse ouer the eares and mynde than ouer the tongue: truelye we shal finde þe greedynesse to heare backebytynges, and a hasty readynesse to euell iudgementes are no lesse forbydden. For it were verye sond if a manne shoulde thynke that God hateth the faulte of euell speaking in the tongue, and doth not disallowe the faulte of euell malyciousnesse in the hearte. Wherefore yf there be in vs a true feare and loue of God, let vs endeuoure so farre as we may and as is expedient, and as charitie beareth, that we geue neyther oure tongue, nor oure eares to euell speakynges, and bitter iestynges, leaste we rashely without cause yelde oure myndes to indirecte suspicions. But beinge indifferent expositors of all mens sayynges and doynges, let vs bothe in iudgemente eares & tongue gently preferue their honoure safe.

*The tenth Commaundement.*

Thou shalte not couet thy neighbours  
house. &c.

49

The end of this commaundement is, þe bicause þe lords wil is þe our soule be wholly possessed w<sup>th</sup> þe affectio of loue: all lust is to be shakē out of our mynd that



that is contrarie to charitie . The summe therefore shall bee, that noe thoughte creepe into vs , whyche maye moue oure myndes wyth a concupiscens hurtefull and tourninge towarde an others losse: where wyth on the other side agreeth the commaundement, that whatsoeuer we conceiue , purpose, will or study vpon, bee ioyned wyth the benefite and commoditie of oure neighboures. But here, as it seemeth , ariseth a harde and combersome dyfficultie . For if it bee truely sayde of vs before that vnder the names of fornication and theste are conteyned the luste of fornication , and the purpose to hurte and deceyue , it maye seeme superfluously spoken, that the couetyng of other mennes goods shoulde afterwarde bee seuerally forbydden vs . Butte the distinction betwene purpose and couetyng , wyll easlye loose vs thys knotte . For purpose ( as wee haue meante in speakinge of yt in the other commaundementes before ) ys delyberate consent of wyll , when luste hath subdued the mynde : butte couetyng maye bee wythoute any suche eyther aduysment or assent, when the mynde is onely prycked and tyckled with vaine and peruerse obiectes . As therefore the Lorde hath heretofore commaunded, that the rule of charitie shoulde gouerne oure wylles, studyes and woorkes : so hee nowe commaundeth the conceptions of oure mynde to bee directed to the same rule, that there bee none of them crooked and wythen, that maye prouoke oure mynde an other waye . As hee hath forbydden oure mynde to bee bowed and ledde into wrath , hatred , fornication , robberie , and lyinge : so hee dothe nowe forbidde vs to be moued therevnto .

50 And not withoute cause doothe he requyre so greate vprightnesse . For whoe canne denye that it is ryghteous, that all the powers of the soule bee possessed with charitie : Butte if any of them do swarue from the marke of charitie , whoe canne denye that it is dysleasde : Nowe whense commeth yt that so manye desires hurtefull to thy neighbour do enter into thy hearte, butte of thys , that neglectyng hym thou carest onely for thy selfe : For yt thy mynde were altogether throughlye soked wyth charitie , no percell thereof shoulde bee open to suche imaginations . Therefore it muste needes bee voyde of charitie , so farre as it receyueth concupiscens . Butte some manne will obiecte , that yet yt is not meete for phantasies that are wythoute ordre tolled in mannes wytte, and at lengthe doe vanyshe awaye, shoulde bee condemned for concupiscence , whose place is in the hearte . I aunswere : that here oure question is of that kynde of phantasies , whyche whyle they are present before oure myndes, do together bite and strike oure heart wyth desire, for asmuche as it neuer commeth in oure mynde , to wythe for any thyng , butte that oure hearte is styrred by and leapeth wyth all . Therefore God commaundeth a marueylous seruentye of loue , whyche he wyll not to bee entangled wyth neuer so small snares of concupiscence . Hee requyryeth a merueylousslye framed mynde , whyche hee suffereth not so muche as wyth ryghte prouocacions to bee any thyng styrred agaynst the lawe of loue . To thys exposition Augustine dyd fyrste open mee the waye : because thou shouldest not thinke for it is without consent of some graue authoritie . And though for the Lordes purpose was to forbid vs all wrongfull couetyng : yet in rehercing that same, he hath brought forth for example those things for most commonly



commonly doe deceyue vs wyth a false image of delyght: bycause hee woulde learne nothyng to concupiscence when he draweth yt from these thinges, vpon the whyche yt moste of all rageth and triumpheth. Nowe, here is the seconde Table of the lawe, wherein we are taught sufficiently what we owe to men for Gods sake, vpon consideration whereof hangeth the whole rule of charitie. Wherfore you shall but vayne-ly call vpon those dueties that are contayned in thys Table, vnesse your doctrine doe staye vpon the feare and reuerence of God, as vpon her foundation. As for them whyche seeke for twoo commaundementes in the prohibition of couetinge, the wyse reader, though he say nothing, wyll iudge that by wronge diuision, they teare in sunder that whyche was butte one. And it maketh nothyng agaynste vs, that this worde, Thou shalt not couet, is the seconde time repeted, for after that he had fyrste sette the house, then hee renteth the partes thereof, beginninge at the wyfe: whereby it playnely appeareth, that (as the Hebrues doe very well) it ought to bee reade in one whole sentence, and that God in effecte commaundeth, that all that euery man possesseth, shoulde remaine safe and butouched, not onely from wronge and lust to defraude them, but also from the very leaste desyre that may moue oure myndes.

But now to what ende the whole lawe tendeth, it shall not be hard to iudge: that is, to the fulfillinge of ryghteousnesse, that yt myghte frame the lyfe of manne after the example of the purenesse of God. For God hath therein so painted oute hys owne nature, as if a manne do perourne in deedes that whiche is there commaunded, hee shall in a maner expresse an image of God in hys lyfe. Therefore when Moses meante to bring the summe thereof into the myndes of the Israelites, hee saide: And nowe Israel, what dothe the Lorde thy God aske of thee: butte that thou feare the Lorde, and walke in hys wayes: loue hym and serue hym in all thy hearte, and in all thy soule, and keepe his commaundementes: And hee cessed not styll to synge the same songe agayne vnto them, so ofte as he purposed to shewe the ende of the lawe. The doctrine of the lawe hath such respect herevnto, that it ioyneth man; or as Moses in an other place termeth it, maketh manne to sticke faste to his God in holynesse of lyfe. Nowe the perfection of that holynesse consisteth in the twoo principall pointes already reherfed; That we loue the Lorde God withall oure hearte, all oure soule, and all oure strengthe, and oure neighbour as oure selues. And the firste in deede is, that oure soule bee in all partes fylled with the loue of God. From that by and by of it selfe fourth floweth the loue of oure neighbour. Whiche thinge the Apostle sheweth when he wryteth, that the ende of the lawe is Loue out of a pure conscience, and a faith not fained. You see howe, as it were, in the heade is set conscience and faith unfained, that is to saye in one worde true Godlynesse, and that from thense ys charitie dererued. Therefore hee is deceyued, whosoever thynketh that in the lawe are taughte onely certayne rudimentes and fyrste Introductions of ryghteousnesse; wherewith menne became to bee taughte theyr fyrste schoolyng, butte not yet dyrected to the true marke of good woorkes: whereas beyonde that sentence of Moses and thys of Paule, you canne desyre nothyng as wantyng of the hygheste perfection. For howe farre, I praye you, wyll hee

proceede

51

Deu. x. 10

De. vi. v.  
21. 10.

Mat. xxv.

i. Tim. i.  
v.



proceede that wyll not bee contented wyth thys institution, wherby manne ys instructed to the feare of God, to spirituall worshyppe, to obeingc of the commaundementes, to solowe the vprightnesse of the waye of the Lorde: finally to purenesse of conscience, syncere faith and loue: Whereby is confirmed that exposition of the lawe, whiche searcheth for and findeth out in the commaundementes therof all the duties of Godlynesse and loue. For thei that solow onely the drie and bare principles, as if it taught but the one halfe of Gods will, know not the ende thereof, as the Apostle witnesseth.

52 But wheras in rehering the summe of the lawe, Christ & the Apostle do somtime leaue out the first Table: many are deceiued therein, while thei wold faine draw their wordes to bothe the Tables. Christ in Matthew calleth y<sup>e</sup> chiefe pointes of the lawe, Mercy, Judgement & faith: vnder the worde faith, it is not doubtfull to mee, but that he meaneth truth or faithfulnessse toward men. But some, that the sentence might be extended to the whole lawe, take it for religiousnesse toward God. But thei laboure in vaine. For Christe speaketh of those workes wherwith man ought to proue him selfe righteous. This reason if we note, we will also cesse to maruell why, when a yonge man asked hym what be the commaundementes by keepinge wherof we enter into life: he answered these thinges onely: Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not committe adulterie. Thou shalt not steale. Thou shalt beare no false witnessse. Honour thy father and thy Mother. Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For the obeying of the firste Table consisted in manner all eyther in the affection of the hearte, or in ceremonies: the affection of the hearte appeared not, and as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continually vse. But the workes of charitie are suche, as by them we maye declare a perfect righteousnesse. But this commeth eche where so ofte in the prophetes, that it muste nedes be familiar to a reader but meanly exercised in them. For in a manner alwaye when they exhorte to repentaunce, they leaue oute the firste Table, and onely call vpon faith, Judgement, Mercie & Equitie. And thus thei do not ouerskippe y<sup>e</sup> feare of God, but thei require the earnest prooffe thereof by the tokens of yt. This is wel knownen, that when thei speake of the keepinge of the lawe, thei do for the moste parte rest vpon the seconde Table, bicause therein the studie of righteousnesse and vprightnesse is most openly seen. It ys needlesse to reherse the places, bicause euery man will of himselfe easily marke that whiche I saye.

53 But thou wilt say, is it then more available to the perfection of righteousnessse, to liue innocently among men, than with true godlynesse to honore God: No, but bicause a man doth not easlye kepe charitie in all pointes, vnlesse he earnestly feare God, therfore it is therby proued, that he hath the Godlinesse also. Beside that, for asmuch as the Lord well knoweth, that no benefite can come from vs vnto him, which thing he doth also testifie by y<sup>e</sup> Prophet: therfore he requireth not our duties to himselfe, but doth exercise vs in good workes toward our neighbour. Therfore not without cause y<sup>e</sup> Apostle setteth y<sup>e</sup> whole perfectio<sup>n</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> holy ones in charitie. And not inconueniently in an other place he calleth y<sup>e</sup> same the fullfillinge of the lawe: adding that he hath persourmed the lawe that loueth his neighbour. Againe, That all the lawe is comprehended

Mat. v.  
p. 11.Mat. xix.  
p. 17.

psal. cxv.

Eph. i. v.  
Colos. iii.  
p. 14.  
Rom. xii.



ded in one worde, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For he teacheth no other thing but the same which Christe doth when he saith: Whatsoeuer ye will that men do to you, do ye the same to them. For thys is the law and the Prophetes. It is certaine, that in the lawe and the Prophetes, faith & all that belongeth to the true worship of God, holdeth the principal place, and that Loue is beneth it in a lower degree; but the Lordes meaning is, & in the lawe is only prescribed vnto vs an obseruation of right and equitie, wherein we be exercised to testifie our Godlye feare of him, if there be any in vs.

Here therefore let vs sticke faste, that then oure lyfe shalbe best framed to Gods will and the rule of his lawe, when it shall be euery waye most profitable to oure brethren. Butte in the whole lawe there is not redde one syllable that apoynteth to man any rule of sache thynges as he shall do or leaue vndone to the commoditie of his owne flesh. And surely sith men are so bozne of such disposition naturalli, that thei be to much carried all hedlong to the loue of them selues, & how much soeuer thei fall from the truthe yet still thei keepe that selfe loue, there needed no lawe any moze to enflame that loue, that was naturally of it selfe, to much beyonde measure. Wherby it plainly appeareth, that not the loue of oure selues, but the loue of God and of oure neighbour is the keeping of the commaundements, and that he liueth best and moste holly, that (so nere as maie be) liueth and trauieth leaste for him selfe, & that no man liueth worse and more wyckedly than hee that liueth and trauieth for himselfe & only thynketh vpon & seeketh for thinges of hys owne. And the Lord, the moze to expresse with howe greate earnestnes we ought to be led to the loue of oure neighbours, apointed it to be measured by the loue of our selues as by a rule, bicause he had no other moze behement or stronger affection to measure it by. And the force of the manner of speaking is diligently to be weyed. For he doth not, as certaine Sophisters haue soo lightly dreamed, geue the first degree to & loue of our selues, and the seconde to charitie, but rather that affection of loue which we do all naturally drawe to our selues, he geueth away vnto other, wherby the Apostle saith, & Charitie seeketh not her own. And their reaso is not to be esteemed worth a heare & & thing ruled is euer inferioure to his Rule. For God doth not make & loue of our selues a rule wher vnto charitie toward other shold be subiect, but whereas by peruersnesse of nature, & affectio of loue was wont to rest in our selues, he sheweth that now it ought to be els wher spred abroad, & we shold with no lesse cherefulnesse, feruentnesse, and carefulnesse be ready to do good to oure neighbour than to oure selues.

Now sith Christe hath shewed in the parable of the Samaritane & vnder the name of Neighbour euery man is contained be he neuer so strange vnto vs: ther is no cause whi we shold restraine & commaudemēt of loue within & bondes of our owne friendshipes & acquaintances. I deny not & the nerer & any man is vnto vs, & moze familiarli he is to be holpen with our endeoures to do him good. For so the ordre of humanity requireth, & so many moe ducties of friendship men shold communicate togither, as they are bounde togither wyth streighter bondes of kynred, familiaritie or neighbourhoode, and that wythout any offense of God, by whose prouidence we are in a manner driuen ther vnto.

But

Matt. vj.  
19.

54

Aug. lib. 1.  
de doctrin.  
Chri. c. 23.1. Cor. xij.  
9.55  
Luc. x.  
xxxij.



But I say that al mankinde without exception is to be embraced with one affection of charitie: & that in thys behalfe is no dyfference of Barbarous or Grecian, of woorthy or vnwoorthy, of friende or foe, bicause thei are to be considered in God and not in them selues: from whyche consideration when we tourne away, it is no maruell if we be entangled with many erroures. Wherefore if we wyll keepe the true trade of louinge, we muste not tourne oure eyes vnto man, the sighte of whome woulde offer enforce vs to hate than to loue, but vnto God which commaundeth that the loue which we offer him, be poured abroade among all menne: that this be a perpetuall foundation, that whatsoeuer the man be, yet he ought to be loued bicause God is loued.

56 Wherefore it was a moste pestilent either ignoraunce or malice, that the Schoolemen of these commaundementes, touching not desyringe of reuengmente, and louinge oure enemies, whiche in the olde time bothe were geuen to the Jewes and at the same tyme were commonly geuen to all Chustians, haue made Councels whiche it is in our libertie to obey, or not obey. And the necessarie obeyinge of them, thei haue posted ouer to Monkes which wer though but in this one poynt forsoothe more righteous than simple Chustians, that thei willingely bound them selues to keepe þ Councels. And thei rendre a reason why thei receiue them not for lawes, for that they seeme to burdenous and heavy, specially for Chustians that are vnder the lawe of grace. So dare thei presume to repel the eternall lawe of God touching the louing of oure neyghbores. Is there any suche dyfference in any lease of the lawe: and are not therein rather in it eche where founde commaundementes that do moste seuerely require of vs to loue oure enemies: for what manner of sayinge is that, where wee are commaunded to feede oure enemy when he is hungry: to set into the right way his Oxen or Asses strayinge out of the waye, or to ease them when thei faint vnder their burden: Shall we do good to his bestes for his sake without any good will to him selve: What: is not the worde of the Lorde euerlastinge: Leauē vengeance to me, and I will requite it: Whiche also is spoken more plainely at large in an other place. Seke not vengeance, neither be mindefull of the iniurie of thy Citizens. Either let them blot these thynges oute of the lawe, or let them acknoweledge þ the Lorde was a lawemaker, and not lieingly saie that he was a counsell geuer.

Pro. xv.  
iii.  
Ecod. xxiij  
iij.  
Deu. xxxij  
xxv.  
Deu. xix.  
xviii.

57  
Matt. v.  
xliij.

Lib. de com  
punctione  
cordis.

Mat. v.  
xvi.

And what I praye you meane these thynges that thei haue presumed to mocke withall in their vnsauorie glose: Loue your enemies, doe good to them that hate youe, praie for them that persecute youe, blesse them that curse you, that ye may be the chylidren of youre father which is in heauen. Who can not heare reason wyth Chrysolome, that by so necessarie a cause it plainely appeareth that they are no exhortations but commaundementes: What remayne more when we be blotted out of the numbre of the children of God: But by their opinion, onely Monkes shall be the children of the heauenly father, thei onely shall be bold to call vpon God their father: what shall the Church do in the meane season: it shall by like righte be sent a waie to the Gentiles and Publicans. For Christe saith: If ye be freindely to your friendes, what fauoure looke you for thereby: doe not the gentiles and publicans the same: But we shall be in good case forsooth, if the title of Chustians be leste



lesse vnto vs, and the inheritaunce of the kingdome of heauen taken  
 awaye from vs. And no lesse stronge is Augustines argument. When  
 (sayth he) the Lorde forbiddeth to commit fornication, he no lesse for-  
 biddeth to touche the wife of thine enemye than of thy frende. When  
 he forbiddeth thefte, he geueth leaue to steale nothyng at all, eyther  
 from thy frend or from thine enemye. But these two, not to steale,  
 and not to commit fornication, Paule byngeth within the compasse  
 of the rule of loue, yea and teacheth that they are cōteyned vnder this  
 commaundement, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. There-  
 fore, eyther Paule muste haue ben a false expositour of the lawe, or  
 it necessarily foloweth hereby, that our enemies ought also to be lo-  
 ued, euen by commaundement, lyke as our frendes. Therefore they  
 doe truely betraye themselues to bee the chylzen of Satan, that do  
 so licentiously shake of the common yoke of the chylzen of God. It is  
 to be doubted, whether they haue published this doctrine with moze  
 grosse dulnesse or shamelesnesse. For there are none of the olde wy-  
 ters that doe not pronounce as of a thyng certayne, that these are  
 mere commaundementes. And that euen in Gregozies age it was not  
 doubted of, appereth by his owne affirmation, for he without contro-  
 uersie taketh them for commaundementes. And how foolishly do they  
 reason? They say that they are to weighty a burden for Christians. As  
 though there coulde be deuised any thing moze weighty, than to loue  
 God with al our heart, with al our soule, with al our strength. In cō-  
 parison of this lawe any thing maye be compted easy, whether it be to  
 loue our enemy, or to laye away all desire of reuēge out of our minde.  
 In deede all thynges are hye and harde to our weakenesse, euen the  
 leaste tittle of the lawe. It is the Lord in whome we vse strength. Let  
 him geue what he commaundeth, and commaunde what he will.  
 Christian menne to be vnder the lawe of grace, is not vnbydledly to  
 wander without law, but to be grafted in Christ, by whose grace they  
 are free from the curse of the lawe, and by whose spirite they haue a  
 lawe wrytten in their heartes. This grace Paule vnpropzely called  
 a lawe, alludying to the lawe of God, agaynst which he did set it in cō-  
 parison. But these men do in the name of the law, dispute vpo a mater  
 of nothyng.

Of lyke sorte it is, that they called Venial sinne, bothe secrete vn-  
 godlynnesse that is agaynste the firste table, and also the direct trans-  
 gressyng of the laste commaundement. For they define it thus, that it  
 is a desire without aduised assent, which resteth not long in the heart.  
 But I say, that it can not come at all into the heart, but by wante of  
 those thynges that are required in the lawe. We forbidde to haue  
 strange gods. When the minde shaken with the engines of distrust,  
 loketh aboute els where: when it is touched wyth a soden desire to  
 remoue her blessednesse some otherwaye: whense come these mo-  
 tions, although they quicklye vanishe awaye, but of this, that there is  
 some thyng in the soule empty, to recepue such tentations: And to the  
 ende not to drawe out this argument to greater length, there is a  
 commaundement geuen to loue God with all our heart, with all  
 oure mynde, wyth all our Soule: yf then all the powers of our  
 soule be not bente to the loue of God, we haue already departed



from the obedience of the lawe. Bicause the enemies that doe therein arise against his kingdome, and interrupt his derrees, do proue that God hath not his thzone well stablished in our conscience. As for the laste commaundement, we haue already shewed that it properly belongeth hereunto. Hath any desire of minde pricked vs? we are already guilty of couetyng, and therewithall are made transgressors of the law. Bycause the Lord doth forbid vs, not only to purpose and practise any thyng that maye be to an others losse, but also to be pricked and swell with couetyng it. But the curse of God doth alwaye hange ouer the transgression of the lawe. We can not therefore proue euen the very least desires free fro iudgement of death. In weyeng of sinnes (sayth Augustine) let vs not brynge false balances to weye what we list and how we list at our owne pleasure, sayeng: this is heuy, and this is light. But let vs bryng Gods balance out of the holy Scriptures, as out of the Lordes tresorie, and let vs therein weye what is heuy: rather let vs not weye, but reknowledge thinges already weyed by the Lord. But what sayth the Scripture: Cruely when Paule sayth that the rewarde of sinne is death, he sheweth that he knewe not this stinkyng distinction. Sith we are to muche enclined to hypocrisie, this therishment thereof ought not to haue ben added to flatter our slouthfull consciences.

I would to God, they would consider what that sayeng of Christ meaneth: He that transgresseth one of the leaste of these commaundementes, and teacheth men so, shalbe compted none in the kingdome of heauen. Are not they of that sort, when they dare so extenuate the trasgression of the law, as if it were not worthy of death: but they ought to haue considered, not only what is comaunded, but what he is that comaundeth, bicause his authoritie is diminished in euery transgression, how litle so euer it be, of the lawe that he hath geuen in comaundement. Is it a small matter with them, that Gods maiestie be offended in any thing? Moreouer yf God hath declared his will in the law, what so euer is contrarie to the law, displeaseth him. Will they imagine the wrath of God to be so disarmed, that punishment of death shall not forthwith follow vpon them? And he himself hath pronounced it plainely, if they would rather finde in their heartes to heare his voyce, than to trouble the clere truthe with their vnlawfull suttelties of argument. The soule (sayth he) yf sinneth, the same shall die. Againe, whiche I euen nowe alleged: The rewarde of sinne is death. But albeit they graunt it to be a sinne, bicause they can not denie it: yet they stande stiffe in this, that it is no deadly sinne. But sith they haue heherto to much bozne with their owne madnesse, let them yet at length learne to waxe wiser. But if they continue in dotage, we wil bid them farewell: and let the childre of God learne this, that al sinne is deadly, bicause it is a rebellion agaynst the will of God, whiche of necessitie prouoketh his wrath, bicause it is a breache of the law, vpon whiche the iudgement of God is pronounced without exception: and that the sinnes of the holynes are veniall or pardonable, not of their owne nature, but bicause they obteyne pardon by the mercie of God,

Lib. 2. de  
bapt. contra  
Donatist.  
cap. 6.

59  
Matth. v.  
ff.

Eccl. viii.  
ff.  
Rom. vi.  
xiiij.



## The ix. Chapter.

That Christ, although he was known to the Jewes  
under the law, yet was deluyred only by the Gospell.



Because it pleased God in the olde time not bainely by ex-  
piations and sacrifices to declare himself a Father, and  
not in bayne he did consecrate a cholen people to himself:  
euen then without doubt he was known in the same  
image, wherein he now appereth to vs with full bright-  
nesse. Therefore Malachie, after that he had bidden y<sup>e</sup> Jewes to take  
hede to the law of Moses, & to continue in studie thereof, (bicause af-  
ter his death there should come a certaine interruption of the office of  
the Prophetes) did forthwith declare, that there should arise a sonne of  
righteousnesse. In which wordes he teacheth, that the lawe auaieth  
to this purpose to hold the godly in expectation of Christ to come: but  
yet that there was muche moze light to be hoped for, when he should  
be come in deede. For this reason doth Peter say, that the Prophetes  
did make searche, and diligently enquire, of the saluation that is now  
opened by the Gospell: and that it was reueled vnto them, that they  
should minister, not to themselues, nor to their owne age but vnto vs,  
those thinges that are declared by the Gospell. Not that their doctrine  
was vnprofitable to the people in olde time, or nothing auailed them-  
selues: but bicause thei enioyed not the treasure which God sent vnto  
vs by their hand. For at this day the grace wherof they testified, is fa-  
miliarly set before our eyes. And wheras they did but a litle sippe of  
it, there is offered vnto vs a moze plentiful enioyeng therof. Therefore  
Christ himself, whiche affirmeth y<sup>e</sup> he had witnesse bozne him by Mo-  
ses, yet extollet the mesure of grace wherby we excel the Jewes. For  
speaking to the Disciples, he sayd: Blessed are the eyes that see that  
whiche ye see, & blessed are the eares that here athat whiche ye heare.  
For many kinges & Prophetes haue wished it, & haue not obtained it.  
This is the final comendation of the reuelyng of the gospel, that God  
preferred vs before the holy fathers that excelled in rare godlinesse.  
With whiche sentence that other place disagreeth not, where it is  
sayd, that Abraham saw the daye of Christ, and reioyced. For though  
the sight of a thing farre distant was somewhat darke, yet he wanted  
nothyng to the assurance of good hope. And thence came that ioye  
whiche accompanied the holy Prophet, euen to his death. And that  
sayeng of Iohn Baptist, No man hath seen God at any time, the on-  
ly begotten that is in the bosome of the father, hath declared him vn-  
to vs, doth not exclude the godly whiche had ben dead before him, fro  
the felowship of the vnderstandyng & light that shineth in the person  
of Christ. But coparyng their estate with oures, he teacheth y<sup>e</sup> those  
mysteries, which thei saw but darkly vnder shadowes, are manifest to  
vs: as the authoz of the epistle to y<sup>e</sup> Hebrewes doth wel set out, sayeng,  
that God diuersly and many wayes spake in olde time by the Pro-  
phetes, but now by his beloued Sonne. Although therefore that only  
begotten one, which is at this day to vs the brightnesse of the glozy, &  
the point of the substance of God the father, was in olde time known

Mal. iiii.  
ii.i. Pet. i.  
iii.John. vi.  
xvi.  
Mat. xiii.  
xvi.  
Luc. i.  
xviii.John. viii.  
vii.John. i.  
xviii.

Hebz. i. i.



Of the knoweledge of

to the Jewes, as we haue in an other place alleaged out of Paule, that he was the guide of the old deliuerance: yet is it true, whiche the same Paule els where teacheth, that God which commaunded the light to shine out of darknesse, hath nowe shined vpon our heartes to let forth the knoweledge of the glozie of God in the face of Iesus Christ: bicause when he appered in this his image, he did in a maner make himselfe visibill, in comparison of the darke and shadowy forme that had ben of him befoze. And so much the moze fowle and detestable is their vnthankfulnesse & peruersnesse, that are here so blinde at midde daie. And therefore Paule sayth, that their mindes are darkened by Satan, that they should not see the glozie of Christ shining in the gospell, though there be no veile set betwene them and it.

Now I take the Gospell for the clere disclosyng of the misterie of Christ. I graunt truely, that in that respect that Paul calleth the gospel the doctrine of sayth, al the promises that we here and there finde in the law, concernyng the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, whereby God reconcyleth men to himselfe, are accompted partes therof. For he cōpareth faith against these terroz, wherewith the conscience should be troubled & vexed, if saluation were to be sought by woorkes. wherupō followeth, that in takyng the name of the gospel largely, there are cōteined vnder it all the testimonies that God in old tyme gaue to the fathers, of his mercie and fatherly fauour. But in the moze excellent signification of it, I saye it is applied to the publishyng of the grace geuen in Christ. And that meanyng is not only receyued by common vnderstandyng, but also hangeth vpon the authozitie of Christ and the Apostles. Wherupon this is proprely ascribed vnto him, that he preached the Gospell of the kingdome. And Marke maketh his preface in this maner, The begynnyng of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. And there is no neede to gather places to proue a thing sufficiently knowen. Christ therefore by his cōmyng hath made clere the life and immortalitie by the Gospell. By whiche wordes Paule meaneth, not that the fathers were drowned in darknesse of death, vntil the sonne of God did put on flesh: but clayming this prerogatiue of honour to his gospell, he teacheth that it is a newe and vnwonted kinde of message, whereby God performed those thinges that he had promised, that the truthe of his promises should be fulfilled in the persone of the Sonne. For although the faithful haue alway found by experieñce, that same sayeng of Paule to be true, that in Christ are all the promises, yea and Amen, bycause they were sealed in their heartes: yet bicause he hath accomplished al partes of our saluation in his flesh, therefore that selfe liuely deliue- ryng of the thinges rightfully obteyned a newe and singular title of prayse. Wherupon cometh that sayeng of Christ: Hereafter ye shall see the heauens open, and the Angels of God ascendyng and descen- dyng vpon the sonne of manne. For though he seme to haue relation vnto the ladder shewed in a vision to the Patriarch Iacob: yet he setteth out the excellēcie of his cōmyng by this mark, that he opened the gate of heauen to all men, that the entrie thereof maye be stand famili- arly open to all men.

But yet we must take hede of the deuelysh imagination of Seruet- tus, which whē he goeth about, oz at least faineth that he goeth about,

ii. Cor. iiii  
v.

2  
i. Tim.  
iii. vi.

Mat. iiii.  
16.  
Mar. i. i.

ii. Tim. i.  
f.

Job. i. ii.



to extoll the greatnesse of the grace of Christ, utterly abelisheth the promises, as if they were ended together with the lawe. He layeth for him, that by the sayth of the Gospell there is brought vnto vs the accomplishment of all the promises: as though there were no difference betwene vs and Christ. I did in deede euen now declare that Christ left nothyng vpperformed of the whole summe of our saluatiō: but it is wrongfully gathered thereupon, that we do alreedy enioye the benefites purchaced by him, as though that sayeng of Paule were false, that our saluation is hidde in hope. I graunt in deede, that we by beleuyng in Christ, do also passe frō death to life: But in the meane season we muste holde this sayeng of John, that although we knowe we be the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appered, till we shalbe like vnto him: that is, till we shall see him suche as he is. Therefore although Christ offer vnto vs in his Gospell present fulnesse of spirituall good thinges, yet the enioyng thereof lieth still hidde vnder the keepng of hope, till beyng vnclodhed of the corruptible fleshe, we be transfigured into the glozie of him that goeth befoze vs. In the meane time the holy ghoste biddeth vs to reste vpon the promises, whose authoritie ought with vs to put to silēce all the barkinges of that filthy Dogge. For, as Paule witnesseth, godlynesse hath a promise as well of the life to come, as of y life present. For which reason he boasteth that he is an Apostle of Christ, accorดยnge to the promise of life that is in him. And in an other place he putteth vs in minde, that we haue the same promises, whiche in the olde time were geuen to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for the summe of felicitie, that we are sealed by with the holy spirit of promise, but yet we do no otherwise enioye Christe, but so farre as we embrace him clothed with his promises. Wherby it cometh to passe, that he in deede dwelleth in our heartes, and yet we wander in yourney abzode from him: bicause we walke by sayth and not by sight. And these two thinges do not ill agree together: that we possesse in Christ all that perteineth to the perfection of the heauenly life: and yet that faith is a beholdyng of good thinges that are not seene. Only there is a difference to be noted in the nature or qualitie of the promises: bicause the Gospell sheweth with her finger that thing, which the lawe did shadow vnder figures.

And hereby also is their errour conuincd, whiche do neuer otherwise compare the lawe with the Gospell, but as they compare the merites of workes with the free imputation of righteousness. Although in deede this comparison of contraries be not to be reiected: bycause Paule doth oftentimes vnderstand by the name of the lawe, a rule to line righteously, wherin God requireth of vs, that whiche is his, not geuing vs any hope of life, vnlesse we in al pointes obeye it: & on the other side adding a curse if we do neuer so litle swarme frō it: that is in such places as he disputeth, y we do freely please God, & are by pardon reckened righteous, bicause the obseruation of the law, wherunto the reward is promised, is no where found. Therfoze Paule doth fitly make y righteoulesse of the law & of the gospel, contrarie the one to the other. But the gospel did not so succede in place of y whole lawe, that it shoulde vzyng any diuerse meane of saluation, but rather to confirme and proue to be of force, what so euer the law had promised,

Tim. iii.  
viii.  
ii. Tim. i.  
ii. Cor. vii.



and to ioyne the body to the Shadowes. For when Christ sayth, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vntill John: he maketh not the fathers subiect to the curse, whiche the bound seruantes of the lawe can not escape: but rather only that they were instructed with certayne rudimentes, so as they stayed a great way beneath the heighth of the doctrine of the Gospell. Therefore Paule calling the Gospell the power of God, to saluation to euery beleuer, by and by addeth, that it hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes. But in the ende of the same Epistle, although he shew that the title of praise of Iesus Christ is the reuelation of the misterie kepte secret in euerlastyng times: yet he doth qualifye that sayeng, with adding an expositiō, teachyng that he is openly shewed by the wrytynges of the Prophetes. Whereupon we gather, that when we are to entreate of the whole lawe, the Gospell differeth from the lawe only in respecte of the playne disclosyng thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowyng store of grace, whiche hath ben layed open for vs in Christ, it is not without cause sayde, that at his commyng the heauenly kingdome of God was erected in earth.

5 Some betwene the lawe and the Gospell came John, whiche had an office that was meane and of affinitie to them bothe. For though when he called Christ the lambe of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansyng of sinnes, he shewed forth the summe of the Gospell: yet bicause he dyd not expresse that same incomparable strēgth and glorie, which at length appered in his resurrection, therefore Christ sayeth, that he was not egal to the Apostles. For so do those wordes of his meane: *¶* though John excell amonge the sonnes of womē, yet he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. Bicause he doeth not there commend the persones of men, but after he had preferred John before all the Prophetes, he auunceth the preachyng of the Gospell to the hiest degree: whiche preachyng we see in an other place signified by the kyngdome of heauen. But whereas John himselfe dothe answer that he is but a voice, as though he were inferiour to the prophetes, he dothe not that for sayned humilitie sake, but meaneth to teache that the ppropze office of the Embassadour was not committed to him, but that he only executeth the office of an apparitor: as it was forespoken by Malachie: Beholde, I sende Elias the prophet, before that the great and terrible daye of the Lorde doe come. And truly he dyd nothing els in the whole course of his ministerie, but endeuour to get disciples to Christ: as also Clave proueth, that this was enioyned hym from God. And in this sense Christ is called a candle burnyng and shynyng, bycause the broade daye had not yet appered. And yet this is no let, but that he maye be reckened among the publishers of the Gospell, like as he vsed the same Baptisme, whiche was afterwarde deliuered to the Apostles. But that whyche he beganne, was not fulfilled but by the Apostles, with free procedyng, after that Christ was taken vp from them into the heauenly glorie.



¶ Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Testament.



By the thinges aforesaide it may now appere euidently, that  
all the men whom from the beginning of the world God  
adopted into the estate of his people, were with the same  
law, & with the bond of the same doctrine, which now re-  
maineth in force among vs, bound in couenāt to him. But  
bicause it is of no smal importance that this point be wel established,  
I will adioyne vnto it for an addition, siue the fathers were parta-  
kers of al one inheritance with vs, & hoped for all one saluatiō by the  
grace of al one mediatur, how farre their estate differed from oures  
in this felowship. But although the testimonies that we haue ga-  
thered out of the law and the Prophetes for profe therof, do make it  
playne that there was neuer any other rule of religion and godlinesse  
in the people of God: yet bicause in wryters there are oftentimes ma-  
ny thinges spokē of the difference of the old and new Testament, that  
may make the reder y is not of very sharp iudgement to be in doubt:  
therefoze we shall rightfully apoint one peculiar place for the better  
and moze exact discussyng of this matter: yea & that thing also, which  
otherwise shuld haue bē very profitable to vs, is now made necessa-  
rie by that mōstruous losel Seruettus, & by diuerse other mad mē of  
the sect of Anabaptistes, which haue no other opinion of the people of  
Israel, thā as of a heard of swine: which thei fondly faine to haue bē  
fatted by by the Lord here in this earth, without any hope of heauen-  
ly immortalitie. Therfoze that we maye kepe away this pestilent er-  
rour from godly mindes, and also to plucke out of them all doubtēs  
whiche are wont by and by to arise vpon hearyng mention of the di-  
uersitie betwene the old and new Testament: let vs by the way loke,  
what they haue in them like, and what vnlke one to the other: what  
couenant the Lord made with the Israelites in the olde tūne before  
the comyng of Christ, and what couenant he hath now made with vs  
sins Christ hath ven openly shewed.

And bothe these pointes maye be made playne with one word. The  
couenant of al the fathers so differeth nothing frō oures in substance  
& in the matter it selfe, that it is altogether one and the selfe same: but  
the ministratiō is diuerse. But bicause of so great shortnesse no man  
were able to atteine a certaine vnderstādyng, we must needs procede  
on with a longer declaratiō if we meane to profit any thing at all. But  
in shewyng how they are like or rather all one, it shall be superfluous  
to discourse againe of new bpō al the special particulars that haue al-  
redy ben declared: and it shall be out of season to mingle those thinges  
together that remaine yet to be spokē in other places. Here we must  
chiefly rest vpon thzee principall pointes: firste, that we holde, that  
carnal wealth and felicitie was not the marke apointed to the Jewes  
to aspire vnto, but that they were by adoption chosen vnto the hope  
of immortalitie: and that the truth of this adoption was certainly  
assured vnto them bothe by oracles, and by the lawe, and by the  
prophecies. Secundarily, that the couenāt, whereby thei were ioyned



to the Lord, was vpholden not by any merites of theirs, but by the only mercie of God that called them. Thirdly, that they bothe had and knew Christ the mediator, by whom they should bothe be ioyned to God and enyoye his promises. Of whiche pointes, because the seconde paradventure is not yet sufficiently knowne, it shall in place apointed for it be declared at large. For we shall confirme by many and clere testimonies of the Prophetes, that it was of his owne mere goodnesse and tender fauour, what so euer good the Lord at any time did, and promised to the people of Israell. The third also hath already had here and there some plaine declaratiōs of it, and we haue not left the first altogether vntouched.

3 Therfoze in setting out of this point, because it moste specially belongeth to this present matter, and for that they make vs moste controuersie about it, we will employe the moze earnest trauaile: but yet so that if there wante yet any thyng of the explication of the other, it maye be by the way supplied, or in conuenient place be added. Truly the Apostle taketh awaye all doubt of them all, when he sayth, that God the Father long before by the Prophetes in the holy Scriptures promised the Gospell, whiche he afterward published accor dyng to the time apointed. Agayne, that the right cōsnesse of sayth whiche is taught by the Gospell it selfe, hath witness of the lawe and the Prophetes. For the gospell doth not hold the heartes of men in the ioye of this present life, but lifteth them vp to the hope of immortalitie: doth not fasten them to earthly delites, but preaching to the a hope layed vp in heauen, doth in a manner transport them thether. For thus he defineth in an other place. Sing that ye beleued the Gospell, ye are sealed vp with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, for the redemption of the possession purchaced. Agayne, we haue heard of your faith in Christ Iesu, and of your charitie toward the holy ones, for the hopes sake that is layed vp for you in heauen, wherof ye haue heard by the true speache of the gospell. Againe: He hath called vs by the gospel to the partakynge of the glorie of our lord Iesus Christ. Wherfoze it is called, both the word of saluation, and the power of God to saue the faithfull, and the kingdome of heauen. Now if the doctrine of the gospell be spirituall, and openeth the entrie to the possession of an incorruptible life: let vs not thinke that, they to whome it was promised and declared, did passe over and neglect the care of their soule, and lie dully like bestes in seeking pleasures of the body. Neither let any man here cauill that the promises whiche are sealed in the lawe and the Prophetes, concerning the gospel, were ordeyned for the new people. For within a litle after that which he spake of the Gospell promised in the lawe, he addeth, that all the thinges that the lawe containeth, are without doubt properly directed to them that are vnder the lawe. I graunt in dedde it is in an other argument. But he was not so forgetfull, that when he had ones sayd that all the thinges whiche the lawe containeth belong to the Jewes, he did not remember what in a fewe verses before he had affirmed of the gospell promised in the lawe. Wherfoze the Apostle sheweth most plainly, that the old Testament chiefly tended to the life to come, when he sayth, that vnder it are contained the promises of the gospel.

Rom. i. ii.

Ro. iii. xxi.

Eph. i. xii.

Col. i. iii.

i. Thess. ii. xiii.

Ro. iii. xxi.



By the same reason foloweth, bothe that it stode vpon the free mercie of God, and also was confirmed by the meane of Christ, for the very preachyng of the gospell pronouiceth no other thing, but that sinners are iustified by the fatherly kindenesse of God, without their owne deseruyng: and the whole summe thereof is fulfilled in Christ. Who then dare make the Jewes without Christ, with whome we heare that the couenant of the gospell was made, whereof Christ is the only fundation? Whoe dare make them strangers from the benefite of free saluatio, to whom we heare that the doctrine of the righteousnesse of fayth was ministrd? But, that we dispute not longe of an euident matter, we haue a notable sentence of the Lord, Abraham reioyced that he might see my daye, he sawe it & was glad. And the same thing which Christ there testifieth of Abraham, the Apostle sheweth that it was vniuersal in the faithful people, whē he sayth, that Christ abideth, yester day, this daye, and for euer. For he speaketh not there only of the eternall godhed of Christe, but also of his power, whiche was continually opened to the faythfull. Wherefore bothe the blessed Virgin and Zacharie in their songes, do say, that the saluation reueled in Christ, is the perfozrance of the promises, whiche God in olde time had made to Abraham and the Patriarches. If the Lord in geuyng his Christ, discharged his olde othe, it can not be sayd but that the ende therof was alway in Christ, and euerlasting life.

Yea and the Apostle doth make the Israelites egall with vs, not only in the grace of the couenant, but also in signification of Sacramentes. For meanyng by examples of punishmentes, wherewith the Scripture reciteth that they were corrected in the olde time, to make the Cozinthians afrayde, that they should not runne into the like offenses, he beginneth with this pzeface, that there is no cause why we should chalenge any prerogatiue vnto ouir selues, to deliuer vs from the vengeance of God which they susteined, for asmuch as the Lord did not only graunt vnto them the same benefites, but he hath gloriously set forth his grace among them with the same tokens: As yf he should haue sayd: If ye trust that ye be out of peril, bicause both Baptisme wherewith ye be marked, and the Supper which ye dayly receyue, haue excellent promises, and in the meane time despisyng the goodnesse of God, ye are licētiously wanton: Know ye, that the Jewes also were not without such sacramentes, against whom yet the Lord did most seuerely put his iudgementes in execution. They were Baptized in passyng ouer the Sea, and in the cloude wherewith they were defended from the burnyng heate of the sonne. They saye, that that same passage was a carnall Baptisme, whiche after a certayne proportion answereth to our spirituall Baptisme. But yf that were allowed true, the Apostles argument could not procede, which meaneth here to haue this taken away from the Christians, that they thinke that they excell the Jewes by the prerogatiue of Baptisme. Neyther is that whiche by and by after foloweth, subiect to this cauillation: that they did eate the same spirituall meate that we eate, and dronke the same spiritual drinke, whiche he expoundeth to be Christ.

To ouerthrowe this sentence of Paule, they obiecte that whiche Christ sayth: your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernesse, and

Joh. vi.

Heb. r  
viii.Luc. i.  
& xpi.

5

i. Cor. i.  
& xpi.

6

John.



are dead: he that eateth my fleſhe, ſhall not dye for euer. Whiche two places are very eaſily made to agree together. The Lorde, bycauſe he then talked to hearers that ſought only to bee filled with foode of their belly, but cared not for the meate of the ſoule, tempered his talke ſomewhat to their capacitie, but ſpecially he frameth the compariſon of *Manna* and of his bodye accorſyng to their ſenſe. They required that he, to gette himſelfe ſome credite, woulde approue his power with doynge ſome ſuche miracle, as *Moses* dyd in the wilderneſſe, when he obteyned *Manna* from Heauen. But in *Manna* they conceyued nothyng but the remedie of carnall hunger, wherewith the people was then vexed: but they pearced not to that hyper miſterie whiche *Paule* hath reſpect vnto: *Chriſt* therefore, to ſhewe howe muche greater a benefite they ought to loke for at his hande, than that which they reported that *Moses* dyd beſtow vpon their fathers, frameth this compariſon: If it were a great miracle in your opinion, and worthe to be remembred, that the Lorde by *Moses* miniſtered foode from Heauen to his people, to ſuſtaine them for a ſmal time, that they ſhould not periſhe for hunger in the wilderneſſe: gather herebye howe muche moze excellent is the meate that geueth immozialitie. We ſee why the Lorde paſſed ouer that thyng whiche was principall in *Manna*, and ſpake onely of the beaſt profit of it: euen bycauſe the *Jewes* as it were of purpoſe to reproche hym, dyd caſte *Moses* in his teeth, whiche ſuccored the neceſſitie of the people with remedie of *Manna*: he answered that he is the miniſter of a muche hyper grace, in compariſon whereof, the carnall fedynge of the people, whiche alone they ſo muche eſtimated, ought of righte to be nothyng regarded. But *Paule*, bycauſe he knewe that the Lorde when he rayned *Manna* from heauen, dyd not only poure it downe for the feeding of their belly, but alſo dyd diſtribute it for a ſpirituall miſterie, to be a figure of the ſpirituall quickenynge that is had in *Chriſt*, dyd not neglecte that parte that was moſt worthe of conſideration. Wherfoze it certai-ly and clerely foloweth, that the ſame promiſes of eternall and heu-ly life, whiche nowe the Lorde vouchſaueth to graunt vnto vs, were not only communicated vnto the *Jewes*, but alſo ſealed with very ſpirituall Sacramētes. Of whiche mater *Auguſtine* diſputeth largely agaynſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*.

7

But yf the readers had rather to haue teſtimonies alledged vnto them out of the lawe and the *Prophetes*, whereby they may perceyue that the ſpirituall couenant was common alſo to the fathers, as we heare by *Chriſt* and the *Apoſtles*: I will alſo follow that deſire, and ſo muche the moze willingly, bycauſe by that meane the aduerſaries ſhalbe moze ſurely conuincid, ſo that they ſhall haue afterwarde no waye to dallye. And I will beginne at that proſe, whiche although I knowe that the *Anabaptiſtes* pride will thinke verie ſonde and in a manner to bee laughed at, yet ſhall muche auayle with ſuche readers as are willyng to learne and haue their ſounde wit. And I take it as a principle confeſſed, that there is ſuche effectuall force of lyfe in the worde of God, that whome ſo euer God vouchſaueth to be partakers therof, it quickeneth their ſoules. For this ſayeng *Peter* hath alwaye ben of force, that it is the incorruptible ſeede whiche abideth

for

Pet. i.  
ppij.



for euer, as he also gathereth out of the wordes of Esaye. Now sithe God in the old time bound the Jewes vnto him with this holy bound, it is no doubt that he did also leuer them into the hope of eternal life. For when I saye they embraced the worde, whiche should toyne them nyer to God, I take it for the maner of comunicatynge it: not that generall manner, whiche is poured abrode throughtout the heauen and earth and all the creatures of the world, whiche although it do quickē all thinges, euery one after the proportion of their nature, yet it doth not deliuer them from necessitie of corruption: but I speake of this speciall manner, whereby the soules of the godly are bothe lightened vnto the knowledge of God, and in a manner coupled to him. By this enlightenyng of the worde, sithe Adam, Abel, Noe, Abraham, and the other fathers cleaued vnto God, I saye that it is not doubtfull that they had an entrie into the immortall kingdome of God. For it was a sound partakynge of God, whiche can not be without the benefit of eternall life.

But yf this seme somewhat entangled: goe to, let vs come to the very forme of the couenant, which shall not only satisfie sobze wittes, but also shall sufficiently conuince their ignozance that bende themselues to speake agaynst it. For God did alwaye thus couenant with his seruantes: I will be to you a God, and ye shall be to me a people. In whiche wordes the Prophetes themselues are wont to expound, that both life and saluation, and the whole summe of blessednesse is comprehended. For Dauid doth not without cause often pronounce, that blessed is the people, whose God is the lord: blessed is the natio, which he hath chosen to be his inheritance: and that not for earthly felicitie sake, but bycause he deliuereth them from death, he preserueth them for euer, and continually sheweth them eternal mercie, whome he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other Prophetes, Thou art our God, we shall not die: The Lord is our king, our lawmaker, he shall saue vs. Blessed art thou, O Israel, bycause thou art saued in the lord God. But, not to labour ouermuch in a thyng needlesse, this admonition is found eche where in the Prophetes, that we shall wante nothyng toward all abundance of good thinges, and assurance of saluation, so that the Lord be our God. And rightfully: For if his face so sone as it beginneth to shine, is a most present pledge of saluation, to what man shall he openly shewe himselfe for his God, but that he will also open to him his treasure of saluation? For he is our God with this condition, to dwell in the midst of vs: as he testified by Moyses. But such presence can not be obteyned, but that life must be also together had in possession with it. And although there were no more expressed, yet had thei a promise of spiritual life plaine enough in these wordes: I am your God. For he did not declare that he would be a God vnto their bodies alone, but principally to their soules. But soules, vnlesse they be ioyned to God by righteousnesse, remaine estranged from him in death. But on the other side, let that ioyning be present, it shall bring euerlastyng saluation with it.

Byside that, he did not only testifie that he was to them their God, but he also promised that he would be so alway: to the ende that their hope not contented with present benefites, should be extended to eter-

Esa. 41.

8

Leu. xxv.

Pl. c. pl.

Pl. xxv.

Abac. 1.

Esa. xxxv.

Deu. xxxv.

Leu. xxv.

Exod. vi.



nitie. And many sayenges do shewe, that the speakyng in the future time meant so much, as where the faithfull not only in present euels, but also for the time to come, doe comfort themselues with this, that God will neuer fayle them. Nowe as concernyng the seconde part of the promise, he yet moze plainely assured them of the blessing of God to be prolonged vnto them beyond the boundes of this life, in sayeng: I will be the God of your seede after you. For if he minded to declare his good will toward them beyng dead, in doyng good to their posteritie, much moze would his fauour not faile toward themselues. For God is not like vnto menne, whiche do therefore carry their loue to their frendes childzen, bicanse their powder is interrupted by death, so that they can not employe their frendely doynge bypō them to whom they did beare good will. But God, whose bountifulnesse is not hindered by death, taketh not awaye from the very dead the frute of his mercie, whiche for their sakes he poureth out into a thousand generations. Therefore the Lordes will was by a notable pzoofe to set forth vnto them the greatnesse and flowyng plētie of his goodnesse which they should fele after death, when he described it to be such as should flowe ouer into all their posteritie. And the truthe of this promise the Lord did then seale, and as it were brought forth the fulfillyng of it, when he named himself the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, long after their death. For, what had it not ben a fond naming, if they had vtterly perished? For then had it ben all one, as if he had sayd, I am the God of them that are not. Wherfore the Euangelistes reherse, that with this one argument the Sadduces were so driuen to a streight, that they could not denie that Moses did testifie the resurrection of the dead, for that they had learned by Moses, that all the Saintes were in his hand. Wherupon it was easy to gather, that they are not destroyed by death, whome he that is the iudge of life and death had receyued into his sauegard, custodie, and protection.

Now (which is the principal point wherupon this cōtrouersie hangeth) let vs loke, whether the faithfull themselues haue not ben so instructed of the Lord, that they perceiued that they shuld haue a better life els where, and so neglectyng this life, had an eye to the other. First the state of life that was enioyned them by God, was a continuall exercise, wherby they might be put in minde, that they were the moste miserable of all men, if their happinesse were only in this life. Adam, most vnhappy, euen wlt̄h only remembrance of the happynesse that he had lost, did with painfull labours hardly susteyne his nedynesse, and that he shuld not be pzed with the curse of God, in the only labours of his handes, euen there receyued he extreme sozrow of that whiche remayned for him to be his comfort. Of his two sonnes, the one was taken awaye by the wicked slaughter of his bzother: the other he had leste aliue, whose sight he woorthily detested & abhozred. Abel cruelly murthered in the very floure of his age, became an example of the wretchednesse of men. Noe, while the whole world carelessly liued in pleasure, spent a good part of his age with great werinesse in bildyng the Arke. This that he escaped death, came to passe by his greater troubles, than yf he should haue died a hundzed deathes. For byside that the Arke was to him as a graue for x. monethes, there is nothing

more

Gen. xlvj.  
vj.

Epo. ii. vi

Epo. iij. vi

Mat. xxij.  
xij.

Luc. xi.  
xxij.

Deu. xxxij.  
iij.

10

Gen. iij.  
xviij.

Gen. iiii.  
viii.

Gen. vi.  
xii.

Gen. ix.  
xxiiii.



more vnpleasauit than to be holden so longe in manner drowned in  
doug of braistes. When he had passed ouer so great difficulties, he fell  
into newe matter of greife, he saw him self scozned of his owne sonne,  
and was compelled with his owne mouth to curse him, whom by the  
great benefit of God he had receiued safe from the generall flood.

Abraham in deede may be one alone to be compared with a hūdzred  
thousand, if we consider his faith, which is set forth vnto vs for y best  
rule of beleuing, of whose kintred we must be accōpted; that we maye  
be the children of God. But what more absurditie is there, than Abza-  
ham to be the father of all the faithfull, and not to possesse so much as  
the smallest cozner among thē? but he can not be thzowen downe out  
of the number, no not from the moste honozable degree, but that the  
whole churche muste be destroyed. Now as touchyng the experiences  
of his lyfe: When he was firste called by the cōmaundment of God,  
he was plucked away from his cōtrei, his parentes and his frendes,  
in whome menne thinke to bee the chiefe swetenesse of life: euen as if  
God of determined purpose meante to spoyle him of all the pleasures  
of life. So sone as he came into the lande where he was commaun-  
ded to dwell, he was dzyuen out from thense with famine. Thither  
he fled for succour, where to saue himselfe, he was compelled to deli-  
uer out his wife to be abused, whiche we knowe not whether it were  
not moze bitter to him than many deathes. When he was returned  
into the lande of his owne dwellyng, he was dzyuen out agayne from  
thense with famine. What a felicitie is this, to dwell in that lande,  
wherein a man muste so oft be hungry, yea die for famine if he runne  
not awaye: And therewithall he was bzought to that necessitie with  
Abimelech, that he muste needes redeme his life with the losse of his  
wife, while many yeres longe he wandzred vncertainely hether and  
thether, he was compelled by the continuall brazwlynges of his ser-  
uantes to put away his nephew, whome he loued as his owne sonne.  
Whiche departyng without doubt he dyd no other wise take, than yf  
he had suffred the cutting of one of his limmes. A litle after, he heard  
that he was carried awaye captiue by his enemies. Whether so euer  
he wente, he founde neyghbours outrageously barbarous, whiche  
woulde not suffer him so muche as to dzyinke water out of the welles  
that himselfe had digged with great labour. For he woulde not haue  
redemed the vse of them at the hand of king Gerar, if he had not first  
ben forbidden. Now when he came to old age, he saw the thing which  
is the most vnpleasent and bitter that that age hath, himselfe puni-  
shed with hauing no children, till beside all hope he begate Ismaell,  
whose birth yet he payed dere for, whē he was wexed with the brazw-  
lyng of Sara, as yf he in maynteinyng the stubboznesse of his bond-  
woman, were himselfe the cause of the trouble of his household. At  
length Isaac was bozne, but with this condition that his firste be-  
gotten Ismaell must, as forsaken, be cruelly cast out of dozes. When  
only Isaac was left, in whome the wexped age of the silly good man  
might rest, within a litle after he was commaunded to kil him. What  
can mans wit deuise moze miserable, than the father to be made the  
butcher of his owne sonne: If Isaac had dyed of a ny sickenesse, whoe  
woulde not haue thought the olde manne moste miserable, that had  
a sonne

17  
Gen. xli.  
iii.

Gen. xli.  
vi.



a sonne geuen him in mockeage, for whome his griefe of want of children should be doubled: If he had ben slayne by some straunger, the unhappinesse of the thyng woulde haue muche encreased his miserie. But this passeth all examples of miserie, to haue him slayne with his fathers one hande. Finally, he was in all the whole course of his life so tossed and bered, as if a man would in a table paint out an example of a miserable life, he could finde none moze fit, than this of Abraham. And let no man obiect that he was not altogether unhappy; for that he at length prosperously escaped from so many and so greate tempestes. For we can not saye that he lueth a blessed lyfe, whiche for a longe space together paynefully weareth out of infinite troubles; but him that without selyng of euels, quietly enioyeth present good thynges.

12

Isaac that was lesse troubled with euels, yet scarce euer toke any taste of wretenesse. He also felt the same vexations, that doe not suffer a manne to be blessed in the earth. Famine chased him out of the lande of Chanaan: he had his wyfe violently plucked away from his bosome; his neighbours ofte troubled him, and by all meanes oppressed him, so that he was fayne to stryue for his water: at home in his owne house, he suffred muche troublesomnesse by his childrens wiues, he was greued wyth disagreeementes of his sonnes, and could not remedie that so greate a mischiese; but by the banishment of him whome he had blessed. But as for Jacob, he is nothyng els but a notable example of extreme infelicitie. He passed his childehod moste vnquietly at home amonge the threatenynges and tertozs of his elder bzother, to whiche at length he was compelled to geue place. When he was fled from his parentes and his natine countrey, beside that it was a greuous thing to liue in banishment, he was nothyng moze kindly or gently receiued of his vncke Laban. The it sufficed not that he had serued seuen yere a hard & cruell seruice, but that also he muste be by guile defrauded of his wife. For an other wiues sake he was drinen into new seruice, where he was all the daye fried with heate of the sunne, and all the night laye wakyng and payned with frosse and cold, as himselfe complayned. While he by the space of .xx. yeres suffred so hard a life, he was dayly bered with newe iniuries of his father in lawe. Neyther was he quiet in his owne house, seyng it diuided and in a manner scattered abrode with the hatred, brazwling & enuye of his wiues. When he was commaunded to returne into his countrey, he was compelled to watche an auantage to take his iourney, much like a shamefull runnyng awaye: and yet could he not so escape the vniust dealing of his father in lawe, but was fayne to suffer his reproches and rebukes in the middes of his iourney. Then fell he into a muche moze cruell distresse. For when he came nere to his bzother, he had so many deathes befoze his eyes, as mighte be prepared by a cruell manne and a bent enemye. So was he aboue mesure tormented & as it were drawen in sonder with terrible feares, so long as he looked for his bzothers comyng: whē he came ones in his sight, he fel downe as half dead at his feete, vntill he found him moze fauozable than he durste haue hoped. Beside that, at his firste entrie into the lande, he lost Rachel his derely beloued wyfe. Afterwarde he heard word that  
the

Gen. xxi  
xxv.Ge. xxviii  
i.Ge. xxxiii  
v.Ge. xxxv  
v.Gen. xxxi  
xiii.Gen. xxxii  
ii.Gen. xxxv  
xvi.



the sonne whiche he had by her, and whome therefore he loued aboue the reste, was torne with wilde beastes: by whose death howe great griefe he conceyued, he himselfe declared in this, that after longe weppynge he obstinately stopped by all wayes whereby comfort mighte come to him, leauyng hymselfe nothyng, but to goe downe to his sonne waylyng into the graue. In the meane time howe great causes of griefe, wayting and wretynesse were the tauishment and destruction of his daughter, and the boldenesse of his sonnes in reuenging it, whiche not only made him to be abhorred in sight of all the inhabitants of that countrey, but also procured him mooste present perill of bitter destruction: Then followed that horrible outragious offense of Ruben his first begotten sonne, whiche was suche as their coulde not chaunce a moze greuous. For whereas the defilyng of a mans wyfe is reckened amonge the hpest yll-fortunes: what is to be sayde of it, when that wickednesse is committed by a mans owne sonne: Within a litle whyle after, his house is spotted with an other vnnaturall adulterie: so that so many shames might well breake a heart, that otherwise were most constant and vnable to be vanquished with calamities. Here befoze the ende of his life, while he sought to prouide succour for the famine of himselfe and other, he was stricken with tidynge of a newe misfortune, vnderstandynge that an other of his sonnes was kepte in pryson; for recoueryng of whome he was compelled to leaue to the rest Benjamin his only dearling. Who can think, that in suche a heape of mischeues he had any one moment geuen hym safely to take breathe in: And therefore he himselfe the beste witnessse of himselfe, affirmed to Pharao, that his dayes were shorte and euell vpon the earth. Nowe truely he that declareth that he hath passed his lyfe by continuall miseries, denieth that he felte that prosperitie whiche the Lorde had promised him. Therefore eyther Jacob did unkindely and vnthankfully wepe the grace of God, or he truely professed that he had ben miserable vpon the earth. If his affirmation were true, then it foloweth, that he had not his hope fastened vpon earthly thinges.

If these holy fathers looked for (as vndoubtedly they did) a blessed lyfe at the hande of God, truely they bothe thought and sawe it to be an other manner of blessednesse, than the blessednesse of earthly life. Whiche thyng the Apostle also doth shewe excellently well: Abraham (sayth he) direct by fayth in the lande of promise as in a strange land, dwelling in tentes with Isaac and Jacob parteners with him of the same inheritance. For they looked for a citie set vpon a good foundation, the maker and bilder whereof is God. All these are dead in fayth, not receyuyng the thinges promised, but looking at them a lare of, and beleuyng and confessyng that they were gesses and strangers vpon the land. Whereby they declare that they sought for a countree. And yf they had ben moued with desire of that lande from whence they came, they had power to returne. But they sought for a better, that is the heauenly countree. Wherefoze God is not ashamed to be called their God, for asmuch as he hath prepared them a citie. For they had ben duller than blockes, to followe promises so earnestly, wherof there appered no hope in earth, vnlesse they had looked for the

Se. xxxij  
xxx.Se. xxxiii  
6.Sen. xxx  
19.Se. xxxviii  
xviii.Sen. xlii  
xxv.Sen. xlvii  
17.

13

Heb. xi. 17.

fulfylling



fulfyllunge of them els where. But this he chiefly enforzeth, and that not without good reason, that thei called this life a iourney from home, euen as Moses reporteth. For if they were strangers and fozeners in the lande of Chanaan, where is the Lordes promise wherby they were made heires of it: He sheweth plainely therfoze, that the Lordes promise, concernyng the possessio therof, had a further respect. Wherfoze they purchared not one foote in the land of Chanaan; but for burial, wherby they testified, that they did not hope that they shuld receiue the frute of the promise till after death. And that is the cause why Jacob so much esteemed to be buried there, that he compelled his sonne Joseph to promise it him, and to swere to performe it: and why Joseph willed his bones, certayne ages after, when they were longe befoze fallen into powder, to be remoued thither.

Gen. xlvij  
v.

Gen. xlvij  
xxx. x. xxx.

Ge. i. xxx.

4

Finally, it appereth plainely, that in all the trauailes of this life they had alway set befoze them the blessednesse of the life to come. For to what purpose should Jacob haue so much desired, & with so great danger sought the pzeeminence of the first begotten, whiche shoulde procure him nothyng but banishment, and in a manner to be caste of from beyng his childe: but no good at all, vnlesse he had respecte to a hyper blessing? And he declared, y he had this meanyng by the wordes which he spake among his last breathinges: Lord, I will loke for thy saluation. What saluation could he haue looked for, whē he sawe that he laye ready to geiue vp the ghost, vnlesse he had seene in death the beginning of a newe life? But what dispute we of the holy ones and chylzen of God, when euen he was not without a taste of suche vnderstandyng, whiche otherwise was enemye to the truthe? For what meant Balaam whē he sayd: Let my soule dye the death of the righteous, and let my laste times be like vnto theirs: but that he meante the same thyng that Dauid afterwarde vttered, that the death of the Sainctes is pzeious in the sighte of the Lorde, but the death of the wicked, is very euell? If the furthest bounde and ende were in death, there coulde in it be noted no difference betwene the righteous and vnrighteous, they differ one from the other by the diuersite of the estates, that after death shall befall to them bothe.

Gen. xlvj.  
xlvij.

Num. xxiij.

x.

Pla. cxi.

xv.

Pl. cxxij.

xxij.

5

We are not yet come beyonde Moses: Whiche (as these menne saye) had no other office, but to perswade the carnall people to worship God by the frutefulnessse of the ground and plentie of all thinges. And yet (vnlesse a manne will flee the light that willyngly offreth it selfe) there is alredy a playne declaration of the spirituall couenant. But yf we come downe to the Prophetes, there with most full brightnesse bothe the lyfe euerlastyng and the kyngdome of Christ do vtter themselues. And first of all Dauid, which as he was befoze the other in tyme, so accorดยng to the order of Gods distribution, he shewed the heauenly misteries in shadowes moze darkely than the rest, yet with what plainnesse & certaintie directeth he al his sayenges to that ende? How he esteemed y earthly dwelling, this sentēce testifieth: I am here a fozenner & strāger, as al my fathers were. Euery liuing mā is vanitie, euery one walketh about as a shadow. But now what is my expectatio, Lord: euen to thee is my hope. Cruely he y cōteffyng that in the earth

Pl. xxxi.  
xiii.



earth there is nothinge sounde or stedfast, kepeth still a stedfastnesse of hope in God, considereth his felicitie layed by in an other place. To such consideration is he wont to call all y<sup>e</sup> faithfull, so oft as he meane th to comferte them truely. For in an other place, after he had spoken of the shortnesse, and the transitorie and vanishing image of mans life, he adde th: but the mercie of the Lorde is for ever vpon them that feare him. Like wherunto is that which is in the hundred and seconde Psalme. At the beginninge Lorde thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy handes. Thei shal perishe, but thou abidest: thei shal ware olde like a garment, and thou shalt change them as apparell, but thou remaine the selfe same, and thy yeares shall not faile: the sonnes of thy seruantes shall dwell, and thy posteritie shall be stablished before thee. If the Godly cesse not for the decay of heauen & earth to be stablished before the Lorde, it soloweth, that their saluacion is ioyned with the eternitie of God. But that hope can not stand at all, vnesse it rest vpon the promise that is set forth in Ecclai: The heauens (sayth the Lorde) shall vanish away like smoke, the earth shall be worne out like a garment, & the inhabitantes of it shall perish like those thynges. But my saluacion shall be for ever, and my righteousnesse shall not faile: where euerlastingnesse is geuen to righteousnesse and saluacion, not in respect that thei remaine with God, but in respect that thei are felte of men.

Neither may we otherwyse take those thynges, that he commonly speaketh of the prosperous successe of the faithfull, but to applie them to y<sup>e</sup> open shewing of y<sup>e</sup> heauenly glorie. As these sayenges: The Lorde kepeth the soules of the righteous, he shal deliuer them from the hand of the sinner. Light is arisen to the righteous, and ioye to the vpright in hearte. The righteousnesse of the Godly man abideth for ever: hys horne shall be exalted in glorie, the desire of the sinner shall perish. Againe: but the righteous shall confesse vnto thy name, the vpright shall dwell with thy countenance. Againe y<sup>e</sup> righteous shall be in eternall remembrance. Againe. The Lorde shall redeeme the soules of hys seruantes. For the Lorde oftentimes leaueth his seruantes to the lust of the wycked, not onely to be vered, but also to be torne in peeces and destroyed: he suffereth the good to lye languishing in darkenesse and filth, whyle the wicked do in a manner shine among the starres. And he doth not so chere them with the brightnesse of his countenance, that they enioye long continuing gladnesse. Wherefore euen he also hideth not, that yf the faithfull fasten their eyes vpon the presente state of thynges, they shall be stricken with a soze temptiō, as though there wer no fauoure or reward of innocencye with God. So much doth wickednesse for y<sup>e</sup> most part prosper & flourish, while y<sup>e</sup> companie of the Godly is oppressed with shame, pouertie, contempt and all kyndes of crosses. It wanted but litle (saith he) that my foote slipped not, and my steppes fell not abroad, while the fortune of fooles greueth me, and while I see the prosperitie of the wicked. At length after reherfall of it he concludeth. I bente my thought, if I coulde vnderstand these thinges. But it is a tormente to my spirit, till I enter into the sanctuarie of the Lorde, and vnderstand the last ende of them.

Let vs therfore learne, yet by this confession of Dauid, that the ho-

Psal. cxi.  
vii.

Eclai. li. vi

16

Psal. cxviii.  
f.Psal. cxviii.  
vii. 19.

Psal. cxi. x. i.

Psal. cxviii.  
viii.Psal. cxviii.  
viii.

17



## Of the knowledge of

holy fathers vnder the old testament were not ignorant, how seldome  
 or neuer God doth in this world performe to his seruantes those thin-  
 ges that he promiseth them, and that therefore they dyd lifte by theyr  
 mindes to Gods sanctuatie, wherein thei had that laied by in store, whi-  
 che appeareth not in the shadowe of this present life. That was, the  
 last iudgement of God, which when thei coulde not see with eyes, they  
 were content to vnderstande by faith. Trustinge vpon which affiance,  
 whatsoener happened in the worlde, yet thei doubted not a time wold  
 ones come, when the promises of God shoulde be fulfilled. As these say-  
 engs do witness, I wil behold the face of God in righteousness: I wil  
 be satisfiied with thy countenance. Againe. I as a greene Oliue tree in  
 the house of the Lorde. Againe. The righteous shall flourish as a Date  
 tree, and shall sprede in branches like the Cedar of Libanus, being plan-  
 ted in the house of the Lorde, thei shall flourish in the Palaces of oure  
 God: They shall still beare frute, thei shall be fat and grene in their olde  
 age. When he had saide a little before: How deepe are thy thoughtes,  
 O Lord, while the wicked do flourish, thei budde out like an herbe, & thei  
 may perishe for euer. Where is that faire shew and beautie of the faith-  
 full, but when the face of this worlde shall bee tourned inwarde by dys-  
 closing of the kingdome of God: When thei tourned their eyes to that  
 eternitie, thei despised the hardnesse enduring but a moment of present  
 miseries, and boldly burst forth into these woordes: Thou shalt not  
 suffer for euer the righteous to dye, but thou shalt throwe downe the  
 wicked hedlong into the pit of destruction. Where as in this worlde the  
 pitt of eternall destruction that may swallowe by the wicked: Amonge  
 whose felicities, this is also reckened in an other place, that thei close  
 by the ende of their life in a moment, without long languishing. Where  
 is that so greate stedfastnesse of the holly ones, whom Dauid himselte  
 eche where complaineth, not onely to be shaken with trouble, but also  
 to be oppressed, and vtterly broken in peeces: Forsoothe, he did set be-  
 fore his eyes, not what the altering course of the worlde beareth, whi-  
 che is vnstable & more vnstedfast than the ebbing and flowing of tides,  
 but what the Lorde will do, when he shall one day sitte for the eternall  
 settling of heauen and earth. As in an other place hee excellently well  
 describeth it: The foolish do stay vpon their welthinnesse, and are proude  
 because of their great riches. And yet no man, though he flourish in neuer  
 so great dignitie, can redeeme his brother from death, no man can paye  
 to God y price of his raunsome, but wheras thei see that bothe y wylse  
 do dye, and that the wicked also and fooles do perishe & leaue their ry-  
 ches to strangers, yet thei thinke that thier houses shall abide for euer,  
 & their dwellinges to the ende of ages, and thei aduance their names  
 vpon the earth, but man shall not continue in honore: he shall be like to  
 the bestes & die. This imaginacion of theirs is extremest folly, why-  
 che yet their posteritie do greedily solow. Thei shall be placed like a flock  
 in Hell, and deathe shall haue rule ouer them. When the lyght ariseth,  
 the vpright shall haue dominion ouer them, the beautie of them shall  
 perishe, Hell is their dwelling house. First this laughing to scoorne of the  
 foolish, for that thei rest on the slipperie and collynge good thinges of  
 the worlde, dothe shewe that the wylse must seeke a farre other felicitie.  
 But there he more evidently discloseth the misterie of the resurrection,  
 where

3sa. lviij.  
 3sa. liij. r.  
 3sa. xcij.  
 piii.

3sal. lv.  
 piii.

3ob. xxi.  
 piii.

3sa. xl. ij.  
 viij.



where after the destruction & extinguishment of them, he erecteth the kingdom of the Godly. For what rising of light (I pray you) shall wee call that, but the reueling of the newe life whiche foloweth the ende of thys present life.

From thence did spring by that consideration, whiche the faythfull oftentimes vsed for a comfote of thir miseries and remedie of patience: It is but a momente in the Lordes displeasure, and life in his mercye. Howe did they determine afflictions to ende in a moment, that were in affliction in a manner of their life longe: where dyd thei espye so longe an enduringe of Godes kindenesse, whereof thei scarcely felt any lyttle taste: If thei hadde sticked faste vpon the earthe, they coude haue founde no such thing, but bicause thei looked vpon heauen, thei acknowledged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exercise his holy ones by the crosse, but that his mercies, wherein thei are gathered together, do last the worldes age. Againe, they did foresee the eternall and neuer endinge destruction of the vngodlye, whiche were as in a dreame happy for one daie. Wherevpon came these sayinges: The remembrance of the righteous shall be in blessing, butte the name of the wicked shall rotte. Precious is the deathe of the Saintes in the sighte of the Lorde, but the deathe of the wicked, mooste euell. Againe in Samuel. The Lorde shall keepe the feete of the holy, and the wicked shall be put to silence in darkenesse. Whiche do declare that thei well knewe, that howesoever the holy were diuersly carryed aboute, yet their lasse ende is lyfe and saluation: and that the prosperitie of the wycked is a pleasaunt waye, whereby thei by little and little slide forwarde into the gulfe of deathe. Therefore thei called the deathe of suche, the destruction of the vncircumcised, as of them from whome the hope of the resurrection was cutte awaie. Wherefore Dauid coude not deuise a more greuous curse than this: Let them be blotted out of the boke of life, and not be written with the righteous.

But aboue all other, notable is that sayeng of Job: I knowe that my redeemer liueth, & in the last daie I shall rise againe out of the earth, and in my fleshe I shall see God my sauoure: This hope is layed by in my bosome. Some that haue a mynde to make a shewe of their sharpe witte, do cauill that this is not to be vnderstanded of the last resurrection, but of the firste daie that Job looked to haue God more gentle to him, whiche although we graunt them in parte, yet shall wee enforce them to confesse whether they wyll or noe, that Job coude not haue come to that largenesse of hope, if he had rested his thoughte vpon the earthe. Therefore we muste needes confesse, that he lifted by his eyes to the immortalitie to come, whiche sawe, that his redeemer would be present with him euen lyeng in his graue. For to them that thinke onely of this present life, death is their vttermost desperation: whiche very death coude not cutt of Jobs hope. Yea though he kill me (said he) neuerthelesse I will still hope in him. And let no trifler here carpe against me and saie, that these were the sayenges but of a fewe, whereby ys not proued that suche doctrine was among the Jewes. For I will by and by answer him, that these fewe dyd not in these sayenges vtter any secreet wisdom, wherevnto onely certayne excellent wittes were seuerally and pynately suffred to attein, but that as thei were by the

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Pl. xxx. vii.

Pro. p. viij

Pl. c. xvi  
& xxx. xvii.  
i. Sa. ii. ixEze. xlviii  
v. & xxxi.  
Pl. lxxv.  
xxvi.

19

Job. xij.  
xxv.Job. xij.  
xxv.



holy Ghoste appointed teachers of the people, so they openly published those misteries of God that were to be vniuersally learned, and ought to be the principles of the common religion among the people. Therefore when we heare the publike oracles of the holy Ghoste, wherein he spake of the spirituall lyfe so clerely and plainely in the Church of the Jewes, it were a pointe of vntolerable stubbournesse, to sende them away only to the fleshy couenant, wherin is mention made of nothing, but earth and earthly wealthinesse.

20

If I come downe to the latter Prophetes, there wee maye freely walke as in oure owne felde, for yf it were not harde for vs to gett the vpperhande in David, Job, and Samuel, here it shall be muche more easye. for God kepte this distribution and ordre in disposinge the couenant of hys mercye, that howe muche the nearer it drew on in procelle of tyme to the full perfourmance thereof, with so muche greater encrease mentes of reuelation hee dyd daye by daie more byghly shewe it. Therefore at the beginning when the firste promise of saluation was made vnto Adam, there glistered oute but as it were smale sparkles of it. After, hauinge more added vnto it, a greater largenesse of light began to be put forth: whiche from thense fourth brake out more and more, and displayed her byghtnesse farther abroad, till at length all the cloudes were dryuen awaye, and Christe the sonne of righteousnesse fully lyghtned the whole woorld. We neede not therfore to feare that wee fayle of testimonies of the Prophetes, if we seeke them to proue oure cause, but bicause I see that there wyll arylse a huge deale of matter, wherebpon I shoulde bee constrained of necessitie to tarrye longer than the proportion of my purpose maye beare, for it woulde so growe to a worke of a great volume, and also bicause I haue already, by those thinges that I haue saide before, made plaine the waye, euen for a reader of meane capacitie, so as he maye goe forwarde wythoute stumbling: therfore I wyll at this present absteyne from long tediousnesse: whyche to do ys no lesse necessarie: but geuing the readers warning before hande, that they remembre to open theyr owne waye with that key that we haue fyrste geuen them in theyr hande. That is, that so ofte as the Prophetes speake of the blessednesse of the faithfull people, whereof scarcely the leaste steppes are seen in this present life, thei maye resorte to this distinction: that the Prophetes, the better to expresse the goodnesse of God, did as in a shadow expresse it to the people by temporall benefites, as by certayne rough drawing of y<sup>e</sup> portraiture therof: but that y<sup>e</sup> perfect image, y<sup>e</sup> thei haue painted therof, was suche as might rauish mens myndes out of the earth, and out of the elements of this woorld, and of the age that shall perishe, and of necessitie rayse it vp to the considering of the felicitie of the lyfe that ys to come and spirituall.

21

We wyll be content with one example. When the Israelites being carryed awaye to Babylon, sawe their scattering abroad to be like vnto death, they coulde hardely be remoued from thys opinion that they thought that al was but fables that Ezechiel prophecied of their restitution: bicause thei reckened it euen all one as if he had tolde them that rotten carcasses shoulde be restored againe to lyfe. The Lorde to shewe, that euen that same difficultie coulde not stop him from bringing  
hys



hys benefite to effect, shewed to the Prophete in a vision a field full of drie bones, to the which in a moment with hys onely power of hys worde he restored breath & liuelienesse. The vision in dede serued to correct the incredulitie at that present time: but in the meane season he did put the Jewes in minde how far hys power of the Lord extended beyond the account of the people, whyche so easly quyckened with his onely becke, bones already rotten and scattered abroad: wherefore you shall compare that wyth an other sayeng of Esaie. The dead shall rise, my carcase, thei shall rise againe. Awake ye and reioyse that dwell in the dust; bicause the dead of the greene fyelde is thy dead, and thou shalt pluck downe the lande of the Syantes into ruine. Go my people, enter into thy tentes: shut thy doores vpon thee: hide thy a little whyle, tyll my displeasure passe ouer. For beholde, the Lorde shall goe out of hys place, to visite the iniquitie of the dweller vpon the earthe agaisste hym, and the earth shall shewe forth her bloode, and shall no longer hide her slaine.

Albeit a man shoulde do fondly, that woulde goe about to drawe all to suche a rule. For there be some places that wythout any couering do shewe the immortalitie to come, that is prepared for the faithful in the kingedome of God, of whyche sorte we haue recited some, and of lyke sorte are the moste parte of the reste, specially these twoo, the one in Esaie. As newe heauen, and a newe earthe which I make to stande before mee, so shall your seede stande, and there shall be moneth of moneth, and Sabbath of Sabbath: all fleshe shall come to worshippe before my face, saith the Lorde. And they shall goe out and see the dead carcasses of the men that haue offended against mee, that their worme shall rot dye, and their fyre shall not be quenched. The other of Daniel. In that time shall rise by Michael the great prince, that standeth for the sonnes of his people, and there shall come a tyme of distresse, suche as was not syns nations fyrste began to be, and then shall all thy people be saued that shall be founde wrytten in thy booke. And of those that slepe in the duste of the earthe, there shall awake some to eternall life, and some to euerlastinge shame.

Nowe as for prouinge the other twoo pointes that the fathers had Christe for pledge of their couenant, and that they reposed in him all their affiance of blessing, I wyll not trauaile therein at all, bicause they haue both lesse controuersie and more plainnesse. Let vs therfore bolde ly determine thys, whych by no engines of the deuel may be remoued, that the olde Testament or couenant whiche the Lorde made with his people Israel, was not limited within the compasse of earthly thinges, but also conteyned the promyse of the spirituall and eternall life: the expectation wherof must nedes haue ben imprinted in all their mindes that truly consented to the couenant. But let vs put farre awaye this madde and pernicious opinion, that either God did set forth in hys promise to the Jewes nothyng ells, or that the Jewes sought nothyng ells but fyllyng of their belly, delites of the fleshe, glorynginge wealth, outwarde power, frutefullnesse of chyldren, and whatsoeuer a naturall man esteemeth. For at this daie Christe promyseth no other kingedome of heauen to his, but where thei shall rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And Peter affirmed, that the Jewes of his time were heires of the grace of the Gospel, for that thei wer the children of the Prophets,

Esa. xxi.  
ii.

22

Esa. lxi.  
ix.Da. vii.  
i.

23

Mat. vii.  
xi.Acto. iiii.  
xxii



## Of the knowledge of

comprehended in þe couenant, which þe Lord had in the olde time made wyth his people. And, that the same shoulde not bee wittenessed wyth wordes onely, the Lorde also approued it by deede. For in the very moment that he rose againe, he vouchesaue to haue many of þe holy men to rise againe in companie with him, and made them to bee seen in the Citie: so geuing an assured token, that whatsoeuer he did and suffered for the purchacing of eternall saluacion, pertaineth no lesse to the faithful of the old testament, than vnto vs. For as Peter testifieth, thei were also endued with the same spirit of faith, wherby we are regenerate into lyfe. Nowe, when we heare that the same spirit which is in vs a certayne sparckle of immortallitie, wherevpon it is also in an other place called The earnest of our inheritance, did likewise dwel in them, how dare we take from them the inheritance of life? Wherby it is so muche the more maruell, that in the olde time the Sadduces fell to such grossnes of erreure, that they denyed bothe the resurrection & also the substance of soules, bothe whiche poyntes thei sawe sealed with so clere testimonies of Scriptur. And no lesse to be marvelled at, euē at this day, were the folly of all that nation in loking for the earthly kingdome of Christ, if the Scriptures had not long before declared, that they shoulde haue that punishment for refusing the Gospell. For so it behoued, by the iuste iudgement of God, to strike those myndes with blindenesse, whiche in refusinge the lighte of heauen being offered them, dyd wyllfully brynge them selues into darknesse. Therefore thei reade and continually turne ouer Moses, butte they are stopped wyth a veyle sette betweene them and him, that thei can not see the light that shineth in his countenance. And so shal it remaine couered & hidden from them, til he be turned to Christe, from whome nowe thei trauaile to leade and drawe him away so muche as in them lieth.

## The xi Chapter.

Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.



What then wilt thou say: Shall there be no dyfference lesse betweene the olde testament and the newe: and to what purpose serue all those places of Scripture, wher thei are compared one againste the other, as thinges moste contrary: I do willingly allowe those differences that are rehersed in the Scripture: but so that they nothing hinder the vntie already stablyshed, as it shalbe plaine to see, when we shall haue entreated of them in ordie. Those dyfferences are (as farre as euer I coulde marke or can remembre) chesely sower in numbre, to þe which if you lyst to adioyne the v. I am not against it. I say and trust to proue that thei are all suche as rather belong to the manner of ministratio, than to the substance of them. And by this meane thei shall nothings hinder, but þe promises of both the olde & newe testament may remaine al one & all one foundatio of þe same promises, Christ. Nowe the fyrst difference is, þe although, euen in the olde time also, the Lordes wyll was to direct the myndes of his people, and to haue them raysed by to the heauenly inheritance: yet, that they myght be the better nourished in hope therof, he gaue it to be seen or rather to be tasted of, vnder earthly benefytes:



But nowe hauing reueled the grace of the lyfe to come, by the Gospell, he more clerely and plainly directeth our mindes the streight way to the meditation thereof, leauinge the inferioure manner of exercising whyche he vsed with the Israelites. They that marke not this purpose of God, doe not thynke that the olde people clymbed any hyer than to the good thynges promised to the bodye. Thei so often heare the lande of Chanaan named, as the excellent, or rather only reward for the keepers of Gods lawe. Thei heare that God threathneth nothing more severely to the transgressors of the same law, than that they shal be dryuen out of the possession of the same lande, and scattered abroad into strange regions. Thei see that in a manner to this effect come all the blessings & curses that are pronounced by Moses. Herby they do vndoubtedly determine, that the Jewes not for their owne sakes, but for others, were scuered from other nations: that is, that the Church of Christ might haue an image, in whose outwarde forme thee might see examplis of spirituall thinges. But sith the Scripture dothe sometimes shew, that God himselfe directed all the earthly benefites that hee did for them to this ende, that so he might leade them by the hande to the hope of heavenly benefites. It was to muche vnskillfulnesse, I wyll not saie blockishnesse, not to consider this ordre of disposition. The issue or pointe of oure controuersie with this sorte of men is thys, that they teache that the possession of the land of Chanaan was to the Israelites their chiefe and last blessednesse, and that to vs after the reuelinge of Christ, it doth but figuratiuely signifie the heavenly inheritaunce. On the other syde we affirme, that thei dyd in the earthly possession whiche they enioyed, as in a lokinge glasse beholde the inheritaunce to come, whiche they beleued to be prepared for them in heauen.

That shall better appeare by the similitude that Paule vsed to the Galatians. He compareth the nation of the Jewes to an hyer, wythin age, whiche being not yet able to gouerne hym selfe, soloweth the guidance of the tutor or schoolemaister, to whose custodie hee is committed. And whereas he applieth that similitude to the ceremonies, that nothings hindereth but  $\text{h}$  it may also very fittly serue to this purpose. The same inheritaunce was apoynted for them, that was apoynted for vs: but suche as yet for want of age, thei were not of capacitie to enter vpon and vse. The same Church was among them, but whereof the age was yet but childe. Therefore the Lorde kepthe them vnder this schooling, that hee gaue them not the spirituall promises so naked and openly, but as it wer shadowed with earthly promises. Therefore, when he called Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their posteritie vnto hope of immortalitie, he promised them the lande of Chanaan to be their inheritaunce: not to determine their hopes vpon it, but that in beholdinge of it, they shoulde exercise and confirme them selues in the hope of that true inheritaunce that did not yet appeare. And that they myghte not be deceiued, there was geuen them a hyer promyse to testifie, that that lande was not the hiest benefite of God. So Abraham was not suffered to slye slouthfull in the promyse receyued of the lande, but hys minde was by a greater promise raised by vnto  $\text{h}$  Lorde. For Abraham hearde this saide vnto him: I am thy protector, and thy rewarde excee-

2  
Gal. iiij.

Ge. xv. i.



set fourth in the Lorde, that he shoulde not accompte vpon a transitorie and slippery reward in the elementes of this worlde, but rather thinke it to be suche as canne not wither away. Afterwarde he adioyneth the promise of the lande to no other entent, but that it shoulde be a token of the good will of God, & a figure of the heauenly inheritance. And that the holy men had this meaning, their owne sayenges do declare. So Dauid riseth vpwarde from temporall blessings, to that same highest and last blessing. My hearte (saith he) and my fleshe faunte for desire of thee. God is my portion for ever. Againe. The Lorde is the parte of my inheritance, and of my cuppe: thou art he that sauest mine heritage for me. Againe. I haue cryed vnto thee, O Lorde, I haue saide, Thou art my hope, my portion in the lande of the liuing. Truly thei that dare so speake, do withoute doubt professe that with their hope they clumbe aboue the worlde, and all the good thinges here presente. But the Prophetes do ofte describe this blessednesse of the worlde to come, vnder a figure that thei had receiued of the Lorde. And so are these saieniges to be vnderstanded. That the Godly shal possesse the land by inheritance, and the wycked shal be destroyed out of it. That Hierusalem shal abound with all kinde of richesse, and Syon ouerflowe with plentie of al thinges. All whiche we see, can not properly be spoken of the lande of oure wayfaringe, or the earthly Jerusalem, but of the true contrey of the faithfull, and that heauenly citie wherein the Lorde hath commaunded blessinge and life for ever.

3 This is the reason why it is reade that the holy men in tyme of the olde testament, did esteeme the mortal life and the blessings therof more than is now we meete to do. For although thei knewe wel that thei shold not rest in it, as in the ende of their race, yet when thei called to mynde, what markes of his grace the lord had pointed therein, to exercise them according to a small rate of their tenderesse, thei felte a greater sweetness of it, than if they had considered it by it selfe. But as the Lorde in testifyinge his good will toward the faithfull, by present good thinges, did as in shadowe expresse the spirituall felicitie, by suche figures and signes: so on the other side he did in corporal paines shewe exammples of hys iudgement againste the reprobate. Therefore, as the benefytes of God wer to be seen in earthly thinges, so wer also his punishmentes. Whyle the vnskilfull do not weye thys comparison or agreement, as I may call it, betwene the punishmentes and the rewardes, thei maruel at so much alteration in God, that in olde time was so sodeinly ready to take vengeance on euery offence of man with sterue and horrible punishmentes, and now as if he had layed away the affection of his old angrienesse, he punisheth bothe muche more gentlie and seldomer, yea and for the same cause they doe almoste imagine seuerall gods of the olde and newe testament: whiche the Manichees did in dedde. Butte we shal easily be deliuered from suche doubttes, if we laye our mindes to consider this ordrelly disposition of God that I haue spoken of, whose will was for the tyme to signifie and set forth in figure both the grace of the eternal felicitie to come, by temporall benefytes, and the greuousnesse of the spirituall death, by corporall peines. Whereby hee deliuered hys Testament to the Israelites, as yet after a certaine manner folded vp.

f. lxxij.  
f. lxxij.  
f. lxxij.  
f. lxxij.  
f. lxxij.  
f. lxxij.

ob. xvij.  
rbj.

f. c. lxxij.  
ij.



4  
 An other difference of the olde and newe Testament is sayde to bee in the figures: for that the olde testamente dyd shewe onely an image in absence of the truth, and a shadowe in steede of the bodye. But the newe testament geueth the truth present, and the sounde bodie it self. And this difference is mentioned commonli whersoever the new testament is in comparison set againste the olde: but it is more largely encreated of in the epistle to the Hebrues than any where els. There the Apostle disputeth againste them, whiche thought that the obseruations of Moses lawe might not be taken awaye, but that they holde also drawe wyth them the ruine of all religion. To confute thys erreure, he vseth that whiche had been forespoken by the Prophete concerning the presthoode of Chuste, for whereas there is geuen hym an eternall presthoode, it is certaine, that that presthoode is taken awaye, wherin newe successors were dayly put in, one after an other. But hee proueth that the institution of this newe presthoode is to be preferred, bicause it is stablished with an othe. He after addeth further, that in the same change of the presthoode, is also contained the change of the Testament. And that it was necessarie so to be, he proueth by this reason: for that the weakenesse of the lawe was such that it coulde helpe nothing, to perfection. Then he procedeth in declaring what was that weakenesse, euen this; that it had certaine outwarde righteousneses of the flesh, whyche could not make the obseruers of them perfect, according to conscience: that by sacrifices of beastes, it coulde neither wipe away synnes, nor purchase true holynesse. He concludeth therefore that there was in it a shadowe of good thynges to come, but not the liuely image of the thynges them selues: and that therfore it had no other office, but to bee as an introduction into a better hope; whiche is delyuered in the Gospell. Here is to bee seen, in what poynte the couenant of the lawe is compared with the couenant of the Gospell: and the ministerie of Chuste with the ministerie of Moses. For if the comparison concerned the substance of the promisses, then were there greate difference betweene the twoo testaments: but sith the poynte of oure case lea-  
 deth vs an other waye, we muste tende to thys ende, to fynde oute the truth. Let vs then set forth heere the couenant whiche he hath stablished to be eternall, and neuer to peryshe. The accomplisment therof, whereby it atteineth to be stablished and continuing in force, is Chuste. Whyle suche establisment was in expectation, the Lorde did by Moses apointe ceremonies, to bee as it were solemne signes of the confyrmation. Nowe this came there in question, whether the ceremonies that were ordeyned in the lawe, oughte to geue place to Chuste or no. Although these ceremonies were in deede onely accidentes, or beerye additions and thynges adioyued, or (as the people call them) accessarie thynges to the couenaunte; yet bycause they weare instrumentes or meanes of the administration thereof, they beare the name of the couenaunte yt selfe; as the lyke ys wounte to bee attributed to other Sacramentes. Therefore in summe, the olde Testament is in thys place called the solemne fourme of confyrmynge the couenaunte, conteyned in Ceremonies and Sacrifices. The Apostle saythe; that bycause in yt ys nothyng perfecte, vnlesse wee passe further, therefore yt behoued that they shoulde bee dyscon-  
 k. b. tinned



finued and abrogate, that place myght be geuen to Christe, the assuree and mediatoe of a better testament, by whome eternall sanctification is ones purchaced to the elect, and the transgressions blotted oute that remainned vnder the lawe. Or, if you like it better, thus: That the olde testament of the Lorde was that, whiche was deliuered, wrapped vp in the shadowish and effectual obseruation of ceremonies: and that therefore it was but for a time, bicause it did but (as it wer) hang in suspense, vntyll it myght stave vpon a more stedfast and substantiall conspyrati- on: and that then onely it was made newe & eternall, after that it was consecrate and stablyshed by the bloode of Christe. Wherevpon Christe calleth the cuppe that he gaue at his supper to his Disciples, The cup of the newe testament in his bloode: to signifie, that then the testamēt of God atteineth his trueth: by whiche it be cometh newe and eternal, when it is sealed with his bloode.

Hereby appeareth in what sence the Apostle saide: that in the scho- lunge of the lawe, the Jewes were brought vnto Christ, before that he was shewed in the flesh. And he confesseth, that thei were the children and heires of God, but yet suche, as for their yonge age were to be kept vnder the custodie of a schoolemaster. For it behoued, that ere the sonne of righteousnesse was yet rysen, their holde neither be so great bright- nesse of reuelation, nor so great deepe sight of vnderstandynge. There- fore God so gaue them in measure the light of hys worde, that thei saw it as yet farre of and darkely. Therefore Paule expresseth this slender- nesse of vnderstanding by y terme of yonge age, whiche the Lords wil was to haue to be exercised with y elements of this worlde & with out worde obseruations, as rules of instruction for children vntyll Christe shoulde thynne abroad, by whom it behoued that the knowledge of the faithfull people shoulde growe to full age. This distinction Christe him selfe meant of, when hee saide, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vntyll Ihon, and that from thenseforth the kingedome of God is prea- ched. What did the lawe and the Prophetes open to men of their time: euen this, thei gaue a taste of y wisdom which in time to come shoulde be plainly disclosed: and thei shewed it before as it were twinkingly thynning a farr of. But when it came to passe that Christ might be poin- ted to with the finger, then was the kingedome of God set open. For in him are laied abroad the treasures of al wisdom and vnderstanding, whereby wee atteine, euen in a manner, into the secret closettes of heauen.

And it maketh not against vs, that ther can scarcely any one be found in the Christian Church, that in excellencye of faith maye be compared with Abraham, or that the Prophetes excelled in suche force of spirite, that euen at this daye thei lighten the whole worlde withall. For oure question is not here, what grace the Lord hath bestowed vpon a few; but what ordinarie disposition he bled in teachinge his people: suche as is declared in the Prophetes them selues, which were endued with pe- culiar knoweledge aboue the rest. For euen their preaching is dark and enclosed in figures, as of thinges a farr of. Moreover howe marvel- lous knoweledge soeuer appeared in them aboue other, yet forasmuche as they wer dryuen of necessitie to submit them to the common childish instruction of the people, thei them selues also were reckened in the nū- bre



bre of children. Synallye, there neuer chaunged any suche clere syght to any at that tyme, but that it dede in some parte sauoure of the darknesse of the tyme. Wherupon Christ saide, Many kinges and Prophetes haue desired to see the thinges that ye see, and haue not seen them: and to heare the thynge that ye heare, and haue not hearde them. Therefore blessed are your eyes, bicause they see, and your eares bicause they heare. And truely it was meete that the presence of Christ shoulde haue this excellencye of prerogatiue, that from it shoulde arise the clere reuelinge of the heauenly mysteries. And for this purpose also maketh that, which euen we nowe alleaged out of the firste epistle of Peter: that yt was opened to them, that their trauaile was profitable, principally for oure age.

Nowe I come to the thirde dyfference, whiche is taken oute of Ieremie, whose woordes are these. Beholde the dayes shall come, saith the Lorde, and I wyll make a newe couenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Iuda, not accordinge to the couenant that I made wyth your fathers, in the daye when I toke them by the hand, to leade them oute of the lande of Egypt, the couenant that they made bovyde althoughe I ruled ouer them. But thys shall be the couenant that I will make with the house of Israel. I wyl put my lawe in theyr bowelles, and I wyl wytte it in their heartes, and I will be mercifull to their iniquitie. And no man shall teache hys neighbour, and no man his brother. For they shall al knowe me, from the leaste vnto the moste. Of whyche wordes the Apostle tooke occasion to make thys comparison betwene the lawe and the Gospell, that hee called the lawe a letterall, and Gospell a spiritual doctrine: the lawe, he sayde, was fashioned oute in Tables of stone, the Gospell wyttten in heartes: that the lawe was the preachinge of death, the Gospell the preachinge of lyfe: the lawe the preachinge of damnation, the Gospell the preachinge of righteousnesse: that the lawe is made bovyde, that the Gospell abydeth. Sithe the Apostles purpose was butte to declare the meanyng of the Prophete, it shall bee suffycient that wee weye the woordes of one of them, to atteyne the meanyng of them bothe. All bee it, there is some vnykenesse betweene them. For the Apostle speakech more odiouslye of the lawe than the Prophete dothe: and that not in synple respecte of the lawe, but bycause there were certayne naughty menne, hauinge a wronge zeale to the lawe, whyche did with peruerse loue of the ceremonies, obscure the brightnesse of the Gospell. He disputeth of the nature of the lawe, accordinge to their erroure & foolish affection. Therefore it shall be good to note that peculiarly in Paule. But both of them, bycause they do by comparison sette the olde and the newe testament, the one against the other: do consider nothing in the law, but that which properly belongeth vnto it. As for example. The lawe dothe commonly in every place contayne promyses of mercie, but bycause they are borrowed from ells where, therefore they are not reckened as part of the lawe, when the mere nature of the lawe is spoken of. The onely thing they ascribe vnto it, to commaunde thinges that are right, & to forbidde wicked doynges: to promyse reward to the solowers of righteousnesse, & to threaten punishment to the transgressors: but in the meane time neither to change nor amende y peruersenesse of heart, y is naturally in

Matt. p. 174.  
Lu. p. 11

1. Pet. 1.

7  
Ier. xxx  
xxx

1. Cor. vi.



all men.

8 Nowe let vs expounde the Apostles comparision, one peece after another. The olde testament is literall, bicause it was published without the effectuall workinge of the spirit: The newe is spiritual, whyche the Lorde hath spirituallly grauen in the heartes of men. Therefore the seconde diuersitie is as it were a declaration of the fyrste. The olde is deadly, bicause it can do nothinge but wrappe all mankinde within the curse. The newe is the instrumente of lyfe, bycause it deliuereth from curse, and restoreth into fauoure with God. The olde is the ministerie of damnation, bycause it condemneth all Adams children of vnrightheousnesse. The newe is the ministerie of ryghteousnesse, bicause it reueleth the mercie of God, by whyche we are made ryghteous. The last diuersitie is to be referred to the ceremonies. Bycause the olde testament had an image of thynges absent, it behoued that it shoulde in tyme decaye and banyshe away: but the Gospell, bycause it geneth the true bodye in deede, kepeth styll a fyne and perpetuall stedfastnesse. Jeremie in dede calleth euen the morall lawes, a weake and fraile couenant: but that is for an other reason, bycause by the sodeine fallynge away of the vnrightheous people, it was by and by broken, but forasmuche as suche breakynge of it was the faulte of the people, it can not properly be layed vpon the testamente. But the ceremonies, forasmuche as by theyr owne weakenesse were dissolued by the comminge of Christe, had the cause of their weakenesse within them selues. Nowe, that dyfference of the letter and spirite is not so to be taken, as thoughe the Lorde hadde geuen his lawes to the Jewes wythout any frute at all, hauyng none of them conuerted vnto hym: But it is spoken by waye of comparision, to aduance the abundance of grace, wherewyth the same lawemaker as it were puttuge on a newe personage, did honorably sette forth the preachinge of the Gospell. For yf wee recken by the multitude of these whome the Lorde oute of al peoples hath by the preachinge of the Gospell regenerate wyth hys spirite, and gathered into the communion of his Church, we shall saye, that there were very fewe, or in a manner none in the olde tyme in Israell, that wyth affection of mynde and entirely from their heart embraced the couenant of the Lorde: whoe yet were very many, yf they bee reckened in theyr owne numbre wythoute comparision.

9 Out of the third difference riseth the fourth. For the Scripture calleth the old testament, the testament of bondage, for that it ingendreth feare in mens myndes: but the newe testament, the testament of libertie, bycause it rayseth them vp to confydence and assurednesse. So sayth Paule in the eyght to the Romaines. We haue not receyued the spirit of bondage agayne to feare, but the spirite of adopsion, by whiche we crie Abba, father. Herunto seruieth that in the epistle to the Hebrues, that the faithfull are not nowe come to the bodily mount, and to kindled fyre, an whirlewinde, darkenesse and tempest, where nothing can be heard or seen but that striketh mens myndes with terrore, in so much that Moses hym selfe quaked for feare, when the terryble voyce sounded, whyche they all besoughte, that they myghte not heare: Butte that wee are come to the Mounte Syon, and the Cytie of the luyunge God, the heauenly Hierusalem. Butte that whyche  
Paule

Rom. 1b.

Heb. viii.  
viii.



Paule shortly toucheth in the sentence that we haue alleged out of the epistle to the Romaines, he setteth out more largely in y<sup>e</sup> Epistle to the Galatians, when he maketh an allegorie of the twoo sonnes of Abraham, after this manner, that Agar the bondwoman is a fygure of the mount Sinai, where the people of Israel receiued the lawe: Sara the freewoman is a fygure of the heauenly Hierusalem, from whence proceedeth the gospell. That, as the seede of Agar is borne bonde, whiche maye neuer come to the inheritance, and the seede of Sara is borne free, to whome the inheritaunce is due: so by the lawe we are made subiect to bondage, by the Gospell onely we are regenerate into freedom. But the summe commeth to this effecte, that the olde testamente dyd stricke into consciences feare and tremblinge: but by the benefite of the newe testamente it commeth to passe, that thei are made ioyefull. The olde did holde consciences bounde vnto the yoke of bondage, by the lyberalltie of the newe thei are discharged of bondage, and brought into freedom. But if oute of the people of Israel thei object agaynste vs the holy fathers, who sithe it is euident, that they were endued wyth the same spirit that we are, it foloweth that thei were also partakers both of the selke same freedom and ioye: We answer, that neither of bothe came of the lawe: But that when thei felte them selues by the lawe to be both oppressed with estate of bondage, and wried with vniquietnes of conscience, they fled to the succoure of the Gospell, and that therefore it was a peculiar frute of the newe testamente, that beside the common lawe of the olde testamente they wer exempted from these euels. Moreouer, we wyll denye that they were so endued wyth the spirit of freedom & assurednesse, that they did not in some part fele both feare and bondage by the lawe. For howe soeuer they enioyed that prerogatiue whyche they had obteneid by grace of the Gospell, yet were they subiect to the same bondes and burdens of obseruation, that the common people were. Sithe therefore they were compelled to the carefull keeping of those ceremonies, whyche were the signes of a scholing muche like vnto bondage, and the handewritinges whereby they confessed them selues gylty of synne, did not discharge them from being bonde: it maye rightfully be saide, that in comparison of vs they were vnder the testamente of bondage and feare, while wee haue respecte to that common ordze of dystribution that the Lorde then vsed wyth the people of Israel.

The three laste comparisons that we haue recited, are of the lawe and the Gospell. Wherefore in them by the name of the Olde testamente is meant the Lawe, & by the name of the Newe testamente is meant the Gospell. The fyrste stretched further, for it comprehendeth vnder it the promises also that were published before the lawe, butte whereas Augustine denyeth that they oughte to be reckened vnder the name of the olde testamente, therein he thought very well, and meant euen the same thyng that we do nowe teache, for hee hadde regarde to those sayenges of Hieremie and Paule, where the olde testamente is seuered from the woorde of mercye and grace. And thys also hee very aptely adioyneth in the same place, that the chyl dren of promise regenerate of God, whyche by saythe woorkynge throughe loue, haue obeyed the commaundements, do from the beginning of the worlde belong to the newe

Sala. 113.  
fii.Lib. 3. ad.  
Boni. ca.



Of the knowledge of

newe testamēt, and that in hope not of fleshy, earthly and temporall, but spiritual, heauenly, and eternal good thinges, principally beleuing in the mediatoze, by whome thei doubted not that the spirite was not ministred vnto them, bothe to do good, & to haue pardon so oft as they sinned. For the same thinge it is that I minded to affirme, that all the Sainctes whome the Scripture reherseth to haue been from the beginning of the worlde chosen by God, were partakers of the selfe same blessing with vs vnto eternal saluation. This difference therfore is betwene oure diuision and Augustines: that oures (according to that saying of Christe: The lawe and the Prophetes were vnto Ihon: from thenceforth the the kingdome of God is preached) dothe make distinction betwene the clerenesse of the Gospell, and the darker dystribution of the woorde that wente before: and Augustine doothe onely leuer the weakenesse of the lawe from the strength of the Gospell. And here also is to be noted concerning the holy fathers, that they so liued vnder the olde testamēt, that they steyed not there, but allwaye aspired to the newe; yea and imbraced the assured partakinge thereof. For the Apostle condemneth them of blindenesse and accursednesse, whiche beinge contented with present shadowes, did not stretch by their minde vnto Christe. For (to speake nothinge of the rest) what greater blindenesse can be imagined, than to hope for the purginge of sinne by the killinge of a beast, than to seeke for the cleansing of the soule in outward sprinkling of water: than to seeke to appease God with colde ceremonies, as though he were muche delited therewith: For to all these absurdities do thei fall, that sticke fast in the obseruations of the lawe without respect of Christe.

The fifth dyfference that we may adde, lyeth in this: that vntill the comming of Christe the Lorde had chosen out one nation, within which he woulde keepe seuerall the couenant of his grace. When the hyst did dystribute the nations, when he deuided the sonnes of Adam (saith Moses) his people fell to his possession: Jacob the corde of his inheritance. In an other place he thus speaketh to the people: Beholde the heauen and earth and all that is in it, are the Lord thy Gods. He cleaued onely to thy fathers, he loued them, to choose their sēde after them euen your selues oute of all nations. Therefore hee vouchesaued to graunte the knoweledge of hys name to that people onely, as yf they onely of all men belonged vnto hym: he layed hys couenant as it were in theyr bosome: to them he openli shewed the presence of his Godhed: them he honozed with all prerogatiues. Butte (to omitte the reste of his benefites, and speake that whiche onely here is to oure purpose) he bounde them to hym by the commynycatyng of his woorde, that hee might be called and coumpted their God. In the meane season he suffered other nations to walke in vanitie, as though they had not any encounter or any thyng to do wyth hym: neither dyd he to helpe their destruction, euen them that which was onely the remedie, namely the preachinge of hys woorde. Therefore Israell was then the Lordes sonne that was hys derlyng, other were straungers: Israell was knowen to hym and receyued into hys charge and protection, other were lefte to their owne darkenesse: Israell was sanctified by God, other were prophane: Israell was honoured wyth the presence

Parth. xi.  
119.

11

Deu. xxxi.  
vii.  
De. i. xiiij.

Act. xiiij.  
vi.



of God, other were excluded from coming nye vnto him. But when the fullnesse of time was come, appointed for the restoringe of all men, and that same reconciler of God and men was deliuered in deede, the partition was plucked downe, whiche had so longe holden the mercye of God enclosed within y<sup>e</sup> boundes of Israel, and peace was preached to them that were farre of, euen as to them that were nere adioyned, that being together reconciled to God, they might growe into one people. Wherefore, nowe there is no respect of Greke or Jewe, circumcision or vncircumcision, but Christe is all in all, to whom the nations are geuen for his inheritaunce, & the endes of the earth for his peculiar possession, y<sup>e</sup> vniuersally without difference he might haue dominion from sea to sea, and from the riuers to the vttermoost endes of the worlde.

Therefore the callinge of the Gentiles is a notable token, whereby is clearely shewed the excellencie of the new testament about the olde. It had in deede beene before testified by many, and most plaine oracles of the Prophetes, but so as the perourmance thereof was still differred vnto the kyngdome of Messias. And Christe hym selfe dyd not procede vnto it at y<sup>e</sup> first beginning of his preaching, but differred it so long vntill that all the partes of oure redemption being perourmed, and y<sup>e</sup> time of his abacement ended, hee receiued of his father a name that ys aboue all names, before whom all knees shoulde bowe. For which cause when this conuenience of time was not yet fulfilled, he saide to the woman of Chanaan, that he was not sent but to the lost sheepe of y<sup>e</sup> house of Israel. And he suffred not his Apostles at the firste sending, to passe these bondes. Goe not ye, (saith hee) into the waye of the Gentiles, nor entre into the Cities of the Samaritanes, but rather go ye to the loste sheepe of the house of Israell. But howesoener it was before vttered by so many testimonies, yet when the Apostles were first to beginne it, it seemed so newe and strange a thing vnto them, that they wer afraid of it, as of some monster. Cruely very fearefully and not without steyking at it, thei firste did set vpon it. And no maruel, for it seemed against reason, that the Lorde whiche by so many ages had chosen out Israel from all other nations, shoulde nowe vndoe that choise, as it were, suddenly changing his purpose. It was in dede spoken of afore by prophecies: but thei coulde not geue so great heede to the prophecies, as to be nothing moued with the newenesse of the thing that they sawe. And these examles whiche the Lord had shewed of the calling of the Gentiles y<sup>e</sup> shoulde one day come to passe, were not sufficient to moue them. For beside this that he hade called very few, he did after a certaine manner engraffe them into the householde of Abraham, to adde them vnto his people as parcel of them: but by this general calling the Gentiles, were not onely made egall with the Jewes, but also it appeared that they came into the place of the Jewes, that were become deade. And yet all those strangers whome God hath before that time brought in to the bodie of the Church, were neuer made egall with the Jewes. And therefore not without a cause dothe Paule so extoll this misterie hidden from ages and generations, and whiche hee also saythe to bee maruellous to the very Angles.

In these sower or five pointes, I thinke, I haue well and faithfully sette foorth the whole difference of the olde and newe testamente;

Gal. liij. iij.  
Ep. ij. xij.  
Gala. vi.  
rv.  
psal. ij.  
viii.  
psal. lxxij.

12

Phil. ij.  
Act. xv.  
xviij.

Col. i. xv

13



so muche as sufficeth to the simple ordre of teaching. But bicause many report this varietie in governing the Church, this diuers manner in teaching, so great alteration of vsages and ceremonies, to be a greate absurditie: thei are also to be answered before that we passe forth to other thinges. And that may be done shortly, bicause the obiections are not so strong that thei nede a curious confutation. It hangeth not together (saie thei) that God which doth alway stedfastly agree with him selfe, shoulde suffer so great an alteration, as afterwarde to disalowe & same thing, which he had before both commaunded and commended. I answer, that God ought not therefore to be compted mutable, for that he applied diuerse formes to diuerse ages, as he knewe to bee expedient for euery one. If the husbandman apoint to his household one sorte of businesse in winter, and an other in sommer, shall wee therefore accuse him of inconstancie, or thinke that he swarueth from the righte rule of husbandrie which agreeth with the continuall ordre of nature? Lyke wife if a father of a household doe instructe, rule & ordre his children of one sorte in childhoode, of an other in youth, & of an other in mans state, we can not therefore saye that he is fickle and forsaketh his owne purpose. Why therfore do we charge God with reproche of inconstantie, for he hath seuered the diuersitie of times with fite & agreable markes? The last similitude ought fully to satisfie vs. Paule maketh the Jewes like vnto children, and Christians to yongmen. What disordre is ther in this gouernement of God, he helde them in their childish lessons, which according to the capacitie of their age were fitte for them, & instructed vs with stronger and as it were more manly discipline? Therefore herein appeareth the constancie of God, that he taught one selfe same doctrine in all ages, and continueth in requyryng the same worshippe of his name, which he commaunded from the beginning. But wheras he chaunged the outward forme and manner thereof, in that he shewed not him selfe subiect to change: butte so farre he tempered him selfe to the capacitie of man, which is diuerse and chaungeable.

14 But whense (say thei) commeth this diuersitie, but bicause God willed it to be such? Coude he not as well from the beginning as sing the comming of Christ, reuele the eternal life in plaine wordes without any figures, instruct those that are his with a few sacraments and easye to perceaue, geue his holy spirite, and poure abroad his grace throgghoute the whole worlde? This is euen like as if thei should quarell with God for that he hath created the worlde so late, sith he might haue created it from the beginning: or for he will was to haue enterchaunged courses betwene winter and sommer, betwene daye and night. But as for vs, euen as al Godly men ought to thinke, let vs not doubt that what soeuer God hath done, is wisely and rightcously done, although oftentimes we knowe not the cause why it ought so to haue been done. For that were to take presumptuously to much vpon vs, not to geue God leaue to haue the causes of his owne purpose secret to hymselfe fro vs. But it is meruellous (say thei) that he nowe refuseth and abhorreth the sacrificeng of bestes, and all that furniture of the Leuiticall presthode, wherewith in the olde time he was delited. As though these outward and transitorie thinges did delite God, or any waye moue affection in him. We haue already said that he did none of these for his owne cause, but disposed them all for the saluation of men. If a Physicion do heale



a yong mā after one very good meane frō his disease, & afterward do vse an other maner of healyng with the same man beyng old: Shall we therefoze say, that he hath refused the manner of healyng whiche befoze pleased him, but rather continuynge still in the same, he hath cōsideration of age: So behoued it, that Christ beyng absent, should be expressed in figure by one sort of signes, and by an other sort be befoze shewed that he was to come: & it is mete that now beyng already deliuered, he be represented by other signes. But as concernyng Gods calling, nowe at the commyng of Christ moze largely spred abzode among all peoples than it was befoze, and the graces of the holy ghozt moze plentiously poured out, whoe, I pray you, cā denie it to be right, that that God haue in his owne hande and will the disposyng of his owne graces, to gene light to what nations it pleaseth him: to rayse by the preachyng of his woꝛde in what places it pleaseth him: to gene what doctrine and howe great profityng and successe of doctrine it pleaseth him: & in what ages he will, to take away the knowledg of his name out of the woꝛld for theyꝛ unthākefulnesse: and againe whē he will to restore it for his owne mercie: We see therfoze, that the cauillatiōs are to much vnnete, wherewith wicked men do in this point disquiet the mindes of the simple, to make them call eyther the righte, oulnesse of God, oz the faith of the Scripture into doubt.

## The. xii. Chapter.

¶ That it behoued, that Christ, to perfoꝛme the office of the Mediatour, should be made man.



**N**ow, it much behoued vs that he should be bothe God and man, whiche should be our Mediatour. If a man aske of the necessitie, it was not in deede a symple oz absolute necessitie, as they commonly call it, but it proceeded from the heauenly decree, whereupon hanged all the saluation of men. But the most mercifull father apointed that which should be best for vs. For whereas our owne iniquities had, as it were, cast a cloude betwene him and vs, and vtterly excluded vs from the kingdome of heauen, no mā could be the interpreter for restoznyng of our peace, but he that could atteine vnto God. But whoe could haue atteyned vnto him: coulde any of the sonnes of Adam: But all they dyd with theyꝛ father shūne the sight of God for feare. Could any of the Angels: but they also had neede of a head, by whose knittynge together they might perfectly and vnseuerably cleaue vnto God. What then: It was past all hope, vnlesse the very maiestie of God wold descend vnto vs, for we could not ascende vnto it. So it behoued that the sonne of God should become for vs Immanuel, that is, God with vs: and that in this sort, that by mutuall ioynyng, his godhed and the nature of man might grow into one together. Otherwise neyther could ynerenelle be nere enough, noꝛ the allynance stronge enough for vs to hope by, that God dwelleth with vs. So greate was the disagreement betwene our filthinesse, and the mosse pure cleannesse of God. Although manne had stande vndefiled without any spot, yet was his estate to base to



attayne to God without a Mediatour. What could he then do beyng plunged downe into death and hell with deadly fall, defiled with so many spottes, strikynge with his owne corruption, and ouerwhelmed with all accursednesse: Therfoze not without cause, Paule meanyng to set tozth Chziste for the Mediatoz, doth expzessly recite that he is Man. One Mediatoz sayth he of God & man, the man Iesus Chzist. He might haue sayd, God: or at y least he might haue leit the name of Man as well as of God. But bycause the holy ghozt speakyng by his mouth, knew our weakenesse: therfoze to pzoouide for it in time, he vsed a most fit remedie, setting amog vs the sonne of God familiarly as one of vs. Theretoze least any man should trouble himself to know where the Mediatour is to be sought, or whiche waye to come vnto him, in namyng Man, he putteth vs in minde that he is nere vnto vs, yea so nere that he toucheth vs, for asmuch as he is our owne flethe. Cruely he meanieth there euen the same thyng that in an other place is set out with moe wordes: that we haue not a bishop that can not haue compassion of our infirmities, for asmuche as he was in all thinges tempted as we are, only sinne excepted.

2 That shall also appere moze plainely, if we consider how it was no meane thyng that the Mediatour had to do: that is, so to restore vs into the fauour of God, as to make vs of the children of men, the children of God: of the hezres of hell, the hezres of the kingdome of heauen. Whoe coulde doe that, vnlesse the sonne of God were made also the sonne of manne, and so take oures vpon hym to conueye his vnto vs, and to make that oures by grace, whiche was his by nature? Therfoze by this earnest we trust, that we are the children of God, bicause the naturall sonne of God hath shapen for himselfe a bodie of our body, flethe of our flethe, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with vs. He disdayned not to take that vpon hym whiche was propre vnto vs, to make agayne that to belonge to vs whiche he had propre to himselfe, and that so in common together with vs, he might be bothe the sonne of God and the sonne of man. Hereupon cometh that holy bzotherhode whiche he commendeth with his owne mouth when he sayth: I goe vp to my father and your father, my God and your God. By this meane is the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen assured vnto vs: for that the only sonne of God, to whome it wholly did properly belonge, hath adopted vs into his bzethzen: by cause yf we be bzethzen, then are we partakers of the inheritance. Moreouer it was for the same cause very profitable, that he whyche should be our redemer, should be bothe very God and very manne. It was his office to swallowe by death: whoe coulde doe that but lyfe it selfe? It was his office to ouercome sinne: whoe coulde doe that but ryghteousnesse it selfe? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the worlde and of the ayze: whoe coulde doe that but a power aboue bothe worlde and ayze: Nowe in whose possession is life, or righteousnesse, or the empire & power of heauen, but in Gods alone? Therfoze the moste mercifull God, in the persone of his only begotten sonne, made himselfe our redemer, when his will was to haue vs redeemed.

3 An other pzincipal point of our reconciliation with God was this, that

1. Tim. ij.  
iii.

Hebr. iiii.  
v.

2

1b. i. vii.

Rom. viii.  
vii.



that man which had lost by his disobedience, shuld for remedie set obedience against it, shuld satisfie the iudgement of God, & paye the penaltie of sinne. Therfore there came forth the true man, our Lord, he put on the persone of Adam, & toke vpon him his name to entre into his stede in obeyeng his father, to yeld our fleshe the pyce of the satisfaction to the iust iudgement of God, and in the same fleshe suffer the peyne that we had deserued. For as much as therfore neyther beyng only God he could fele death, nor beyng only man he could ouercome death, he coupled the nature of man with the nature of God, that he might yelde the one subiect to death to satisfie for sinnes: and by the power of the other he might wraastle with death, & get victorie for vs. They therfore that spoile Christ eyther of his godhed oz of his manhode, do in deede eyther diminishe his maiestie & glozy, oz obscure his goodnesse: but on the other side they do no lesse wrong vnto me whose faith they do thereby weaken and ouerthrowe, which can not stande but resting vpon this fundation. Beside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redemer shuld be the sonne of Abraham and Dauid, whyche God had promised in the lawe and the Prophetes. Wherby the godly mindes do gather this other frute, that beyng by the very course of his pedigree brought to Dauid and Abraham, they do the moze certainly knowe that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But this whiche I euen now declared, is principally to beholden in mynde, that the common nature betwene him and vs is a pledge of our felowship with the sonne of God: y he clothed with our fleshe vāquished death & sinne together, that the victorie so might be oures and the triūph oures: that he offered by for sacrifice the fleshe that he receyued of vs, that haung made satisfaction he might wpye away our giltinesse, and appease the iust wrath of his father.

He that shalbe diligently hede full in cōsidering these things as he ought, wil easily neglect those wādzyng speculatiōs that raiue vnto them light spirites & desirous of noueltie: of which sort is, that Christ shuld haue ben mā, although there had ben no neede of remedie to redeme mākinde. I graunt y in the first degree of creation, & in the state of nature vncorrupted, he was set as head ouer Angels and mē. For which cause Paule calleth him the first begotten of al creatures. But sithe al the Scripture crieth out, that he was clothed w fleshe, that he might be the Redemer: it is to much rashe presumptiō to imagine any other cause oz end. To what end Christ was promised frō the beginning, it is well enough knowē: euē to restore the world fallē in ruiue, and to succour men beyng lost. Therfore vnder the law, the image of him was set forth in sacrifices, to make the faythful to hope that God would be mercyfull to them, when after satisfaction made for sinne, he shuld be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, euen when the law was not yet published, the Mediatour was neuer promised without blood: we gather that he was apointed by the eternal counsell of God to purge the filthinesse of men, for that the shedyng of bloud is a tokē of expiation. The Prophetes so preached of him, y they promised that he shuld be the rescuer of God and men. That one specially notable testimonie of Esaye shall suffice vs for all, where he foztelleth, that he shalbe stricken with the hande of God for the sinnes of the people,

A.ij.

that

4

Col. i. 18.

Esa. 53.  
10.



Of the knoweledge of

that the chastisement of peace should be vpon him: and that he should be a priest that should offer by himselfe for sacrifice: that of his woundes should come health to other: and that, because al haue strayed and ben scattered abroad like shepe, therfore it pleased God to punish him, that he might beare the iniquities of all. Sith we heare that Christe is properly apointed by God to help wretched sinners, who so euer passeth beyond these boundes, he doth to much follow foolish curiositie. Nowe when himselfe was ones come, he affirmed this to be the cause of his comyng, to appease God, and gather vs by from death into life. The same thyng did the Apostles testifie of him. So John befoze that he teacheth that the worde was made fleshe, declareth of the falling awaye of manne. But he himselfe is to be hearde befoze all, when he speaketh thus of his owne office: So God loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten sonne, that who so euer beleueth in him should not perishe, but haue euerlasting life. Againe: The houre is come that the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and they that heare it, shall liue. I am the resurrection and life: he that beleueth in me, although he be dead, shall liue. Agayne. The sonne of mā cometh to saue that whiche was lost. Agayne. The whole neede not a Physician. I should neuer make an ende, if I should reherse all. The Apostles do all with one consent call vs to this fountayne: And truely if he had not come to reconcile God, the honoz of the priesthode should haue come to nought. For asmuche as the priest apointed meane betwene God and man to make intercessio: and he should not be our righteousnesse, because he was made a sacrifice for vs, that God should not impute sinnes vnto vs. Finally, he should be spoyled of all the honozable titles, wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. And also that sayeng of Paule should proue vaine, that that whiche was impossible to the law, God hath sent his owne sonne, that in likenesse of the flesh of sinne he should satisfie for vs. Neyther will this stande that he teacheth in an other place, that in this glasse appered the goodnesse of God & his infinite goodnesse toward men, when Christ was geuen to be the Redemer. Finally, the scripture euery where assigneth no other ende, why the sonne of God would take vpon him our fleshe, & also receiued this comaundement of his father, but to be made a sacrifice to appease his father toward vs. So it is witten, and so it behoued that Christ should suffer, & repentance be preached in his name. Therfore my father loueth me, because I geue my lyfe for the shepe, this comaundement he gaue me. As Moses lifted by the Serpent in y desert, so must the sonne of man be lifted by. In an other place. Father, saue me fro this houre. But I am therfore come euen to this houre. Father glorifie thy sonne. Where he plainly speaketh of the end why he toke fleshe, that he might be a sacrifice and satisfaction to do awaye sinne. After the same sort doth Zacharie pronounce, that he came according to the promise geuen to the fathers, to geue light to them that sate in the shadow of death. Let vs remember that all these thinges are spoken of the sonne of God: in whome Paule in an other place testifieth, that all the treasures of knoweledge and wisdom are hidden, and byside whome he glorieth that he knoweth nothing.

If anye manne take exception and saye, that none of all these thinges

Joh. i. iv.

Joh. i. xviij

John. iij. xvi.

Joh. v. xvij

John. vi.

Mat. xviij

Mat. ix.

Heb. v. i.

ii. Cor. v.

ix.

Ro. viij. iij

Tit. ii. xi.

Lv. xliij.

xvi.

Joh. r. xvij

John. iij.

viii.

John. vi.

xviij. and

xviii.

Lv. i. xix.

Col. ii. iij.

i. Cor. ii. ii.



things proue the contrarie, but that the same Christ that redeemed men being dāned, might also in puttyng on their flesh testifie his loue toward thē, being preserued & safe. The answer is Mozt, y<sup>e</sup> for asmuch as the holy ghost pronounceth, that by the eternal decree of God these two thynges were ioyned together, that Christ should be our rede-mer, and also partaker of all one nature with vs, therfore it is not lawefull for vs to searche any further. For who so euer is tickled with desire to knowe any moze, he being not contented with the vncchange-able ordinaunce of God, doth shewe also that he is not contented with the same Christ that was geuen vs to be the price of our redemption. But Paule not only reherseth to what ende he was sente, but also climbyng to the hye misterie of the predestination, he very fitly repzel- seth all wantonnesse and itchyng desire of mans wit. The father chose vs in Christ befoze the creation of the worlde, to make vs his sonnes by adoption, accordyng to the purpose of his will: and he accepted vs in his beloued sonne, in whom we haue redēptiō by his bloud. Cruely here is not the fall of Adā set befoze as though it were formost in time, but is shewed what God determined befoze all ages, when his will was to help the miserie of mākinde. If the aduersarie obiecte againe, that this purpose of God dyd hang vpon the fall of manne whiche he did foresee: it is enough and moze for me, to saye, that they with wic- ked boldnesse breake forth to fayne them a newe Christ, who so euer suffer themselues to searche for moze, or hope to know moze of Christ than God hath foreappointed them by his secret decree. And for good cause did Paule, after he had so discoursed of y<sup>e</sup> proper office of Christ, whiche to y<sup>e</sup> Ephesians the spirit of vnderstanding, to cōprehend what is the length, heygth, bredth, and depth, euen the loue of Christe that surmounteth al knowledge: euen as if of purpose he would set barres about our mindes, that when mention is made of Christ, they should not, be it neuer so litle, swarue from the grace of reconciliation. Wher- fore, lithe this is a faithfull sayeng (as Paule testifieth) that Christ is come to saue sinners, I do gladly rest in the same. And wher eas in an other place the same Apostle teacheth, that the grace whiche is nowe disclosed by the Gospell, was geuen vs in Christe befoze the times of the worlde: I determine that I ought constantly to abide therein to the ende. Agaynst this modestie vslander carpeth vniustly whiche hath agayne in this time unhappily stirred this question be- fore lightly moued by a few. He acculeth them of presumption y<sup>e</sup> saye, that the sonne of God shuld not haue appered in the flesh, yf Adā had not fallen, bycause this inuention is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. As though Paule did not brydle frowarde curioistie, when after he had spoken of redemption purchaced by Christ, he by and by cōmaundeth to auoyde foolish questions. The madnesse of some dyd burst out so farre, that while they disordzely coueted to seme witty, they moued this questiō, whether the Sonne of God might haue takē vpon him the nature of an Aſse. This monstruousnesse which all the godly do worthyly abhorre as detestable, let vslander confute with this pzetente that it is neuer expzessely confuted in the Scripture. As though when Paule accompreth nothing pzeious or worthy to be knowen, but Christ crucified, he doth therfore admit an Aſse to be the

Eph. iij.

Eph. iij.

i. Tim. i.

Tit. iij.



1ph. iiii.  
779.

without of saluatiō. Therfoze he that in an other place reporteth, that  
Christ by the eternal counsel of his father was ordeined to be a head to  
gather althinges together: wil neuer the moze acknowledge an other  
that hath no office of redemyng apointed him.

6 But as for the principle that he braggeth of, it is very triffyng. He  
would haue it, that man was created after the image of God, bicause  
he was fashioned after the paterne of Christ to come, that he mighte  
resemble him, whom the father had alreedy decreed to clothe with our  
flethe. Wher cupon he gathereth, that yf Adam had neuer fallen fro  
his firste and vncorrupted originall state, yet Christ should haue ben  
man. Howe triffyng this is and wrested, all menne that haue sounde  
iudgement, do easily perceiue of themselves. In the meane time first  
he thinketh that he hath seene what was the ymage of God, that for-  
sothe the glozie of God did not onely shyne in those excellent giftes  
wherewith he was garnished, but also that God himselfe essentially  
dwelt in him. But as for me, although I graunt that Adā did beare  
the image of God, in so much as he was ioyned to God, (whiche is the  
true and best perfection of dignitie) yet I saye, that the likenesse of  
God is no where els to bee sought, but in those markes of excellencie  
wherewith he had garnished Adam aboue other liuyng creatures.  
And that Christe was then the image of God, all menne doe graunt  
with one consent, and therfoze that what so euer excellencie was  
grauen in Adam, it proceded from this, that by the onely begotten  
sonne he approached to the glozie of his creatour. Therfoze manne  
was created after the image of God, in whome the creatours will  
was to haue his glozie seene as in a lookyng glasse. To this degree  
of honour was he aduanced by the benefite of the only begotte sonne:  
But I saye further, that the same sonne was a common head as well  
to Angels as to menne, so that the same dignitie that was bestowed  
vpon manne, did also belong vnto Angels. For when we heare them  
called the children of God, it were inconuenient to denie, that there is  
somethyng in them wherein they resemble their father. Howe yf his  
will was to haue his glozie to be represented as well in Angels as  
in menne, and to be seene in bothe natures, Oliander dothe fondely  
trifte in sayeng, that the Angeles were then set behinde menne, bi-  
cause they did not beare the image of Christ. For they could not con-  
tinually enioye the present beholdyng of God, vnlesse they were like  
hym. And Paule teacheth, that menne are no otherwise renewed af-  
ter the image of God, but if they be coupled with Angels, that they  
maye cleaue together vnder one head. Finally, yf we beleue Christ,  
this shalbe our laste felicitie, to be made of like forme to the Angeles,  
when we shalbe receyued by into heauen. But if Oliander will con-  
clude, that the originall paterne of the image of God was in Christ  
as he is man, by the same reason a manne maye say, that Christ muste  
needes haue ben partaker of the nature of Angels, bicause the image  
of God pertaineth also to them.

Ec. i. p. 179

Colo. iii. r.

7 Therfoze, Oliander hath no cause to feare, that God woulde bee  
found a lier, vnlesse it had ben firste stedfastly and vchangeably de-  
creed in his minde, to haue his sonne incarnate: bycause yf the in-  
tegritie of Adam had not fallen, he woulde with the Angels haue ben  
like



like vnto God, and yet it should not therfore haue ben necessaric, that the sonne of God should be made cyther man or Angel. And in baine he feareth that absurditie, least vnlesse the vnchangeable counsell of God had ben before the creation of man that Christ should be bozne, not as the redemer but as the first man, he should haue losse his prerogative: for as much as now he should be bozne man only by an accident cause, that is to restore mankind beyng losse, and so it might be gathered thereupon, that Christ was created after the image of Adam. For why should he so muche abhorre that whiche the Scripture so openly teacheth, that he was made like vnto vs in all thinges, except sinne? Whereupon Luke doubteth not to reckon him the sonne of Adam in his Genealogye. And I would fayne know why Paule calleth Christ the seconde Adam, but bycause the estate of manne was apointed for him, that he might rayse by the posteritie of Adam out of their ruine. For if he were in order before that creatiō, he should haue ben called the firste Adam. Oliander boldly affirmeth, that bycause Christ was alredy before knowē man in the minde of God, men were formed after the same paterne. But Paule in namyng him the second Adam, setteth meane betwene the first beginnyng of man & the restitution whiche we obtaine by Christ, the fall of man whereby grew the necessitie to haue nature restored to her first degree. Whereupon it followeth, y this same was the cause why the sonne of God was bozne to become man. In the meane time, Oliander reasoneth ill and vnfauozily, that Adam, so longe as he had stande without fallng, should haue ben the ymage of himselfe and not of Christ. I aunswere by the contrarie, bycause though the sonne of God had neuer put on fleshe, neuertheless both in the body and in the soule of manne should haue shyned the image of God, in the bright beames whereof it alwaye appered, that Christ is verily the head, and hath the soueraigne supzemicie in all. And so is that foolish subtletie asloyled, whiche Oliander bloweth obzoad, that the Angels should haue lacked this head, vnlesse it had ben purposed by God to clothe his sonne with fleshe, yea though there had ben no fault of Adam. For he doth to rashly snatche holde of that whyche no manne in his right wit will graunt, that Christ hath no supzemicie ouer Angels, that they should haue him for their Prince, but in so muche as he is manne. But it is easily gathered by the wordes of Paule, that in as muche as he is the eternall worde of God, he is the firste begotten of all creatures: not that he is create, or ought to be reckened amonge creatures: but bycause the state of the worlde in integritie, suche as it was at the begynnyng garnished wyth excellent beautie, had no other originall: and then, that in as muche as he was made manne, he was the firste begotten of the dead. For the Apostle in one shorte clause setteth forth bothe these pointes to bee considered: that all thynges were create by the sonne, that he mighte beare rule ouer Angels: and that he was made manne, that he might begynne to be the redemer. Of lyke ignozaunce is it that he sayth, that men should not haue had Christ to their kyng, yf he had not ben man. As though the kyngdome of God coulde not stād, yf the eternal sonne of God, although not clothed with y flesh of man, gatherng together both Angels & men into the felowship of his

Hebr. iiii.  
 xv.  
 Luke. iiii.  
 xxxviii.  
 i. Cor. xv.  
 xlvii.

Colos. i. p.

Coloss. i.  
 xviii.  
 Col. i. p.



## Of the knoweledge of

heavenly glozie and life, should himselſe beare the ſoueraintie. But in this falſe principle he is alwaye deceiued, or rather decepueth himſelf, that the Church ſhould haue be without a head, vnleſſe Chriſt had appeared in the fleſh. As though, euen as the Angeles enioyed him their head, he could not likewiſe by his diuine power rule ouer menne, and by the ſecret force of his ſpirit quickē and nourish them like his owne body, till beyng gathered vp into heauen, they might enioy al one life with the Angeles. Theſe triſtes that I haue hether to confuted, Olander accompteth for moſt ſtrong oracles: eue ſo as beyng dronke with the ſweeteneſſe of his owne ſpeculations, he bleth to blowe out ſonde Bacchus cries of matters of nothyng. But this one that he bringeth after, he ſayth is much moze ſtrōg, that is the prophecie of Adā, which, ſeyng his wiſe ſayd, this nowe is a bone of my bones, and fleſhe of my fleſh. But how proueth he that to be a prophecie? Bicauſe in What thew Chriſt geueth the ſame ſayeng to God. As though that what ſo euer God hath ſpoken by men, conteyneth ſome prophecie. Let Olander ſeke prophecies in euery commaundement of the lawe, whiche, it is certaine to haue come from God the authoz of them. Biſide that, Chriſt ſhould haue ben groſſe and earthly, yf he had reſted vpon the literall ſenſe. Bicauſe he ſpeaketh not of the miſtical vniōn wherunto he hath vouchſaued to receyue his church, but only of faithfulneſſe betwene man and wiſe: for this cauſe he teacheth, that God pronounceth that man and wiſe ſhalbe one fleſh, that no man ſhould attempt to breake that inſoluble knot by diuorce. If Olander lothe this ſimpli-  
citic, let him blame Chriſt, for that he led not his diſciples further to a miſterie, in moze ſutielly expoūding the ſayeng of his father. Neyther yet doth Paule maineteyne his errour, whiche after he had ſayd that we are fleſh of the fleſh of Chriſt, by & by addeth, that this is a great miſterie, for his purpoſe was not to tel in what meaning Adam ſpake it, but vnder the figure and ſimilitude of mariage, to ſet forth the holy couplyng together, that maketh vs one with Chriſt. And ſo doe the wordes ſound. Bicauſe when he geueth warnyng that he ſpeaketh this of Chriſt and his church, he doth as it were by way of cozrection, ſeuer the ſpirituall ioyning of Chriſt and his church from the lawe of mariage. Wherfore this ſickle reaſon eaſily vaniſheth awaye. And I thinke I nede no moze to ſhake vp any moze of that ſort of chaſſe, bicauſe the vanitie of them all is ſone ſound out by this mozt confutation. But this ſobzietie ſhall aboundantly ſuffice to feede ſoundly the childzen of God: that when the fulneſſe of times was come, the ſonne of God was ſent, made of woman, made vnder the lawe, to redeme them that were vnder the lawe.

### The. xiii. Chapter.

¶ That Chriſt took vpon him the true ſubſtance of the fleſh of man.



**N**ow, vnleſſe I be deceiued, it were ſuperfluous to entreate agayne of the godhed of Chriſt, whiche hath alredy in another place ben proued with playne & ſtrong teſtimonies. It remaineth therfore to be ſeene, how he beyng clothed with our fleſh, hath fulfilled the office of Mediatour. The  
truth



truth of his humaine nature hath in the olde time ben impugned both by the Manichees and the Marcionites: of whome, the Marcionites fained a ghost in stede of the body of Christ, and the Manichees dreamed that he had a heauenly flesh. But bothe many and strong testimonies of the Scripture do stand against them both. For the blessing is promised neyther in a heauenly seede, nor in the counterfaite shape of man, but in the seede of Abraham and Jacob. Neither is the eterual throne promised to a man made of ayre, but to the sonne of Dauid and to the frute of his wombe. Therefore beyng deliuered in the flesh, he is called the sonne of Dauid and Abraham: not because he is only bozne of the wombe of the Virgin, & create in the ayre, but because (as Paule expoundeth it) he is accorpyng to the flesh made of the seede of Dauid: as in an other place the Apostle teacheth, that he descended of the Jewes. For whiche cause the Lorde himselfe not contended with the bare name of man, doth ostentines call himself the sonne of manne, meanyng to expresse moze plainely that he was man truely issued of the seede of mankind. Sithe the holy ghoste hath so oft by so many meanes with so great diligence and simplicite declared a thinge not obscure of it self, who would haue thought any men to be so shamelesse as to presume yet to spzed mistes to darken it: And yet we haue other testimonies at hand, if we list to heape by moze of them. As is that sayeng of Paule: that God sent his sonne made of womā. And innumerable other places, whereby appereth that he was subiect to hunger, thirst, colde, and other infirmities of our nature. But out of many these are chiefly to be chosen, that maye mozte auaille to edifie our mindes in true cōfidence. As, where it is sayd, that he gaue not so great honour to the Angels, as to take their nature vpon him: but toke our nature, that in flesh and bloud he might, by death, destroy him that had the power of death. Agayne, that by benefite of that comuniquating we are reckened his bzethren. Againe, that he ought to haue ben made like vnto his bzethren, that he might be made a merciful and faithfull intercessour: that we haue not a Bishop that can not be compaiuent of our infirmities. And such like. And for y same purpose serueth that whiche we touched a litle befoze, that it behoued that the sinnes of the woorld should be cleansed in our flesh: Whiche Paule playnely affirmeth. And truely, what so euer the father hath geuen to Christ, it doth therefore belong to vs, because he is the head, from whiche the whole body beyng knit together, groweth into one. Yea, & otherwise that will not agree together, whiche is sayd: that the Spirit was geuen him without measure, that all we shoulde drawe of the fulnesse thereof. For asmuch as there is no greater absurditie than to say, that God is enriched in his essence by any accidentall giste. And for this cause Christ sayth in an other place: I do sanctifie my self for them.

As for the places that they byng forth to confirme their errour, they doe to vnaptly wrest them, and they nothyng pzeuayle by their trisyng suttelties, when they goe about to wipe away those thinges that I haue alleged for our part. Marcion imagineth that Christ did put on a fantastical body in stede of a true body: because in some places it is sayd, that he was made after the likenesse of man, and that he was found in shape as a manne, But so he nothing wepeth what is



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Paules purpose in that place. For his meanyng is not to teach what manner of body Christe toke vpon him, but that whereas he might haue shewed forth his godhed, he made none other shewe of himself, but as of an abiect and vnregarded man. For, to exhort vs by his example to submission, he sheweth, that for asmuch as he was God, he might haue by and by set forth his glozy to be seene to the worlde: but yet that he gaue ouer some of his owne right, and of his owne accord abaced himself, bicause he did put on the ymage of a seruant and contended with that humilitie, suffred his godhed to be hidden with the veile of the flesh. He doth not here teache what Christ was, but how he behaued himselfe. And also by the whole processe of the texte it is easily gathered, that Christ was abaced in the true nature of manne. For what meaneth this, that in shape he was founde as manne, but that for a time the glozie of his godhed dyd not shyne forth, but only the shape of manne appered in base and abiect estate? For otherwise that place of Peter coulde not stande together, that he was dead in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, yf the sonne of God had not ben weake in the nature of manne: whiche Paule expresseth more plainely in sayeng, that he suffred by reason of the weakenesse of the flesh. And hereunto serueth the exaltation: bycause it is expressely sayd, that Christe atteyned a newe glozie after that he abaced himselfe, whiche could not well agree to be spoken of any, but of a man hauing flesh and soule. Manichees framed Christ a body of ayze, bycause Christ is called the seconde Adam, heauenly of heauen. But neyther in that place doth the Apostle byng in a heauenly essence of the body, but a spirituall force whiche beyng poured abrode by Christ, doth quicken vs. Nowe, as we haue alredy seene, Peter and Paule doe seuer the same from his flesh. But rather that doctrine whiche is receiued among the true teachers, concernynge the flesh of Christ, is very well proued by that place. For if Christ had not all one nature of body with vs, it were a very vaine argument, that Paul with such vehemencie foloweth: that yf Christ be risen agayne, we shal also rise agayne: and yf we do not rise, then that Christ also is not risen. By what cauillations so euer eyther the olde Manichees oz their newe Disciples goe aboute to escape, they shal not winde theselues away. It is a fowle miste, that thei fondly say, that Christ is called the sonne of manne, in so much as he is promised of menne. For it is playne, that after the Hebrew phrasse, very man in deede is called the Sonne of manne. And Christ without doubt kepte the phrasse of his owne tonge. Also it ought to make no question, what ought to be vnderstanded by the children of Adam. And (not to goe farre of) the place of the viij. Psalme, whych the Apostles apply to Christ, shalbe sufficient enough: What is man that thou arte myndefull of him, oz the sonne of man, that thou visitest him? In this figure is expressed the true manhode of Christe. For though he were not immediatly begotten of a mortall father, yet his race came from Adam. For els that place could not stande whiche we haue alredy alleged, that Christ is made partaker of flesh and bloud, that he might gather to him yonge childre to the seruice of God. In which wordes it is plainely determined, that Christ is made fellow & partaker of all one nature with vs.

1 Pet. iii.  
viii.

1 Cor. xiii.  
ii.

1 Cor. xv.  
xvii.

1 Cor. xv.  
vi.

1 Pet. ii.  
xiii.



In whych meanyng also he sayth, that bothe the authour of holinesse and they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is proued by the pro-  
 cesse of the text, that the same is referred to the felowship of nature: bi-  
 cause he by and by addeth, Therefore he is not ashamed to call them  
 brethren. For if he had sayd before, that the saythfull are of God in so  
 great dignitie, what cause should there be to be ashamed: But because  
 Christ of his infinite grace doth ioyne himselfe to the base & vnnoble,  
 therefore it is sayd, y he is not ashamed. But in vaine thei obiect, that by  
 this meane y wicked shall become the brethren of Christ: because we  
 know that the children of God are not borne of fleshe and bloud, but  
 of the holy ghost by sayth. Therefore only fleshe maketh not a brother-  
 ly ioyning. But although the Apostle geue this honour to the faithful  
 only, to be of one with Christ, yet it foloweth not, but that the wicked  
 maye be borne of the same originall. As when we saye that Christ  
 was made man, to make vs the sonnes of God: this sayeng extendeth  
 not to all men, because sayth is the meane whiche spiritually graffeth  
 vs into y body of Christ. Also they foolishly moue a brawle about the  
 name of first begottē. They saye that Christ should haue ben borne  
 of Adam streight at the beginning, that he might be the first begotten  
 among brethren. For the title of first begottē, is not referred to age,  
 but to the degree of honour, and excellence of power. And moze colour  
 hath that whiche they bable, that Christ toke to him man and not An-  
 gels, because he receyued mankinde into fauour. For, to set out moze  
 largely the honour which God vouchsafed to geue vs, he compared  
 the Angels with vs, which were in this behalf set behinde vs. And yf  
 the testimonie of Moses be well weyed, where he sayth that the seede  
 of the woman shall breake the serpentes head, it shall vtterly ende the  
 controuersie. For only Christ is not there spoken of, but all mankinde.  
 Because the victorie was to be gotten by Christ for vs, he generally  
 pronounceth that the posteritie of the woman should get the vpper-  
 hand of the Deuell. Whereupon foloweth, that Christ issued of man-  
 kinde, because it was Gods purpose there to rayle vp Eue, whom he  
 spake vnto with good hope, that she should not iainth with sorrow.

They do no lesse wickedly than foolishly entangle with allegories  
 these testimonies where Christ is called the seede of Abraham, and the  
 frute of the wombe of Dauid. For if the name of Seede had ben spo-  
 ken in an allegorie, truely Paule wold not haue left it vntolde, where  
 he plainely and without figure affirmeth, that there are not many  
 sonnes of Abraham redemers, but one Christ. Of like sort is it that  
 they allege: that he is no otherwise called the sonne of Dauid, but bi-  
 cause he was promised and at length in his detwe time deliuered. For  
 after that Paule had ones named him the sonne of God: in that he by  
 and by addeth, Accordyng to the fleshe, he truely meaneth of nature.  
 And so in the .ix. chapter callyng hym the blessed God, he sayth seue-  
 rally byside, that accordyng to the fleshe he descended of the Jewes.  
 Nowe if he were not truely begotten of the seede of Dauid, to what  
 purpose shall be this sayeng, that he is the frute of his wombe: what  
 meaneth this promise: Out of thy loynes shall he descende, that shall  
 abide in thy seate. Now in the Genealogie of Christ, as it is reherfed  
 of Matthew, they do Sophistically mocke. For though he do not re-  
 yetse

Rom. viii.  
viii.Hebr. ii.  
xvi.

Se. iii. p.

3

Gal. iii.  
xviii.

Rom. i. iii.

Pl. cxxvii.  
R.



herse the parentes of Marie but of Ioseph, yet bicause he speaketh of a thyng sufficiently knowen abzode among the people, he reckeneth it enough to shewe that Ioseph came of the seede of David, whē it was well knowen that Marie was of the same stocke. But Luke more pzesseth them in teachyng that saluation brought by Christ, is comon to all mankinde: bicause Christ the authoz of saluation proceded from Adam the common parent of al. I graunt in deede, that by the Genealogie it can none otherwise be gathered that Christ was the sonne of David, but in so much as he was begotten of the Uirgin. But the newe Marcionites to colour their errour do to pzoudely, in this that to proue that Christ toke his body of nothyng, they affirme that women are sedelesse, and so they ouerthrow the pzinciples of nature. But bycause that is no questiō of diuinitie, and the reasons that they bring are so fickle, that they maye very easily be confuted: therefore I will not touch those thinges that belong to Philosophie and Phylsike, and will hold me contented to wipe away those thinges that they alleage out of Scripture: that is, that Aaron and Ioiadah toke wiues of the tribe of Iehudah, and so the difference of tribes had then ben cōfounded, if woman had engendzyng seede in her. But it is well enough knowē, that as touchyng ciuile ozder, the kinreds are reckened by the seede of the man, and yet the excellēcy of the kinde of man aboue woman proueth not the contrarie, but that in generation the seede of woman must mete. And this solution extendeth to all the Genealogies. Oftentimes when the Scripture reckeneth by a Genealogie, it nameth the men only: Hal we therfoze saye, that the womē are nothinge. But very children do know, that women are comprehēded vnder the name of men. And after this sozt it is sayde, that women bzyng forth to their husbendes, bicause the name of the household alway remaineth with the males. Nowe as this is graunted to the excellencie of the male kinde, that the children are compted noble oz vnnoble, according to the estate of their fathers: so also in the state of bōdage the issue foloweth the wombe, according to the iudgemēt of the Ciuile lawiers. Whereby we maye gather, that the issue is engendred of the seede of the woman. And it hath of long time ben receyued in common vse of all natiōs, that the mothers are called Genitrices, that is engendzers. Wherewith Gods lawe also agreeth, whiche els should wzongefully forbidde the marriage of the vncle with his sisters daughter, bicause there were no consanguinitie betwene them: and also it were lawfull for a man to marry his sister by the mothers side, so that she were begotten of an other father. But as I graunte that there is a passiue power ascribed to women, so do I answer that the same thing is indifferently spoken of them that is of men. And Christ himselfe is not sayde to be made by the woman, but of the woman. But some of theyr companie shakynge of all shame do to lewdely aske, whether we will saye that Christ was engendred of the menstruall seede of the Uirgin, for I will likewise aske of them, whether he did not congele in the bloud of his mother, whiche they shalbe cōstrayned to confesse. Therfoze it is fitly gathered of Matthewes wordes, that bicause Christe was begotten of Marie, he was engendred of her seede: as a like engendzyng is meant when it is sayd, that Booz was begottē of Rahab.

Neyther



Neither doth Matthew here describe the Virgin as a conduit pipe through which Christ passed: but he seuereth this maruellous manner of generatiō from the common maner, for that by her Christ was begotten of the seede of Dauid. For euen in the same sort, that Isaac was begotten of Abraham, Salomon of Dauid, and Joseph of Jacob, likewise it is sayd, that Christ was begottē of his mother. For the Euangelist so frameth the order of his speache, and willyng to proue that Christ came of Dauid, is contented with this one reason, that he was begotten of Marie. Whereby it soloweth, that he toke it for a matter confessed, that Marie was of kinne to Joseph.

The absurdities wherewith they would charge vs, are stuffed full of childish cauillations. Thei thinke it a shame & dishonour to Christ, if he should haue taken his original of men: because so he could not be exempt from the vniuersall lawe that encloseth all the offspring of Adam, without exceptiō, vnder sinne. But the comparison that we reade in Paul doth easily asloyle this doubt: that as by one mā came sinne, and by sinne death, so by the righteousnesse of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth an other comparison of his: the first Adam of earth, earthly and natural, the second of heauen, heauenly. Therefore in an other place, the same Apostle, where he teacheth that Christ was sent in the likenesse of sinfull flesh to satisfie the law, doth so expzessly seuer him from the common estate of men, that he be very man without fault and corruptiō. But very childishly they trifle in reasonyng thus: If Christ be free from all spot, and was by the secret workyng of the holy ghost begotten of the seede of Marie, then is not the womans seede, but only the mans seede vncleane. For we doe not make Christ free from all spot, for this cause that he is only engēdred of his mother without copulatiō of man, but because he is sanctified by the holy ghost, that the generation might be pure and vncorrupted, such as should haue ben befoze the fall of Adam. And this alway remayned stedfastly determined with vs, that so oft as the scripture putteth vs in minde of the clenness of Christ, it is meant of his true nature of manhode: because it were superfluous to say that God is cleane. Also the sanctificatiō that he speaketh of in the .xvii. of John, could haue no place in the nature of God. Neyther are their sayned two sedes of Adā, although there came no infection to Christ: because the generatiō of man is not vncleane or vicious of it self, but accidental by his fallng. Therefore it is no maruel, if Christ, by whome the estate of innocencie was to be restored, were exempt from common corruption. And whereas also they thrust this vpon vs for an absurditie, that yf the Worde of God did put on flesh, then was it enclosed in a narrow pryson of an earthly bodie: this is but mere waywardnesse: because although the infinite essence of the Worde did growe together into one person with the nature of man: yet do we sayne no enclosyng of it. For the Sonne of God descended maruelously from heauen, so as yet he left not heauen, it was his will to bee maruelously bozne in the Virgins wombe, to be conuersant in earth, & hange vpon the crosse, yet that he alway filled the world euen as at the beginnyng.

4

Ro. 6. p

1. Cor. 1. p  
11. bii.Rom. 8. v  
iii.



Of the knoweledge of  
The. xiiii. Chapter.

Howe the two natures of the Mediatour do make one persone.

**N**ow where it is sayd, that the Worde was made flesh: that is not so to be vnderstanded, as though it were either turned into flesh, or confusely mingled with flesh, but bicause he chose him a temple of the Virgins wombe to dwell in: he that was the Sonne of God, became also the sonne of man, not by confusion of substance, but by vnitie of persone. For we so affirme the godhed ioyned & vnited to the manhode, that eyther of the haue their whole proprietie remayning, and yet of them bothe is made one Christ. If any thyng in all worldly thinges maye be found like to so great a misterie, the similitude of man is moste fit, whome we see to consist of two substances, whereof yet neyther is so myngled with other, but that eyther kepeth the proprietie of his owne nature. For neyther is the soule the body, noz the body the soule. Wherefore both that thyng maye be seuerally spoken of the soule, whiche can no waye agree with the body: and likewise of the body that thyng maye be sayd, whiche can by no meane agree with the soule: and that maye be sayd of the whole man, whiche can be but vnfitly taken neyther of the soule noz of the body seuerally. Finally, the proprietie of the soule are sometime attributed to the body, and the proprietie of the body sometime to the soule: and yet he that consisteth of them is but one man and not many. But such formes of speache do signifie bothe that there is one persone in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two diuerse natures which do make the same persone. And so doe the Scriptures speake of Christ: Sometime they geue vnto him those thinges that ought singularly to be referred to his manhode; and sometime those thinges that do peculiarly belong to his godhed, and sometime those thinges that do comprehend both natures, and doe agree with neyther of them seuerally. And this conioynynge of the two natures that are in Christ, they doe with suche religiousnesse expresse, that sometime they do put them in common together: which figure is among the olde authozs called, Communicatyng of proprietie.

**T**hese things were but weake, vnlesse many phzases of Scripture, and such as be eche where redy to finde, dyd proue that nothing hereof hath ben deuised by man. That same thing whiche Christ spake of himself, sayeng: Before that Abraham was, I am: was far disagreynge from his manhode. Neither am I ignorant with what caullation the erroneous spirites do depraue this place: for they say y he was before all ages; bicause he was alre dy foreknowen the Redemer, as well in the counsell of the father, as in the mindes of the godly. But where as he openly distinguisheth the daye of his manifestation from his eternall essence, & of purpose pronounceth vnto himselfe an authoritie by antiquitie wherin he excelleth aboue Abraham, he doth vndoutedly chalenge to himself y which is propre to the godhed. Wheras Paule affirmeth y he is the first begotte of al creatures, which was before al thinges, & by whom al thinges kepe their beyng: & wheras he himselfe

repor-

I  
Job. i. xij

Job. viij.  
Folij.

Colof. i. xv  
Folij.



reporzeth that he was in glozie with the father befoze the creation of the world, & that he worketh together with the father: these things do nothing moze agree with y nature of men. It is therfoze certaine, that these & such like are peculiarly ascribed to the godhed. But wheras he is called the seruant of the father: & wheras it is sayd, that he grew in age, wisdom and fauour with God and men: that he seeketh not his owne glozie: that he knoweth not the last day: that he speaketh not of himself: that he doeth not his owne will: where it is sayd, that he was seene and felt: this wholly belongeth to his only manhode. For in respect that he is good, neither can he encrease in any thing, and he worketh all thinges for his owne sake, neyther is any thing hidden from him, he doeth all thinges accordyng to the free choise of his owne wil, and can neyther be seene nor felt. And yet he doth not seuerally ascribe these thinges to his nature of man only, but taketh the vpon himself, as yf they did agree with the person of the mediatur. But the communicating of ppozeties is in this that Paule sayth, that God did by his owne blood purchase vnto him a Church: and the Lord of glozpe crucified. Againe, where John sayth, that the worde of life was felte. Truly God neither hath blood, nor suffereth, nor can be touched with handes. But because he whiche was bothe very God and man, Christ beyng crucified, did shed his blood for vs: those thinges that were done in his nature of man, are vnproperly, and yet not without reason geuen to his godhed. A like example is, where John teacheth that God gaue his soule for vs: therefore there also the ppozetie of the manhode is communicate with the other nature. Agayne, when Christ sayd beyng yet conuersant in earth, that no man hath ascended into heauen, but the sonne of manne that was in heauen: truly accordyng to his manhode, and in the flesh that he had put on, he was not then in heauen: but because hymselfe was bothe God and manne, by reason of the vnitie of bothe natures, he gaue to the one that, whiche belonged to the other.

But most playnely of all do these places set forth the true substace of Christ, which do comprehend both natures together: of which sort there are very many in the gospell of him. For that which is there red is singularly belonging neither to his godhed nor to his manhode, but bothe together: that he hath receiued of his father power to forgiue sinnes, to rayse vp whom he will, to geue righteousnesse, holinesse and saluatis, to be made iudge ouer the quicke and the dead, to be honored euen as the father is: finally, that he is called the light of the world, the good shepherd, the only doze, y true Vine. For such prerogatiues had the sonne of God, when he was shewed in y flesh: which although he enioyed with his father befoze the world was made, yet he had the not in the same maner or the same respect, & which could not be geuen to such a man as was nothyng but man. In the same meanyng ought we to take that whiche is in Paule: that Christ after the iudgement ended, shal yelde vp the kingdome to God & the father: Euen the kingdome of the sonne of God, which had no beginning, nor shal haue any ending: but euen as he laye hid vnder the basenesse of the fleshe, and abated himselfe, takyng vpon hym the forme of a seruaunt, and layng aside the porze of maiestie, he shewed himselfe obedient to his father,

Ih. v. vob.  
Esa. xlv. 1.  
Luc. i. 13.  
Ih. viii. 1.  
Mat. xiii.  
Ih. viii. p.  
E. vi. xxxvi.  
Luc. xxiii.  
xxxv.  
Act. xx.  
xxviii.  
1. Co. ii. vi.  
1. Iho. i. i.  
1. Iho. iii.  
xvi.  
Ih. iii. xiii.  
3  
Ih. i. xxix.  
E. v. xxi.  
Iho. ix. v.  
Ih. xxi. i.  
1. Co. xv.  
xxiii  
Phal. p. 5.  
vii.



Heb. ii. vi.  
Phil. ii. i.  
1. Cor. xv.  
¶ viii.

ther: and haupng perfozmed al such subiECTION, at length is crowned with honour & glozy, and auanced to the hiest dominion, y all knees shal bowe before him: so shal he then yeld vp to his father bothe that name & crowne of glozie, & what so euer he hath receiued of his father, that God may be al in all. For to what purpose is power and dominio geuen him, but that the father shuld gouerne vs by his had: In which sense it is also sayd, y he sitteth at the right had of the father. But this is but for a time, til we may enioye y present beholding of the godhed. And here y errour of y old fathers ca not be excused, which while they toke no heede to the person of y Mediatour, haue obscured the natural meaning of almost al y doctrine that is read in the gospel of John, and haue entangled themselues in many snares. Let this therefore be vnto vs the keye of right vnderstandyng, that such thinges as belog to the office of the Mediatour, are not spoken simply of the nature of God, noz of the nature of ma. Therfore, Christ shal reigne till he come forth to iudge the world, in so much as he ioyneth vs to his father, accordyng to the smal measure of our weakenesse. But when we beyng made partakers of the heauenly glozy, shal see God such as he is, then he hauing perfozmed the office of Mediatour, shall cesse to be the embassadoz of his father, & shalbe contented with that glozy whiche he enioyed before the making of the world. And y name of Lord doth in no other respect peculiarly agree with y person of Christ, but in this, that it signifieth the meane degree betwene God & vs. For which purpose maketh y sayeng of Paul: One God, of whom are al thinges, & one Lord, by whom are althinges, euē he to whom the dominio for a time is comitted by the father, vntil his diuine maiestie be to be scene face to face. Fro whom so fare is it of y any thing shal decay, by yelding by the dominio to his father, y he shal become so much y more gloziouse. For the shal God also cesse to be y head of Christ, bicause christes godhed shal the shine of it self, wheras yet it is couered w a certaine veile.

1. Cor. viii.  
vi.

4

And this obseruatiō shal do no smal seruice to assoile many doutes, if y readers do fitly applie it. For it is maruellous how much the vnskilful, yea some not vtterly vnlearned, are combzed with such formes of speache, which they see spokē by Christ, which do wel agree neither with his godhed noz with his manhode: bicause they consider not that they do agree with his persone wherin he is shewed both God & mā, & with the office of Mediatour. And it is alway easy to see, how well althinges hang together, if they haue a sober expositour, to examine so great misteries w such deuout reuerence as they ought to be. But there is nothyng that these furious and phzētike spirites trouble not. They cathe holde of those thinges that are spoken of his manhode, to take awaye his Godhed: and likewise of those thynges that are spoken of his godhed to take awaye his manhode: and of those thinges that are so ioyntly spoken of bothe natures, that they seuerally agree wyth neither, to take awaye bothe. But what is that els but to say, that Christe is not manne, bycause he is God: and that he is not God, bycause he is manne: and that he is neyther manne noz God, bycause he is bothe manne and God? We therefore doe determine that Christ, as he is bothe God and manne, consistyng of bothe natures vnited, though not confounded, is oure Lorde and the true sonne

Aug. in enc.  
chir. ad  
Laurent.  
cap. 36.



Sonne of God, euen according to his manhoode, though not by reason of his manhoode. For the erreure of Nestorius is to be diuinen farre away from vs, which when he went about rather to draw in sonder, than to distinguish  $\text{h}$  nature, did by  $\text{h}$  meane imagine a double Christ. Whereas we see  $\text{h}$  the Scripture crieth oute with loude voice against it, where bothe the name of the sonne of God is geuen to him that was borne of the Virgin, and the Virgin her selfe is called the mother of our Lorde. We must also beware of the inadnelle of Eutiches, leaste while we goe about to shewe the vnitie of the person, we destroie either nature. For we haue already alleged so many testimonies, & there are euery where so many other to be alleged, where his Godhede is distinguished from his manhoode, as may stoppe the mouthes euen of the moste contentious. And a little hereafter I will adioyne some testimonies, to confute better that fained deuise, but at this present, one place shal content vs. Christ woulde not haue called his bodie a Temple, vnlesse the Godhed did distinctly dwell therein. Wherefore as Nestorius was worthily condemned in the synode at Ephesus, so also was Eutiches afterwarde condemned in the synodes of Constantinople & Chalcedon: for asmuch as it is no more lawfull to confounde the twoo natures in Christ, than it is to drawe them in sonder.

But in oure age also there hath risen by no lesse pestilent a monster, Machaell Seruettus, whiche did thruste in place of the sonne of God, a fained thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, fleshe and three elementes vncreate. And firste he denieth that Christ is by any other way the sonne of God, but in this that he was begotten of the holy ghost in the wombe of the Virgin. But to this ende tendeth his subtletie, that the distinctio of  $\text{h}$  twoo natures being ones ouerthrowen, Christe might be thought to be a certaine thing mingled of God and man, and yet neither God nor man. For in his whole processe he trauaileth toward this point, that before Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, there wer onely certaine shadowish figures in God, whereof the trueh or effect then at length was in being, when that worde whiche was ordeined to that honore, began truely to be  $\text{h}$  sonne of God. And wee in dede do confesse that  $\text{h}$  Mediator which is borne of the Virgin, is properly the sonne of God. For Christ in that he is man, coulde not be the mirore of the inestimable fauoure of God, vnlesse this dignitie were geuen him to be, and be called the onely begotten sonne of God. But in the meane season the definition of the Church standeth stedfastly grounded, that he is copted the sonne of God, bicause he being the Worde begotten of the father before all worldes, did by hypostatical vnion take vpon him the nature of man. Nowe the hypostatical vnion is called with the olde fathers, that whiche maketh one person of twoo natures, whiche phrase of speache was deuised to ouerthrowe the dotinge erreure of Nestorius, bicause he fained that the sonne of God did so dwell in fleshe,  $\text{h}$  yet he the same was not man. Seruettus slaundereth vs, that we make twoo sonnes of God, when we saie that the eternall Word was already the sonne of God before that it was clothed with fleshe, as if we did saie any thinge els but that he was manifested in the flesh. Neyther dothe it folowe,  $\text{h}$  if he were God before that he was man, he beganne to be a newe God. And no more absurditie it is to saye, that the sonne of God appeared in



the fleſhe, whiche yet had this alwaie from eternall begetting to be the Sonne, whiche the Angeles wordes to Marye do ſecretly ſhew, That holy thinge that ſhall be borne of thee, ſhall be called the ſonne of God: as if he ſhoulde haue ſaide, that the name of the Sonne whiche was obſcure in time of the lawe, ſhoulde nowe become famous and euery where knowne abroad. Wherewith agreeeth that ſayenge of Paule, that nowe by Chriſte we are the children of God, freely and with boldneſſe to crye Abba, father. But were not the holy fathers in the olde tyme alſo accompted among the chyldren of God: yea: and bearynge them bolde vpon that intereſt, they called vpon God by name of theyr father. But bicauſe ſins the only begotten ſonne of God was brought fourth into the worlde, the heauenly fatherhod is become more plaine-ly knowne: therefore Paule aſſigneth this, as it were, a priuilege to the kingdome of Chriſt. But yet this is ſtedfaſtly to be holden, that God neuer was father either to Angelles or men, but in reſpecte of the onely begotten ſonne: and that men ſpecially, whome their owne wickedneſſe maketh hatefull to God, are his children by free adoption, bycauſe hee is the ſonne of God by nature. And there is no cauſe why Seruettus ſhoulde cauill, that this hangeth vpon filiation or becomming a ſonne, whiche God hadde determined with him ſelie: bicauſe oure purpoſe is not heere to ſpeake of the ſygyures howe the expiation was ſhewed in the bloode of beaſtes: but bicauſe thei coulde not in dede be the children of God, vnleſſe their adoption were grounded vpon the head, it is without reaſon to take that from the heade which is common to all the members. I goe yet further: Whereas the Scripture calleth the Angelles the ſonnes of God, whole ſo greate dignitie dyd not hang vpon the redemption to come: yet muſte it needes be, that the ſonne is in ordre before them, whiche maketh the father to be their father. I will repete it againe ſhortly, & adde the ſame of mankinde. Sith from at their firſt beginninge bothe Angelles and men were created, with this condition, & God ſhoulde be common father to them bothe, if that ſayeng of Paule be true, that Chriſte was alway the heade and the firſte begotten of all creatures, to haue the firſte degree in all: I thinke I do rightly gather that he was alſo the ſonne of God before the creation of the worlde.

But if his filiation (if I may ſo terme it) beganne ſins he was manifeſted in the fleſhe, it ſhal ſolowe, & he was alſo Sonne in reſpect of his nature of man. Seruettus and other ſuche frenche men woulde haue it, that Chriſte which appeared in the fleſh, is the ſonne of God, bycauſe out of the fleſhe hee coulde not be called by that name. Nowe let them aunſwere me whether he be the Sonne accordinge to bothe natures, and in reſpect of bothe. So in dede thei prate, but Paule teacheth farre otherwiſe. We graunte in dede, that Chriſte is in the fleſhe of man called the Sonne, but not as the faithfull are, that is by adoption onely and grace, but the true and naturall, and therefore onely ſonne, that by this marke he may be diſcerned from all other. For God voutſaueſh to geue the name of his ſonnes to vs, that are regenerate into a newe life: but the name of the true and onely begotten ſonne, he geueth to Chriſt onely. How can he be the onely ſonne in ſo great a numbre of brethren, but bycauſe hee poſſelleth that by nature, whiche wee haue receiued by gyfte: And the honoure wee extende to the whole perſon of the Mediator,

Rom. viij.  
rb.Pl. lxxxij.  
vj.

Col. i. xv.

6



Mediatore, that he be truly and properly the Sonne of God, whyche was also borne of the Virgin, and offered hym selfe for sacrifice to hys father vpon the crosse: but yet in respecte of hys Godheade, as Paule teacheth, when he saith, he was seuered oute to preache the Gospell of God, whiche he had before promised of his Sonne, whiche was begotten of the seede of Dauid according to his fleshe, and declared the sonne of God in power. But why, when he nameth him distinctly the Sonne of Dauid accordinge to the fleshe, shoulde he seuerally say, that he was declared the Sonne of God, vnesse he meante to shewe that this dyd hang vpon some other thinge, than vpon the very fleshe: for in the same sense in an other place he saith, that hee suffered by the weaknessse of the fleshe, and rose againe by the power of the spirite, even so in this place he maketh a dyfference of bothe natures. Truly they must needes graunt, that as he hath that of his mother for whiche he is called the Sonne of Dauid, so he hath that of his father for whiche he is called the Sonne of God: and the same is an other thing and seuerall from the nature of manne. The Scripture geueth hym twoo names, callynge him here and there sometimes the Sonne of God, and sometimes the Sonne of Man. Of the secoude there can be no contention moued: but according to the common vse of the Hebrue tongue he is called  $\text{h}$  Sonne of Man, bycause he is of  $\text{h}$  offspringe of Adam. By  $\text{h}$  contrarie I asseyme, that he is called the Sonne of God in respecte of the Godheade and eternall essence: bycause it is no lesse meete that yt be referred to the nature of God, that he is called the Sonne of God, than to  $\text{h}$  nature of man,  $\text{h}$  he is called  $\text{h}$  Sonne of Man. Again, in the same place that I alleaged, Paule dothe meane that hee whiche was accordinge to the fleshe begotten of the seede of Dauid, was no otherwise declared the Sonne of God in power, thā he teacheth in an other place, that Christe whiche accordinge to the fleshe descended of the Jewes, is God blessed for ever. Howe yf in bothe places the distinction of the double nature bee touched, by what ryghte will thei saye, that he whiche according to the fleshe is the Sonne of Man, is not also the Sonne of God, in respect of the nature of God?

They do in deede disorderly enforce for the maintenance of their error, the place where it is laide, that God spared not his owne Sonne: and where the Angel commaunded, that the very same he that shoulde be borne of the Virgin, shoulde be called the Sonne of the highest. But, leaste thei shoulde glorie in so fickle an obiection, lette them weye with vs a little, how strongly thei reason. For if it be rightly concludeth, that from his conception he beganne to be the Sonne of God, bycause hee that is conceived is called the Sonne of God, then shal yt folowe, that he beganne to be the woorde at hys manifesting in the fleshe, bycause Ihon saith, that he brengeth them tydinges of the Woorde of life, whiche hys handes haue handled. Lykewyle that, whiche is reade in the Prophete, Thou Bethleem in  $\text{h}$  lande of Iuda, art a little one in thousandes of Iuda: Out of  $\text{h}$  shal be borne to me a guide to rule my people Israell, and hys comynge fourth from the beginninge, from the daies of eternitie. Howe wylly they bee compelled to expounde thys, yf they wylly be content to folowe suche manner of reasonynge: for I haue protested, that we do not agre with Nestorius, whiche imagined a double



Christe : whereas by olde doctrine, Christe hath made vs the sonnes of God wyth hym, by ryghte of brotherly conioyninge, because hee is the onely begotte sonne of God in the fleshe whiche hee toke of vs. And Augustine dothe wisely admonishe vs, that this is a bryght glasse, wherein to beholde the maruellous and syngular fauoure of God, that he attained honoure in respect that he is in an whiche he coulde not deserue. Therefore Christe was adorned with this excellencie, euen accordinge to the fleshe from the wombe of his mother, to be the Sonne of God : yet is there not in the vniue of person to be fained suche a mixture, as maye take awaye that whiche is propre to the Godheade. For it is noe more absurditie, that the eternall woorde of God and Christe, by reason of the twoo natures vnited into one person, bee dyuerse waies called the Sonne of God, than that hee bee accordinge to diuerse respectes, called sometime the Sonne of God, and sometyme the Sonne of Man. And no more dothe that other cauillation of Seruettus accomber vs : that before that Christe appeared in the fleshe, he is no where called the Sonne of God, but vnder a figure, because although the describinge of hym, then was somewhat darke : yet where as it is already clerely proued that he was no otherwise eternall God, but because he was the woorde begotten of the eternal father, and that this name dothe no otherwise belonge to the person of the Mediatore whiche he hath taken vpon him, but because he is God openly shewed in the fleshe : and that God the father had not been called father from the beginnunge, if there hadde not then been a mutuall relation to the Sonne, by whome all kinred or fatherhoode is reckened in heauen and in earthe : hereby it is easy to gather, that euen in the time of the lawe and the Prophetes, he was the Sonne of God, before that this name was commonly knowen in the Church. But if they strue onely about the onely woorde, Salomon discoursinge of the infinite hyghenesse of God, affyrmeth as well hys Sonne as hymselfe to be incomprehensible. Tell hys name yf thou cannest (saith he) or the name of his sonne. yet I am not ignorant, that with the contentions this testimonie will not be of sufficient force : neither do I muche grounde vpon it, sauinge that it sheweth that thei do maliciously cauill, that denye Christe to be the Sonne of God, but in this respect that he was made man. By syde that, all the oldest writers with one mouthe and consent haue openly testified the same : so that their shamelesnesse is no lesse worthy to bee scorned than to be abhorred, which dare obiect Ireneus an Tertullian againste vs, bothe whiche do confesse that the Sonne of God was inuisible, whiche afterwarde appeared visibill.

s But although he Seruettus hath heaped by horrible mounstruous deuises, whiche paraduventure the other woulde not allowe : yet yf ye presse them harde, ye shall perceiue that all they that do not acknowledge Christe to be the Sonne of God but in the fleshe, do graunt it onely in this respect, that he was conceiued in the wombe of the Virgin by the holy Ghost, like as the Maniches in olde time did foolishly affyirme, that man hath his soule (as it were) by deriuation from God, because thei reade that God breathed into Adam the breathe of lyfe. For they take so faste holde of the name of Sonne, that they leaue no difference betweene the natures, but babble disorderly, that Christ being man, is the

Ep. iii. 20

Pro. xxx. liij.



the Sonne of God, bycause accordinge to hys nature of man, he is begotten of God. So the eternall begettinge of Wylsedom, that Salomon speaketh of, is destroyed, and there is noe accompte made of the Godheade in the Mediatore, or a fantasied ghooste is thruste in place of the Manhoode. It were in deede profitable to confute the grosser deceytes of Seruettus, wherewith he hath bewitched hymselfe and some other, to the ende that the godly readers aduertysed by thys craumple, maye holde them selues within the compasse of sobrenesse and modestie: sauinge that I thinke it shoulde bee superfluous, bycause I haue already done it in a booke by it selfe. The summe of them commeth to this effecte, that the Sonne of God, was a forme in mynde from the beginning, and euen then he was before appointed to be man that shoulde be the essentiall image of God. And hee dothe acknowledge no other Wooorde of God, butte in outwarde shewe. This hee expoundeth to bee the begettinge of hym, that there was begotten in God from the beginninge a will to begette a Sonne, whiche also in acte extended to the nature yt selfe. In the meane tyme hee confoundeth the Spirite wyth the Wooorde, for that God distributed the inuisible Wooorde and the Spirite into fleshe and soule. Finally the syguration of Christe, hath with them the place of begettinge, but he saithe, that hee whiche then was but a shadowysse sonne in soume, was at lengthe begotten by the woorde, to whyche hee assigneth the office of seede. Whereby it shall folowe that hoges and doges are as well the chyldren of God, bycause they were create of the original seede of the woorde of God. For althoughe hee compounde Christe of three vncreate elementes, to make him begotten of the essence of God, yet he faineth that hee is so the fyrste begotten amonge creatures, that the same essentiall Godheade is in stones, accordinge to their degree. And leaste he shoulde seeme to strippe Christe oute of hys Godheade, hee affyrmeth that hys fleshe is consubstantiall wyth God, and that the Wooorde was made manne by tourninge the fleshe into God. So whyle he canne not conceyue Christe to be the Sonne of God, vnlesse hys fleshe came from the essence of God, and were tourned into Godheade, he byngeth the eternall person of the Wooorde to nothings, and taketh from vs the sonne of Dauid, that was promised to be the Redeemer. He ofte repeteth thys, that the Sonne was begotten of God by knoweledge and predestination, and that at lengthe he was made manne of that mater whyche at the begynnynge thyned wyth God in the three elementes, whiche afterwarde appeared in the fyrste lyghte of the worlde, in the cloude and in the pyller of fyre. Now howe shamefully hee sometime dysagreeth with himselfe, it were to tedious to reherse. By thys shorte recitall the readers that haue their sounde witte maye gather, that with the circumstances of thys vncleane doge the hope of saluation is vtterly extinguisht. For yf the fleshe were the Godheade it selfe, it shoulde cesse to be the temple thereof. And none can be oure redeemer, but he that begotten of the seede of Abraham & Dauid, is accordinge to the fleshe truly made man. And he wrongfully standeth vpon the wordes of Ihon, that the Word was made fleshe. for as thei reliste the erreure of Nestorius, so thei nothing further this wicked inuention, whereof Eutiches was authore, forasmuche as the



onely purpose of the Euangelist was to defende the vnitie of persons  
in the twoo natures.

## The. xv Chapter.

That we maie knowe, to what ende Christe is sent of his Father, and  
what he brought vs: three thinges are principally to be considered in him,  
hys prophetticall office, his Kingdome, and his Priesthooode.



Augustine saith rightly, that although the Heretikes doe  
bragge of the name of Christe, yet they haue not all one  
foundation wyth the godly, but that it remaineth onely  
proprie to the Church. For yf these thinges be diligently  
considered that belong to Christe. Christe shall be founde  
among them only in name, & not in very dede. So at this daie the Pa-  
pistes, although the name of the Sonne of God, redemer of the world,  
founde in their mouth: yet bicause beinge contented wyth vayne pre-  
tense of the name, they spoyle him of hys power and dignitie: this say-  
eng of Paule maie be wel spoken of them, that thei haue not the head.  
Therefore, that faith maie finde sounde mater of saluation in Christ,  
and so rest in him, this principle is to bee stablised, that the office whi-  
che is committed to hym by hys Father, consisteth of three partes. For  
he is geuen bothe a Prophete, a King, and a Priest. Albeit, it were but  
small profite to knowe those names, withoute knowledge of the ende  
and vse of them. For thei are also named among the Papistes, but cold-  
ly and to no greate profite, where it is not knowen what eche of these  
titles conteineth in it. We haue saide before, how, though God sending  
Prophetes by continuall course one after an other did neuer leaue his  
people destitute of profitable doctrine, and suche as was sufficiente to  
saluation: that yet the myndes of the godly hadde alwaie this per-  
swasion, that full lyghte of vnderstandinge was to be hoped for onely  
at the comminge of Messias: yea and the opinion thereof was come,  
euen to the Samaritanes, whoe yet neuer knewe the true religion, as  
appeareth by the sayeng of the woman: When Messias cometh, he  
shall teache vs all thinges. And the Jewes hadde not rashly gathered  
this vpon presumptions in their mindes: But as thei were taught by  
assured oracles, so they beleued. Notable among the other is that say-  
eng of Esai: Beholde, I haue made him a witnesse to peoples, I haue  
geuen hym to be a guide and Schoolemayster to peoples: euen as in  
an other place he had called him the Angell or interpreter of the great  
counsell. After this manner the Apostle commendeth the perfection of  
the doctrine of the Gospell, after that he hadde saide, that God in the  
olde time spake to the fathers by the Prophetes diuersly, and vnder  
manifolde fygures, addeth that lasse of all he spake vnto vs by his be-  
loued Sonne. But bicause it was the common office of the Prophetes  
to keepe the Church in suspense, and to vpholde it vntil the coming  
of the Mediator, therefore we reade that in their scattering abroad,  
the faithfull complayned that thei were deprived of that ordinarie be-  
nefite, sayeng: We see not oure tokens: there is not a Prophet among  
vs: there is no more any that hath knoweledge. But when Christe  
was now not farre of, there was a time appointed to Daniell to seale  
vp

15

Inchir. ad.  
aur. ca. 5.

Col. ii. vij.

Jo. iii. xv.

Eia. lv. iij.

Heb. i. i.

Ps. lxxviii.

Dan. ix.

p. viii.



by the vision and the Prophete, not onely that the propherye, whyche is there spoken of, shoulde be stablished in assured credit, but also that the faythfull shoulde learne wyth contented mynde to want the Prophetes for a tyme, bicause the fulnesse and closing by of all reuelations was at hande.

Now it is to be noted, that y<sup>e</sup> title of commendation of Christ belongeth to these thre offices. For we know that in the tyme of the law, as well the Prophetes as Preestes and Kynges were anoynted with holy oyle. For whyche cause the renoumed name of Messias was geuen to the promised Mediator. But though he in deede I confesse (as I haue also declared in an other place,) that he was called Messias by peculiar consideration and respect of his kyngedome: yet the annointinges in respecte of the office of prophet & of preeste, haue their place, and are not to neglected of vs. Of the fyrste of these twoo is expresse mention made in Esaie, in these woordes: The spirite of the Lorde Esa. li. Jehoua vpon me. Therefore the Lorde hath annoynted me, that I shoulde preache to the meeke, shoulde brynge health to the contrite in hearte, shoulde declare deliuerance to captiues, shoulde publishe the yere of good wyll. &c. We see that he was anoynted wyth the Spirit, to bee the publisher and witness of the grace of the Father. And that not after the common maner: for he is seuered from other teachers, that hadde the lyke office. And here againe is to be noted, that he toke not the anoyntinge for him selfe alone, that he myghte execute the office of teachinge, but for his whole bodie, that in hys continuall preachinge of the Gospell, the vertue of the Spirit shoulde ioyne wythal. But in the meane tyme thys remayneth certayne, that by thys perfection of doctrine whiche he hath broughte, an ende is made of all propherys: so that they doe diminish his authoritie, that beinge not content wyth the Gospell, doe patche any forain thyng vnto it. For that voyce whyche thundered from heauen, saiege: This is my beloued Mat. 16. Sonne, heare him: hath anounced hym by singular priuilege aboue the degrees of all other. Then, thys oyntement is poured abroad from the heade vnto all the membres: as it was forespoken by Joel: Joel. 4. pour chyldren shall prophecie, and youre daughters shall see visions. xxvii &c. But where Paule sayth, y<sup>e</sup> he was genen vs vnto wysedome: and 1. Cor. 1. 7. in an other place, that in him are hidden all the treasures of knowledg and vnderstandinge: this hath somewhat an other meaninge: that Col. 3. 3. is, that oute of hym there is nothyng profitable to knowe, and that they whyche by fayth perceaue what hee is, haue comprehended the whole infinitnesse of heauenly good thynges. For whyche cause hee writeth in an other place: I haue compted it precious to knowe 1. Cor. 11. 3. nothyng, but Iesus Christe, and him crucified: whiche is moste true, bycause it is not lawfull to passe beyonde the simplicitie of the Gospell. And here vnto tendeth the dignitie of a prophetes office in Christ, that we might knowe that in the summe of the doctrine, whiche hee hath taught, are contained all poyntes of perfect wysedome.

Nowe come I to hys kyngedome, of whyche were vayne to speake, if the readers were not fyrste warned, that the nature thereof is spirituall. For thereby is gathered, bothe to what purpose it serueth, and what it auaieth vs, and the whole force and eternitie therof, and also



## Of the knowledge of

the eternitie whyche in Daniel the angell dothe attribute to the person of Christe: and agayne the Angell in Luke dothe woorthily applie to the saluatiō of the people. But that is also double or of two sortes, for the one belongeth to the whole bodie of the Church, the other is propre to euery membre. To the firste is to bee referred that whyche is laide in the Psalme: I haue ones sworne by my holynesse to Dauid, I wyll not lye, his seede shall abide for euer, hys seate shall bee as the Sunne in my syghte, yt shall be stablyshed as the Moone for euer, and a faythfull wytnesse in heauen. Neyther is it doubtfull, but that God dothe there promise, that he will be by the hande of his sonne an eternal gouerner and defender of his Church. for the true perfourmance of thys prophecie canne be founde noe where els but in Christ: for as muche as immediatly after the deathe of Salomon, the greater parte of the dignitie of the kingedome fell awaie, and was to the dishonoure of the house of Dauid conueyed ouer to a private man, and afterwarde by little and lyttle was diminished, tyll at length it came to vtter decaye wyth heavy and shamefull destruction. And the same meaninge hathe that exclamation of Esaie: Whoe shall thewe fourth his generation: for he so pronounceth that Christe shall remayne aliuē after deathe, that he ioyneth hym wyth hys membres. Therefore, so ofte as we heare that Christe is armed wyth eternall power, let vs remembre that the euerlastinge continuance of the Church is vpholden by this support, to remayne stil safe among the troublesome tossinges, wherewith it is continually vexed, and amonge the greuous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable destructions. So when Dauid scorneth the boldnesse of hys enemies, that goe aboute to breake the yoke of God and of Christe, and saith, that the kinges and peoples raged in bayne, bycause he that dwelleth in heauen is strong enough to breake their violent assaultes: he assureth the Godly of the continuall preservation of the Church, and encourageth them to hope well so ofte as it happeneth to be oppressed. So in an other place, when he saith in the person of God: fitte on my righte hande, till I make thine enemies thy foote stooles: he warneth vs, that howe many and strong enemies so euer do conspire to besege the Church, yet they haue not strengthe enoughē to preuaile agaynste that vchangeable decree of God, whereby he hath appointed hys sonne an eternall kinge: wherevpon it foloweth, that it is impossible that the Deuell with all the preparation of the woorldē, maye bee able at any tyme to destroy the Church, whiche is grounded vpon the eternall seate of Christe. Now for so muche as concerneth the speciall vse of euery one, the very same eternall continuance ought to raise vs vp to hope of immortalitie. for we see, that whatsoeuer is earthly and of the woorldē, endureth but for a tyme, yea and is very fraile. Therefore Christe, to lifte vp oure hope vnto heauen, pronounceth that his kingdome is not of this woorldē. Finally, when any of vs heareth, that the kingdome of Christe is spiritual, let him be raised vp wyth this saieng, and let him pearce to the hope of a better lyfe: and whereas hee is nowe defended by the hande of Christ, let hym looke for the ful fruite of this grace in the woorld to come.

That, as we haue sayde, the force and profite of the kingedome of Christe can not otherwise be perceined by vs, but when wee knowe it  
to

psa. lxxxix  
xxvii.

psa. llii.  
viii.

psalm. li.  
xxviii.

psal. cv.

Job. xlviii.  
xxvii.



to be spirituall, appeareth sufficiently though it were but by this, that while we muste liue in warfare vnder the crosse, during y<sup>e</sup> whole course of oure life, our estate is harde and miserable: what then shoulde it profite vs to be gathered together vnder y<sup>e</sup> Dominion of a heauenly kinge, vnlesse we wer certaine to enuy the frute therof out of the state of this earthly life. And therefore it is to be knowen, that whatsoeuer felicitie is promised vs in Christ, it consisteth not in outward comodities, that we shoulde leade a merry and quiet life, flourish in wealth, be assured from al harmes, & flowe full of those deliteful thinges that the flesh is wont to desire, but that it wholly belongeth to the heauenly lyfe. But as in the worlde the prosperous & desired state of the people is partly mainteyned by plentie of good thinges and peace at home, and partely by strong forceable defenses, wherby it maie be safe against outward violence: so Christe also dothe enriche his with all thynges necessarie to eternall saluation of soules, and fortifieth them with strength, by which thei mai stande inuincible against al assaultes of spiritual enemies. Whereby we gather, that he reigneth more for vs than for himself, and that both within & without: that being furnished, so farr as God knoweth to be expedient for vs, with y<sup>e</sup> gyftes of y<sup>e</sup> spirite, wherof we are naturally empty, we maie by these fyiste frutes perceaue that we are truely ioyned to God vnto perfect blefednesse. And then, that bearinge vs holde vpon the power of the same spirit, we may not doubt that we shall alwaie haue the victorie against the Deuell, the worlde, and every kinde of hurtfull thinge. To thys purpose tendeth the answer of Christe to the Pharises, that bicause the kingedome of God is within vs, it shal not come with obseruation. For it is likely that bicause he professed that hee was the same kinge, vnder whome the soueraigne blessinge of God was to be hoped for, they in scoorne requyred hym to shewe fourth his signes. But hee, bycause thei (who otherwise are to muche bent to the earth) shoulde not foolishly rest vpon worldly pompes, byddeth them to enter into their owne consciences, bycause the kingdome of God is righteousnesse, peace and ioye in the holy gholste. Hereby we are bryefely taughte, what the kingedome of Christ awayleth vs. For, bycause it is not earthly or fleshy, subiecte to corruption, but spirituall: he lifteth vs by euen to eternall lyfe, that we maie patientli passe ouer this life in miseries, hunger, cold, cōtempt, reproches, and other greues, contented with this one thinge, that oure king will neuer leaue vs destitute, but succoure vs in oūre necessities, till hauing ended oure warre, we be called to triumph. For suche is his manner of reigning, to communicate with vs all that he hath receiued of his father. Nowe whereas he armeth and furnissheth vs wyth power, and garnissheth vs with beautie & magnificens, enricheth vs with wealth: hereby is ministred vnto vs mooste plentyfull matter to glorie vpon, & also bold courage to fight without feare against the Deuell, sinne and death. finally, y<sup>e</sup> clothed w<sup>th</sup> hys righteousnes, wee may valiantly ouercome al the reproches of y<sup>e</sup> world, and as he liberally filleth vs with his giftes, so we againe for oure parte, may bring forth frute to his glorie.

Therefore his kingly anointing is set forth vnto vs, not done w<sup>th</sup> oyle or ointmētes made w<sup>th</sup> spices, but he is called y<sup>e</sup> anointed of god, bicause vpon him hath rested y<sup>e</sup> spirit of wisdom, vnderstanding, cōsel, strength and feare of God. Thys is the oyle of gladnesse, wherewyth the



Psalmes reporteth that he was annoynted aboue his fellowes, because  
 if there were not suche excellencie in hym, we shoulde be all needy and  
 hungry. For, as it is already saide, hee is not priuately enriched. For  
 hym selfe, but, to poure his plentie vpon vs being hungry and drie. For  
 as it is sayde, that the father gaue the spirite to his sonne, not by mea-  
 sure, so there is expresseed a reason why, that all we shoulde receiue of  
 his fulnesse, and grace for grace. Dute of which fountaine floweth that  
 liberall geuinge, whereof Paule maketh mention, whereby grace is  
 diuersly distributed to the faithful, according to y<sup>e</sup> measure of the gyfte  
 of Christe. Hereby is that whiche I saide, sufficiently confyrmcd, that  
 the kyngedome of Christ consisteth in the spirite, not in earthly delytes  
 or pompes, and therefore we muste forsake the woorld that we maye  
 be partakers of it. A visible signe of this holy annoyntinge was shewed  
 in the baptisme of Christe, when the holy ghooste rested vpon him in  
 the lyknesse of a doue. That the holy ghooste and hys gyftes are  
 meante by the woorde Annoyntinge, oughte to seeme neither noueltie  
 nor absurditie. For we are none other waie quickened, specially for so  
 muche as concerneth the heauenly lyfe: there is no droppe of lyuely  
 force in vs, but that whiche the holy ghooste poureth into vs, whyche  
 hath chosen his seate in Christe, that from thense the heauenly ry-  
 chesse mighte largely flowe oute vnto vs, whereof wee are so neady.  
 And whereas bothe the saythfull stande inuincible by the strengthe of  
 their king, & also his spiritual richesse plenteously flow out vnto them,  
 they are not vnwoorthly called Christians. But this eternitie wherof  
 we haue spoken, is nothyng derogate by that sayeng of Paule: Then  
 he shall yelde vp the kyngdome to God and the father. Againe, the  
 sonne hym selfe shall be made subiecte, that God maye be all in all  
 thynges: for hys meaninge is nothyng els, but that in that same per-  
 fect glorie, the administration of the kyngedome shall not bee suche as  
 it is now. For the father hath geuen all power to the sonne, that by  
 the sonnes hande he maye gouerne, cherishe and susteine vs, defende  
 vs vnder hys sauegarde, and helpe vs. So whyle for a lyttle time we  
 are waueringe abroad from God, Christ is the meane betweene God  
 and vs, by lyttle and lyttle to brynge vs to perfect conioyning wyth  
 God. And truely, whereas he sitteth on the right hande of the father,  
 that is as muche in effecte, as yf hee were called the fathers depute,  
 vnder whome is the whole power of his dominion, bycause it is Gods  
 will to rule and defende hys Churche by a meane (as I maie so call it)  
 in the person of hys Sonne. As also Paule dothe expounde it in the  
 fyrste chapiter to the Ephesiens, that he was sette at the ryght hande  
 of the father, to be the heade of the Churche, whyche is his body. And  
 to no other meanyng tendeth that whyche hee teacheth in an other  
 place, that there is geuen hym a name aboue all names, that in the  
 name of Iesus all knees shoulde bowe, and all tongues confesse that  
 it is to the glorie of God the father. For euen in the same woordes  
 also hee setteth oute in the kyngedome of Christe an ordre necessarye  
 for oure presente weakenesse. So Paule gathereth ryghtely, that  
 God shall then bee by hymselfe the onely heade of the churche, bycause  
 Christes office in defendyng of the Churche, shall be fulfilled. For  
 the

Thou. iii.  
xxviii.

Iho. i. pvi

Eph. liii.  
vii.Ih. i. cxvii  
Lu. iii. xxiii. Cor. xv.  
xxiii.i. Cor. xv.  
xxviii.

Phi. ii. ix.



the same reason the Scripture commonly calleth him Lorde, bycause  
 hys father dyd sette hym ouer vs to thys ende, to exercise hys owne  
 Lordely power by hym. For though there be manye lordes whippes in  
 the worlde, yet is there to vs but one God the father, of whome are all  
 thynges and we in hym, and one Lorde Christ, by whome are all thin-  
 ges and we by him, saith the Paule. Wherevpon is rightly gathered that  
 he is the selfe same God, whyche by the mouthe of Saie affirmed him  
 selfe to be the kynge and the lawemaker of the Church. For though  
 he do every where call all the power that hee hathe, the benefite and  
 giste of the father, yet he meaneth nothyng els, but that he reigneth  
 by power of God: bycause hee hathe therefore putte on the personage  
 of the Mediator, that descendinge from the bosome and incomprehen-  
 sible glove of the father, he might approche nye vnto vs. And so muche  
 more rightfull it is, that wee be with all consent prepared to obey,  
 and that wyth greate cherefullnesse we directe oure obediences to hys  
 commaundement. For as he ioyne the offices of king and pastor to-  
 ward them that willingly yelde them selues obedient: so on the other  
 syde we heare that he beareth an yron scepter, to breake and bryse all  
 the obstinate lyke potters vessells: wee heare also that he shall be the  
 iudge of nations, to couer the earthe wyth dead corpses, and to ouer-  
 throwe the heigth that standeth against hym. Of whiche thinge ther  
 are some exampls seen at this daye: but the full prooffe thereof shall  
 be at the laste iudgement, whiche maie also proprely be accompted the  
 laste acte of his kingedome.

Concerninge his Priesthoode, thus it is bryefely to be holden, that  
 the ende and vse of it is, that hee shoulde be a Mediatore pure from all  
 spotte, that shoulde by hys holynesse reconcile vs to God. But bycause  
 the iuste curse possesseth the entrie, and God accordinge to hys office of  
 iudge is bente againste vs, it is necessarie that some expiation be vs-  
 sed, that hee bringe a prieste maie procure fauoure for vs, to appease  
 the wrathe of God. Wherefore, that Christ might fulfill this office, it be-  
 houed that hee shoulde come fourth with a sacrifice. For in the lawe yt  
 was not lawefull for the prieste to entre into the sanctuarie withoute  
 bloude, that the faithfull might know, y though there were a prieste  
 become meane for vs to make intercession, yet God coulde not be made  
 fauourable to vs before that oure synnes were purged. Upon whyche  
 poynte the Apostle discourseth largely in the epistle to the Hebrues,  
 from the seuenth chapiter almoste to the ende of the tenth. Butte the  
 summe of all cometh to this effect, that the honoure of priestehood  
 can be applied to none but to Christ, which by the sacrifice of his death  
 hathe wyped a waie oure gyltynesse, and satisfied for oure synnes. But  
 howe weightie a mater it is, wee are enfourmed by that solemne othe  
 of God, whiche was spoken without repentance: Thou art a priest for  
 ever, according to the ordre of Melchisedech. For without doubte hys  
 will was to establishe y principle pointe, which he knew to be the chiefe  
 ioynte wherevpon oure saluation hanged. For, as it is saide, there ys  
 no waie open for vs or for oure prayers to God, vnlesse oure filthynesse  
 being purged, the prestes do sanctifie vs and obtaine grace for vs, from  
 which y vncleannesse of our wicked doinges & synnes doth debarre vs.  
 So do we see, y we must beginne at y death of Christ, y the efficacie &  
 profite



profytc of hys Preeſthoode maie come vnto vs. Of thys it ſoloweth that hee ys an eternall interceſſor, by whose mediation wee obteyne fauoure, wherevpon againe ariſeth not onely affiance to praye, but alſo quietneſſe to godly conſciences, whyle they ſafely leane vpon the fatherly tendernelle of God, and are certaynely perſwaded that it pleaſeth him whatſoever is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the time of the lawe, God commaunded ſacrifices of beaſtes to be offered to him: there was an other and a newe ordre in Chriſte, that one ſhoulde be bothe the ſacrificed hoſte, and the Preeſt: bicauſe there neither coulde be founde any other meete ſatiſſaction ſoz ſynnes, nor any was worthy ſo great honoure to offer vp to God his onely begotten ſonne. Nowe Chriſte beareth the perſon of a preeſt, not onely by eternall meane of reconciliation to make the father fauourable & merciful vnto vs, but alſo to byng vs into the ſelowſhip of ſo great an honoure: ſoz we ſe are deſyled in oure ſelues, yet beinge made Preeſtes in him do offer vp oure ſelues, and all oures to God, and do freely enter into the heauenly ſanctuarie, that all the ſacrifice of prayer and prayſe that come from vs, may be acceptable and ſweete ſmelling in the ſight of God. And thus farre dothe that ſaying of Chriſte extende: ſoz their ſakes I ſanctifie my ſelfe: bicauſe, hauinge his holynelle poured vpon vs, in as muche as he hath offered vs with himſelfe to his father, we that otherwiſe do ſtincke befoze him, do pleaſe him as pure and cleane, yea and holy. Herunto ſerueth the anoynting of the ſanctuarie, whereof mention is made in Daniell. ſoz the comparison of contrarietie is to be noted between this anoynting, and that ſhadowiſh anoynting that then was in uſe: as if the Angell ſhould haue ſayd, that the ſhadowes beinge driuen away, there ſhould be a cleere preeſthod in the perſon of Chriſte. And ſo muche more deteſtable is their inuention, whiche not contented with the ſacrifice of Chriſte, haue preſumed to thruſt in them ſelues to kil him: which is daily enterpriſed among the Papiſts, where the Maſſe is reckened a ſacrificing of Chriſte.

## The. xvi. Chapter.

Howe Chriſte hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase ſaluacion ſoz vs, wherein is treated of his Deathe, and Reſurrection, and hys Aſcendyng into Heauen.

16



That we haue hetherto ſaide of Chriſte, is to be directed to this marke, that beinge damned, deade, and loſte in oure ſelues, we maie ſeke ſoz righteousnelle, deliuerance, liſe and ſaluacion in him: as we be taught by that notable ſaing of Peter, that ther is none other name vnder heauen geuen to men wher in thei muſt be ſaued. Neither was the name of Jeſus giuen him vnder aduifedly, or at chaunſable aduenture, or by ſ will of men, but brought from heauen by the Angell the publiſher of Gods decree, and wyth a reaſon alſo aſſigned: bicauſe he was ſent to ſaue the people from their ſynnes. In which wordes that is to be noted, whiche we haue touched in an other place, that the office of redeemer was appoynted hym, that hee ſhoulde bee oure ſauioure: butte in the meane time oure redemption

Demption

Kec. i. vi.

Jo. xvi. xv

Dani. ii. p. vi.

Act. ii. i. vii.

Mat. i. p. i. Lu. iii.



Demptio shoulde be but vnperfect, vnlesse hee shoulde by continuall proceedinges conuey vs forward to the vttermoste marke of saluation. Therefore, so sone as we swarne neuer so lyttle from hym, oure saluation by lyttle and lyttle banissheth awaie, whiche wholly resteth in hym: so that all they wilfully spoile them selues of all grace, that rest not in hym. And that admonition of Bernarde is worthy to be reherfed, that the name of Iesus is not onely lyght, but also meate, yea and oile also, without which al the meate of the soule is drye, and that it is also salte without the seasoning, wherof al that is set before vs is vnfauour. Finally, that it is hony in the mouth, melodie in the eare, and ioyfulnesse in the hearte, and also medicine, and that whatsoeuer is spoken in disputation is vnfauour, but where thys name soundeth. But here it becoueth to weie diligently, howe saluation is purchased by him for vs: that we may not onely be perswaded that he is y<sup>e</sup> author of it, but also embracing such thinges as are sufficient to the stedfast vphold in of our faithe, wee maye refuse all suche thinges as myghte drawe vs awaye hether or thether. For sithe no man can descende into him selfe, and earnestly consider what he is, but feelinge God angry and bent agaynst hym, he hath the neede carefully to seeke a meane and waye to appease him, whiche demaundeth satisfaction: there is no common assurednesse required, bicause the wraethe & curse of God lyeth allwaie vpon sinners, tyll they be loose from their gyltenesse: who, as he is a righteous iuge, suffereth not his lawe to be broken without punishment, but is ready armed to reuenge it.

But before we goe any further, it is to be seen by the waye, howe it agreeth together, that God whiche preuented vs wyth his mercie, was oure enemye vntyll he was reconciled to vs by Chyste. For howe could hee haue geuen vs in hys ouely begotten Sonne a syngular pledge of his loue, vnlesse he had already before that embraced vs wyth hys free fauoure? Bycause therefore here ariseth some seminge of contrarietie, I will firste vndo this knotte. The holy ghooste commonly speaketh after this manner in the Scriptures, that God was enemye to men, tyll they were restored into fauoure by the deathe of Chyst: that thei were accursed till theyr iniquitie was purged by his sacrifice: that thei were seuered from God, tyll they were receyued into a conioyninge by hys bodie. Suche manner of phrases are applied to oure capacite, that we maie the better vnderstande howe miserable and wretched our estate is beinge oute of Chyste. For if it were not spoken in expresse wordes, that the wraethe and vengeance of God, and euerlastinge death did rest vpon vs, we woulde lesse acknowledge howe miserable we shoulde bee without Gods mercie, and woulde lesse regarde the benefite of deliuerance. As for example. If a man heare this spoken to him: If God, at suche time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated thee, and cast thee away as thou hadst deserued, thou shouldest haue suffered horrible destruction: but bicause he hath willingly & of his owne free kindenesse kept thee in fauoure, and not suffered thee to be estranged from hym, he hath so deliuered thee from that perill: truely he will bee moued with, and in some parte feele howe muche he oweth to the mercie of God. Butte yf hee heare on the other syde that whyche the Scripture teacheth, that hee was by synne estranged from God the heyr of wraethe, sub-

iecte

Ber. in. ca.  
sermo. 15.

2

Rom. 8.  
Gal. 3.  
Col. 1. 12



iect to the curse of eternall death, excluded from all hope of saluation, a stranger from all blessing of God, the bondslawe of Satan, captiue vnder the yoke of synne. fynally, ordeined vnto and already entangled wyth horrible destruction, that in this case Christe became an intercessor to entreate for him, that Christe toke vpon him & suffered the punyshment whiche by the iuste indgement of God did hange ouer al sinners, that he hath purged with his bloode those euels & made them hatefull to God, that by this expiation is sufficient satisfaction and sacrifice made to God the father: that by this intercessor his wrath was appeased: that within thys foundation resteth the peace betweene God and men: that vpon this bonde is contained his good wyll towarde them: shall not he be so muche the more moued with these, as it is more liuely represented, out of howe greate miserie he hath been deliuered. In a summe: bicause oure minde can neither desirously enoughe take holde of life in the mercie of God, nor receiue it with suche thankfulness as we ought, but when it is before stricken and throwne downe wyth the feare of the wrath of God and dreade of eternal death, we are so taught by holy Scripture, that wythout Christe wee maye see God in manner wrathfully bent againste vs, and his hande armed to our destruction: & that wee maye embrace hys goodwyll and fatherly kindnesse no other where, but in Christe.

3 And althoughe this bee spoken according to the weakenesse of oure capacittie, yet is it not falsly laide. For God whyche is the hyggest ryghteousnesse, can not loue wickednesse whiche he seeth in vs all. Therefore we al haue in vs that, which is worthy of the hatred of God. Therefore in respect of oure corrupted nature, and then of euell life added vnto it, truely we are all in displeasure of God, gylty in his sight, and borne to damnation of hell. But bicause the Lorde wyll not lose that whiche ys his in vs, he syndeth yet somwhat that he of hys goodnesse maye loue. For howesoouer we be sinners by our owne faulte, yet we remaine hys creatures. Howesoouer we haue purchaced death to oure selues, yet he made vs vnto lyfe. So is he moued by meere and free louinge of vs, to receiue vs into fauoure. But sith there is a perpetuall and vnappeasable disagreement betweene righteousnesse and iniquitie, so longe as we remayne sinners, hee canne not receiue vs wholly. Therefore, that taking awaie all matter of disagreement, he might wholly reconcile vs vnto him, he doth by expiation sette forth in the death of Christe, take away whatsoeuer euell is in vs, that wee, which before weare vnclean and vnpure, may nowe appeare righteous and holy in hys sight. Therefore God the father dothe wyth hys loue preuent and goe before oure reconciliation in Christe: yea, bycause he fyrste loued vs, therefore hee afterwarde doothe reconcile vs vnto hymselfe. But bycause, vntyll Christe wyth hys death come to succoure vs, there remaineth wickednesse in vs, whiche deserueth Gods indignation, and is accursed & damned in his sight: therefore wee are not fully and hymely ioyned to God; vntill Christe do ioyne vs. Therefore if wee will assure oure selues to haue God made well pleased and fauourable vnto vs, we muste fasten oure eyes and myndes vpon Christe onely: as in deede we obteyne by him onely, that oure synnes be not imputed to vs, the imputing whereof, draweth with it the wrath of God.



And for this reason Paule saith, that the same loue, wherewith God embraced vs before y<sup>e</sup> creation of y<sup>e</sup> worlde, was staied & grounded vpon Christ. These things are plaine & agreable with y<sup>e</sup> scripture, & do make those places of Scripture to accorde very well together; where it is saide: that God declared his loue towarde vs in this, that he gaue hys onely begotten sonne to death: and yet that he was oure enemy till he was made fauourable againe to vs by the death of Christe. But that they maie be more strongly proued to them that require the testament of the olde Church, I will allege one place of Augustine, where he teacheth the very same that we do. The loue of God (saith he) is incomprehensible and vnchangeable. For he beganne not to loue vs, sing the time that wee weare reconciled to him by the blood of his sonne. But before the making of the worlde he loued vs, euen before that we weare any thynge at all, that we myght also be his children wyth hys onely begotten Sonne. Therefore whereas wee are reconciled by the death of Christe, it is not so to be taken as thoughe the Sonne dyd therefore reconcile vs vnto hym, that he myghte nowe beginne to loue vs whome he hated before: but we are reconciled to him that already loued vs, to whome we weare enemies by reason of sinne. An whether this be true or no that I saie, let the Apostle beare witness. Hee dothe commend (saith he) his loue towarde vs, because when wee were yet sinners, Christ died for vs. He therefore had a loue to vs, euen then when we weare enemies to hym and wroughte wickednesse. Therefore after a maruellous and deuine manner he loued vs, euen then when he hated vs. For he hated vs in that we weare suche as he had not made vs, and because oure wickednesse had on euery syde wasted away hys woork, he knewe howe in euery one of vs, bothe to hate that whiche we oure selues had made, and to loue that whiche he had made. These be the wordes of Augustine.

Nowe where it is demaunded, howe Christe hath done away our sinnes, and taken away the strife betwene vs and God, and purchased suche righteousnesse as mighte make him fauourable and well willing towarde vs: it maie be generally answered, that he hath brought yt to passe by the whole course of hys obedience. Whiche is proued by the testimonie of Paule. As by one mans offense many wer made synners, so by one mans obedience wee are made righteous. And in an other place he extendeth the cause of the pardon that deliuereth vs from the curse of the lawe, to the whole life of Christe, saying: When the fulnesse of tyme was come, God sente his sonne made of a woman, subiecte to the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe: And so affirmed that in his very baptism was fulfilled one part of righteousnesse, that he obediently dyd the commaundement of his father. Finally, from the time that he toke vpon him the person of a seruant; he beganne to paye the ransome to redeeme vs. Butte the Scripture to sette oute the manner of oure saluation more certainly, doothe ascribe this as peculiar and properly belonging to the death of Christe. Hee hym selfe pronounced that hee gaue hys lyfe to bee a redemption for many. Paule teacheth that hee dyed for oure synnes. Ihon the Baptiste cryed oute that Christe came to take awaye the synnes of the woorld, because hee was the Lambe of God. In an other place Paule

Ihon. iij  
rbi.  
Rom. v.Tract. i.  
Euang. l.  
1. 10.

Ro. v. bi

s

Ro. v. r

Gal. iij  
iij.  
Mat. iij.  
rbb.Mat. r  
rbijRom. iij  
rbb.  
Ihon. i  
rrir.



Iohn. iij. faith, that we are iustified freely by the redemption that is in Christ, by  
 Iohn. v. cause he is set forth the reconciler in his owne blood. Againe, that we  
 Cor. b. are iustified in his blood, and reconciled by his death. Againe. He that  
 rri. knewe not sinne, was made sinne for vs, that we might be the ryghte-  
 outnesse of God in him. I will not recite all the testimonies, bicause the  
 numbre woulde be infinite, and many of them muste bee hereafter alle-  
 ged in their order. Therefore in the summe of belefe, whiche thei call the  
 Apostles creede, it is very ordzely passed immediatly from the byrthe of  
 Christe to his death and resurrection, wherin consisteth the summe of  
 perfecte saluation. And yet is not the reste of his obedience excluded,  
 whiche hee persourmed in his life: as Paule comprehendeth it wholye  
 from the beginninge to the ende in sayinge, that he abaced him selfe, ta-  
 king vpon him the forme of a seruant, & was obedient to his father to  
 death, euen y death of the crosse. And truely euen in the same death his  
 willing submission hath the firste degree, bicause the sacrifice, vnlesse it  
 had ben willingly offred, had nothing prosited toward righteousnesse.  
 Therefore, where the Lord testified, that he gane his soule for his shepe,  
 he expressly addeth this, no man taketh it awaye from my selfe. Accord-  
 ding to y which meaning, Esai saith, y he helde his peace like a lambe  
 before the shearer. And the historie of the Gospel reherseth, that he went  
 forth and met the souldiers, and before Pilate he left defending of him  
 selfe, and stode still to yelde him selfe to iudgement to be pronounced v-  
 pon him. But that not without some strife: for bothe he had taken our  
 infirmities vpon him, and it behoued that his obedience to his father,  
 shoulde be this way tried. And this was no slender shew of his incom-  
 parable loue toward vs, to wrastle with horrible feare, & in the mid-  
 dest of these cruell tormentes, to cast awaie all care of hymselfe, that he  
 might prouide for vs. And this is to be beleued, that there could no sa-  
 crifice bee well offered to God any otherwise, but by this that Christe  
 forsaking all his owne affection, did submitte and wholy yelde himselfe  
 to his fathers will. For prooffe whereof, the Apostle dothe fyftly allege  
 that testimonie of the Psalme: In the booke of the lawe it is written of  
 me, y I may doe thy will, O God. I will, & thy lawe is in the midst of  
 my heate. Then I saide: Loe, I come. But bicause trembling consci-  
 ences finde no reste but in sacrifice and washing whereby sinnes are cleans-  
 ed: therefore for good cause we are directed thither, and in the death  
 of Christe is appointed for vs the matter of lyfe. Nowe forasmuche as  
 by oure owne gyltinesse, curse was due vnto vs, before the heauenly  
 iudgement seate of God, therefore fyrste of all is recited howe hee was  
 condemned before Donce Pilate presidente of Iurie: that wee shoulde  
 know that the punishment wherunto we weere subiecte, was iustely  
 layde vpon vs. Wee could not escape the dreadfull iudgement of God:  
 Christe, to deliuer vs from it, suffred himselfe to be condemned before a  
 mortall man, yea a wicked and heathen man. For the name of the press-  
 dent is expresse not onely to procure credit to the historie, but that we  
 shoulde learne that whiche Esai teacheth, that y chastisements of our  
 peace was vpon him, and that by his stripes wee weare healed. For to  
 take awaie oure damnation, euery kinde of death sufficed not for him  
 to suffer, but to satisfie oure redemption, one speciall kynde of death  
 was to bee chosen, wherein bothe drawinge awaye oure damnation to  
 hym



himselfe, and takyng our giltynesse vpon himself, he might deliuer vs from them bothe. If he had ben murthered by theues, or had ben ragyngly slayne in a commotiō of the common people: in such a death there shoulde haue ben no apparance of satisfaction. But when he was brought to be arraigned befoze the iudgement seate, when he was accused and pressed with witnessses agaynst him, & was by the mouth of the iudge condemned to dye: by these tokens we vnderstande, that he dyd beare the persons of a guilty maune and of an euell voer. And here are two thinges to be noted, whiche bothe were afore spoken by the prophesies of the Prophetes, and doe byyng a singular comforte and confirmation of fayth. For when we heare that Christ was sent from the iudges seate to death, and was hanged amonge theues, we haue the fulfillynge of that prophesie whiche is alledged by the Evangelist. He was accompted amonge the wicked. And why so: euen to take vpon him the stede of a sinner, not of a man righteous or innocent, bycause he suffred death not for cause of innocencie, but for sinne. On the other side when we heare that he was acquitted by the same mouth wherby he was condemned, for Pilate was compelled openly more than ones to beare witnessse of his innocencie: let that come in our mynde whiche is in the other Prophet: that he repayed that whiche he had not taken awaye. And so we shall beholde the persons of a sinner and euell doer represented in Christe: and by the open apparance of his innocencie it shall become playne to see, that he was charged rather with others offence than his owne. He suffred therfore vnder Ponce Pilate, and so by the solempne sentence of the President, was reckened in the number of wicked doers: but yet not so, but that he was by the same iudge at the same time pronouncd righteous, when he affirmed that he founde no cause of condemnation in him. This is our acquittall, that the giltynesse which made vs subiect to punishment, is remoued vpo the head of the sonne of God. For this setting of the one agaynst the other, we ought principally to holde faste, leaste we tremble & be carefull all our life long, as though the iuste vengeance of God dyd hang ouer vs, which the sonne of God hath taken vpon himselfe.

Bylyde that, the very manner of his death is not without a singular mysterie. The Crosse was accursed, not onely by opinion of men, but also by decree of the lawe of God. Therefore when Christ was lyfted vp to the Crosse, he made hymselfe subiecte to the curse. And so it behoued to be done, that when the curse was remoued from vs to him, we might be deliuered from all curse that for our sinnes was prepared for vs, or rather dyd alredy rest vpon vs. Whiche thyng was also by shadowe expressed in the lawe. For the sacrifices and satisfactorie oblations that were offred for sinnes, were called Ashemoth: Whiche worde proprely signifieth sinne it selfe. By whiche figuratiue chaunge of name, the holy ghost meant to shewe, that they were lyke vnto cleansyng playsters to drawe out to themselues, and beare the curse due to sinnes. But that same whiche was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of Moses, is in deede deliuered in Christ the original paterne of all y figures.

El. liij. r. r.  
Mar. xv.  
xviij.

Is. lxx. v.

Jh. xvij.  
xxviii.

6



Of the knoweledge of

Fla. iij. b. a perfect expiatiō, gaue his owne soule to be an aſhame, that is a ſa-  
 c. iii. tisfactorie oblatiō as the Prophete calleth it, vpon the whyche our  
 filth and puniſhement might be caſte, and ſo ceſſe to be imputed to vs.  
 1. Cor. v. The Apoſtle testiſieth the ſame thynge moze playnely where he teach-  
 eth, that he whiche knewe no ſinne, was by his father made ſinne for  
 vs, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him. For the  
 ſonne of God beyng moſt cleane from all faulte, dyd yet put vpon him  
 the reproche and ſhame of our iniquities, and on the other ſide coue-  
 red vs with his cleannesse. It ſemeth that he meante the ſame, when  
 Rom. viij. he ſpeaketh of ſinne, that ſinne was condemned in his fleſhe. For the  
 iij. father deſtroyed the force of ſinne, when the curſe thereof was re-  
 moued and layed vpon the fleſhe of Chriſt. It is therefore declared  
 by this ſayeng, that Chriſt was in his death offered by to his father  
 for a ſatisfactorie ſacrifice, that the whole ſatisfaction for ſinne beyng  
 ended by his ſacrifice, we might ceſſe to dread the wrath of God.  
 Et. iij. vi. Nowe is it playne, what that ſayeng of the Prophete meaneth, that  
 the iniquities of vs all were layed vpon him, that is, that he enten-  
 dyng to wype awaye the filthineſſe of our iniquities, was hymſelfe  
 as it were by waye of enterchanged imputation, couered with them.  
 Of this, the croſſe whereunto he was faſtened was a token, as the  
 Apoſtle testiſieth. Chriſte (ſayeth he) redemed vs from the curſe of  
 Gala. iij. the lawe, when he was made a curſe for vs. For it is wyrtten: Accur-  
 ſed is euery one that hangeth on the tree: that the bleſſyng of Abra-  
 Dec. xvij. ham mighte in Chriſte come to the Gentiles. And the ſame had De-  
 ter. i. ter reſpect vnto, where he teacheth that Chriſt dyd beare our ſinnes  
 vpon the tree. Bycauſe by the very token of the curſe we doe moze  
 playnely learne that the burden wherewyth we weare oppreſſed  
 was layed vpon hym. And yet it is not ſo to bee vnderſtanded, that  
 he toke vpon hym ſuche a curſe, wherewith hymſelfe was ouerloden,  
 but rather that in takyng it vpon him, he dyd treade downe, breake  
 and deſtroye the whole force of it. And ſo ſayth conceyueth acqui-  
 tall in the condemnation of Chriſt, and bleſſyng in his beyng accur-  
 ſed. Wherefore Paule dothe not without a cauſe honozably repozte  
 the triumph that Chriſte obteyned to hymſelfe on the croſſe, as if the  
 croſſe whyche was full of ſhame, had ben turned into a Chariot of  
 Col. ij. triumphe. For he ſayth, that the hande wyrtynge whiche was againſt  
 vs, was faſtened to the croſſe, and the Princely powers were ſpoy-  
 led and led openly. And no maruell: bycauſe (as the other Apoſtle  
 Heb. ij. testiſieth) Chriſte offered by hymſelf by the eternall ſpirit. And ther-  
 upon proceeded that turnyng of the nature of thinges. But that  
 theſe thyngeſ maye take ſtedfaſte roote, and be thzoughly ſettled in  
 our heartes, let vs alwaye thynke vpon his ſacrifice and waſhyng.  
 For we coulde not certainly beleue that Chriſte was the raunſome,  
 redemption, and ſatisfaction, vnleſſe he had ben a ſacrificed hoſte. And  
 therefore there is ſo often mention made of bloud, where the Scrip-  
 ture ſheweth the manner of our redemyng. Albeit the bloud of Chriſt  
 that was ſhed, ſerued not only for ſacrifice, but alſo in ſteede of waſh-  
 yng, to cleaſe awaye our filthynesse.



agayne it is to be seene, howe he dyd euer ye where putte hymselfe in our stede, to paye the pryce of our redemption. Death held vs bound vnder his yoke, Christ in our stede dyd yelde hymselfe into the power of death, to deliuer vs from it. This the Apostle meaneth where he wyrteth, that he tasted of death for all men. For he by dyeng brought to passe that we shoulde not dye, or (whiche is all one) by his death he dyd redeme lyfe for vs. But in this he differed fro vs, that he gaue hymselfe to death as it were to be deuoured, not that he shoulde be swallowed vp with the gulfes of it, but rather that he shoulde swallowe vp it, of whyche we shoulde haue benne presently swallowed: that he gaue hymselfe to death to be subdued, not that he shoulde be oppressed wyth the power thereof, but rather that he shoulde ouerthrowe death whyche approched nere vs, yea and had already beaten vs downe and triumphed vpon vs. Finally, that by death he mighte destroye hym that had the power of death, that is the Deuell: and might deliuer them that by feare of death were all their lyfe longe subiecte to bondage. This is the fyrste fruite that his death dyd byng vs. An other is, that by enterpartenyng of hymselfe with vs, he mortifieth our earthly membres, that they shoulde no more hereafter vse their owne workes: and killeth our olde manne, that it shoulde no more liue and beare fruite. And to the same purpose pertyneth his buriall, that we beyng partakers thereof, shoulde also be buried to sinne. For when the Apostle teacheth that we are grafted into the lykenesse of the death of Christe, and buried with hym to the death of sinne, that by his crosse the worlde was crucified to vs, and we to the worlde, that we are dead together with him: he dothe not onely exhorte vs to expresse the example of Christes death, but he declareth that there is suche effectualnesse in it, as ought to appere in all Christians, vnlesse they will make his death vnprofitable and frutelesse. Therefore in the death and buriall of Christe, there is offred vs a double benefite to be enioyed, that is deliuerance from death, wherunto we weate become bonde, and the mortifieng of our fleche.

But it is not meete to ouerpasse his goynge downe to the helles, wherein is no small importaunce to the effecte of redemption. For although it appeareth by the wyrtynge of the olde fathers, that that parte whiche is read in the Crede was not in olde time so much bled in the Churches: yet in entreatynge of the summe of our doctrine, it is necessarie that it haue a place allowed it, as a thyng that conteyneth a very profitable and not to be despised misterie of a right weyghty matter. And there are also some of the olde wyrters that doe not leaue it out. Whereby we maye gesse, that it was after a certayne time added, and dyd not presenly but by litle and litle growe in vse in the Churches. But this certaynely is out of question, that it proceded of the common iudgement of all the godly: For as muche as there is none of the fathers that dothe not in his wyrtynge make mention of Christes goynge downe to the helles, although after dyuerse manner of exposition. But by whome, or at what tyme it was firste added, maketh litle to the purpose. But rather in the Crede this is to be takē heede vnto, that we therein certainly haue a

Heb. ii. ix.

Heb. ii. xix.

Gal. ii. xix.  
& ii. xiii.

Col. iii. iii.

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full and in all poyntes perfect summe of our fayth, whereinto nothing maye be thrust, but that whiche is taken out of the most pure worde of God. Nowe yf any will not for pzeise curiositie admit it into the Crede, yet shall it streight waye bee made to appere playnely, that it is of so great impoztaunce to the summe of our redemption, that yf it be leste out, there is losse a great parte of the fruite of the death of Christ. There are agayne some that thynke, that there is no netwe thyng spoken in this article, but that in other wordes the same thing is repeted whych was spoken befoze of his buriall: for asmuche as the worde Infernum, hell, is in the Scripture oftentimes vsed for the graue. I graunt that to be true whych they allege of the significacion of the worde, that Hell is oftentimes taken for the graue: but there are agaynste their opinson two reasons, by whych I am easilye perswaded to dissent from them. For what an idlenesse were it, when a thyng not harde to vnderstande, hath ones ben set out in playne and easye wordes, afterwarde wyth darker implication of wordes, rather to pointe toward it than to declare it. For when two maners of speakyng that expzeise one thyng be ioyned together, it behoueth that the later be an exposition of the former. But what an exposition were this, yf a manne would saye thus: whereas it is sayde that Christ was buried, thereby is meante that he went downe to hell: Agayne, it is not likely that such a superfluous bayne repetitio could haue crepte into this abrygemēt, where in the chese pointes of our fayth are summarily noted in as fewe wordes as was possible. And I doubt not that so many as shall haue somewhat diligently weyed the matter it selfe, will easily agree with me.

Some expounde it othertwyse, and saye, that Christ went downe to the soules of the fathers that dyed in the time of the lawe, to carry them tidynges, that the redemption was perfozmed, and to deliuer them out of the pzyson wherein they were kepte enclosed: and to the pzoze herof they do wrongfully draw testimonies out of the Psalme, that he brake the brasen gates and yron barres. Agayne out of Zacharie, that he redeemed them that were bounde, out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalme speaketh of theyz deliuerances that in farre countrees are caste captiue into bondes, and Zacharie compareth the Babylonicall ouerthrowe, wherein the people was oppzessed, to a drye pit or bottomlesse depth, and therewithall teacheth that the saluation of the whole Church is as it were a commynge out of the depe helles. I wote not howe it is come to passe, that they whiche came after, thought that there was a certaine place vnder the earth whereunto they haue sayned the name of Limbus. But this fable, although they were great authours, & at this day many do earnestly defende it for a truthe: is yet nothing els but a fable. For, to enclose the soules of dead men as in a pzyson, is very childish. And what neede was it y Christes soule shuld go downe thether to set the at libertie: I do in deede willingly cofesse, y Christ mined to them by the power of his spirit, that they might know that the grace which thei had only tasted of by hope, was then deliuered to y world. And to this purpose may y place of Peter be probably applied, where he sayeth, y Christ came & pzeached to the spirites y were in a dēgeon

Psal. r. cxi.  
Zac. ix. fi.



oz pꝛyson, as it is commonly translated. For the very processe of the text leadeth vs to this, that the faithfull which were dead befoze that time, were partakers of the same grace that we were: bicause he dothe thereby amplifie the force of Christes death, for that it pearced euen to the dead, when the godly soules enioyed the pꝛesente sight of that uisitation whiche they had carefully looked for: on the other side it did moze plainely appere to ꝑ reprobzate that they were excluded frō all saluation. But whereas Peter in his sayeng maketh no distinction betwene them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingled together the godly and vngodly without difference: but only he meante to teache that generally they bothe had one common selyng of the death of Christ.

But concernyng Christes goyng downe to the helles, byside the consideracion of the Crede, we muste seke for a moze certayne expolition, and we assuredly haue suche a one out of the worde of God, as is not only holy and godly, but also full of singular comfozte. Christes death had ben to no effect, yf he had suffred only a cozpozall death: but it behoued also that he shoulde feele the rigour of Gods vengeance: that he might bothe appease his wꝛathe and satisfie his iuste iudgement. For which cause also it behoued that he shoulde as it were hand to hande wꝛastle with the armies of the helles and the hozꝛour of eternall death. We haue euen nowe alleged out of the Prophet that the chastisement of our peace was layed vpon him: that he was stricken of his father for our sinnes, and bꝛoused for our infirmities. Whereby is meante, that he was put in the stede of wicked doers, as suretie and pledge, yea and as the very guilty persone himselte, to abie and suffer all the punishmentes that shoulde haue ben layed vpon them: this one thyng excepted, that he could not be holden still of the soꝛrowes of death. Therefore it is no maruell yf it be sayde that he wente downe to the helles, sithe he suffred that death wherewith God in his wꝛathe stryketh wicked doers. And their exception is very sonde, yea and to be scoꝛned, whyche saye, that by this expolition the ozder is peruerted, bycause it were an absurditie to set that after his buriall whyche wente befoze it. For after the setting forth of those thynges that Christe suffred in the sighte of menne, in very good ozder foloweth that inuisible and incomꝛehensible iudgement whiche he suffred in the sight of God: that we shoulde knowe that not only the body of Christ was geuen to be ꝑ pꝛice of our redemptio, but that there was an other greater and moze excellent pꝛice payed in this, that in his soule he suffred the terrible toꝛmentes of a dāned and forlaken manne.

According to this meaning doth Peter say, that Christ rose againe hauyng loosed the soꝛrowes of death, of whiche it was impossible that he shoulde be holden, oz ouercomine. He doth not name it simply death: but he expꝛesseth that the sonne of God was wꝛapped in the soꝛrowes of death, whiche pꝛocede from the curse and wꝛath of God, whiche is the originall of death. For howe small a matter had it ben, carelessly and as it were, in spoꝛte to come forthe to sulter death: But this was a true pꝛofe of his infinite mercye, not to thunne that death whyche he so soꝛe trembled at. And it is no doubt that

1. Pet. iii.

Esa. liij. b

Act. ii.  
xxij.12  
Act. ii.  
xxij.



Ecb. v. viij

the same is the Apostles meanyng to teache, in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, where he wyrteth: that Christ was heard of his owne feare: some translate it Reuerence or pietie, but how vnfitly, bothe the matter it selfe, and the very manner of speakyng proueth. Christ therefore prayeng with teares and mightye crye, is hearde of his owne feare: not to be free from death, but not to be swallowed by of death as a sinner: because in y place he had but oure persone vpon him. And truly there can be imagined no moze dreadfull bottomlesse depth, than for a manne to fele himselfe forsaken and enstranged from God, and not to be heard when he calleth vpon hym, even as yf God himselfe had conspired to his destruction. Euen thether we see that Christ was thzowen downe, so farre that by enforcement of distresse he was compelled to crye out: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whereas some woulde haue it taken, that he so spake rather accor dyng to the opinion of other, than as he felte in himselfe: that in no case probable, for asmuche as it is euident, that this sayeng proceeded out of the very anguiste of the bottome of his heart. yet doe we not meane thereby, that God was at any tyme his enemy or angry with him. For how coulde he be angry with his beloued sonne, vpon whome his mynde rested? Or howe coulde Christ by his intercession appeale his fathers wrath towarde other, hauyng him hatefully bente agaynst himselfe? But this is our meanyng: that he suffered the greuoufnesse of Gods rigoz, for that he beyng striken and tormented with the hande of God, did fele all the tokens of God when he is angry and punisheth. Whereupon Hylarie argueth thus, that by this goyng downe we haue obteyned this, that death is slaine. And in other places he agreeth with our iudgement, as where he sayth, The crosse, death, and helles are out lyfe. Agayne in an other place. The sonne of God is in the helles, but manne is carried by to heauen. But why doe I alledge the testimonie of a priuate manne, when the Apostle affirmeth the same, reherfing this for a frute of his victorie, that they were deliuered whiche weare by feare of death al their life long subiect to bondage: It behoued therefore, that he shal overcome that feare, that naturally dothe continually torment and oppresse all mortal men: whiche coulde not be done but by fightyng with it. Moreouer, that his feare was no common feare or conceiued vpon a scilender cause, shall by and by moze playnely appere. So by fightyng hand to hand with the power of the Deuel, with the horzour of death, with the peines of the helles it came to passe, that he both had the victorie of them, and triumphed ouer them, that we nowe in death shoulde no moze feare those thynges, whiche our Prince hath swallowed by.

Pl. p. h. h.  
Mat. p. h. h.  
Ibi.Vide Cys  
rill. lib. 2.  
de recta fi-  
de ad Re-  
gin.Lib. 4. de  
Trin.Lib. 2. &  
Lib. 3.

12

Here some lewde menne, although vnlearned, yet rather moued by malice than by ignozaunce, crye out that I do a haynous wrong to Christ, bycause it was agaynste conueniencie of reason, that he should be fearefull for the saluation of his soule. And then they moze hardly enforce this cauillation with sayeng, that I ascribe to the senue of God desperation, whiche is contrarie to sayth. First they doe but maliciously moue controuersie of Christes feare and trembling, whiche the Euangelistes do so playnely report. For a litle befoze that the



the time of his death appoched, he was troubled in spirit, and passionately wyth heaunnesse, and at his very meynng with it, he began moze vehemently to tremble for feare. If they say that he did but counterfeit, y<sup>e</sup> is to foule a shift. We must therefore, as Ambrose trulie teacheth, boldly confesse the sorrowfulnesse of Christ, vnieste we be ashamed of his crosse. And truely yf his soule had not ben partaker of peyne, he had ben only a redemer for bodies. But it behoued that he should wastle, to rayse by them that laye thzowen downe. And his heauenly glorie is so nothyng appeired thereby, that euen herein gloriously shyneth his goodnesse whyche is neuer sufficiently praysed, that he refused not to take our weakenesses vpon him. From whence is also that comfote of oure anguishes and sorowes, whiche the Apostle letterly befoze vs: that this Mediatour dyd feele our infirmities, that he might bee the moze earnestly bente to succour vs in miserie. They saye: that that thyng whiche is euell of it selte, is vnworthily ascribed to Christ. As though they were wiser than the spirit of God, whiche ioynech these two thinges together, that Christe was in all thynges tempted as we are, and yet that he was without sinne. Therfoze there is no cause that the weakenesse of Christ should make vs afrayde, whereunto he was not by violence oz necessitie compelled, but by mere loue of vs and by mercie was led to submit himselfe. And what so euer he of his owne will suffred for vs, diminisheth nothyng of his power. But in this one poynte are these backbiters deceyued, that they do not perceyue in Christ an infirmitie cleane and free from all faulte and spot, bycause he kepte himselfe within the boundes of obedience. For whereas there can be founde no moderation in our cozrupt nature, where al our affections do with troublesome violence excede all measure, they doe wzonge to measure the forme of God by that standard. But when man was in his vncorrupted state, then there was a moderation hauyng force in all his affections, to restrayne excesse. Wherby, he might well be that he was like vnto vs in sorowe, dread, and fearefulnesse, & yet that by this marke he differed from vs. Seyng so confuted, thei leape to an other caullation, that though Christ feared death, yet he feared not the curle and wzath of God frō which he knew himself to be safe. But let the godly readers weye how honozable this is for Christ, y<sup>e</sup> he was moze tēder and moze fearefull than the most part of the very rascall sort of men. Theues & other euell doers do obstinately hast to death, many do w<sup>th</sup> haute courage despise it: some other do midly suffer it. But what constācie oz stoute courage were it, for the sonne of God to be astonished & in a maner striken dead w<sup>th</sup> feare of it: For euen that whiche among the common sort might be accompted miraculous, is reported of him, that for behemencie of grieve, very droppes of blood did fal from his face. Neither did he this to make a shew to the eyes of other, but whē in a secret corner whether he was gone out of companie, he groned vnto his father. And this putteth it out of all dout, y<sup>e</sup> it was needeful that he should haue Angels to come downe frō heauen to relieue him w<sup>th</sup> an vnwonted maner of cōforting. How shameful a tēdernesse, as I sayd, should this haue ben, to be so far tormented for feare of cōmon death, as to melt in bloody sweate, and not to be able to be comforted

Heb. liff.  
v.



but by sight of Angels: What: doth not that prayer thyse repeted, (Father, if it be possible, let this cuppe departe from me) proceeding fro an incredible bitternesse of heart, shewe that Christ had a moze cruell and harder battell than with common death: Whereby appereth that those trifers agaynst whome I nowe dispute, doe boldly babble vpon thynges that they knowe not, bicause they neuer earnestly considered what it is, or of howe great impoortance it is that we be redemed from the iudgement of God. But this is our wisdom, well to vnderstand howe deere our saluation dyd cost the sonne of God. Nowe yf a man should aske me, if Christ went then downe to hell, when he prayed to escape that death: I answere, that then was the begynnyng of it: whereby may be gathered, howe greuous and terrible tozmentes he suffred, whē he knew himself to stand to be arrayned for our cause befoze the iudgement seate of God. But although for a moment of tyme, the diuine power of the spirit did h'ide it selfe, to geue place to the weakenesse of the fleshe: yet muste we know, that the tentation by feelyng of sozrowe and feare was suche as was not agaynst fayth. And so was that fulfilled whiche is in the Sermon of Peter, that he could not be holden of the sozrowes of death, bycause when he felt himselfe as it were forsaken of God, yet he did nothyng at all swarue from the trust of his goodnesse. Whiche is proued by that his notable calling vpon God, when for extremitie of peyne he cryed out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me: For though he was aboue measure greued, yet he celseth not to call him his God, of whome he cryeth out that he was forsaken. Mozeouer hereby is confuted as well the error of Apollinaris, as theirs that were called Monothelites. Apollinaris sayned that Christ had an eternall spirit in stede of a soule, so that he was only but half a mā. As though he could cleanse our sinnes any other way, but by obeyeng his father. But where is the affectiō or will of obedience but in the soule: whiche soule of his we knowe was troubled for this purpose, to driue away feare, and byng peace and quietnesse to our soule. Agayne, for confusion of the Monothelites, we see howe nowe he willed not that thinge accordyng to his nature of manhode, whiche he willed accordyng to his nature of godhed. I omit to speake howe he did subdue the aforesayd feare with a contrarie affection. For herein is a playne shewe of contrarietie. Father deliuer me from this houre. But euen herefoze I came euen into this houre. Father glozifie my name. In whiche perplexitie yet was there no such outrage in him as is seen in vs, euen then when we must of all endeuout to subdue our selues.

13 Nowe foloweth his resurrection from the dead, without which all that we haue hether to, were but vnperfect. For sihe there appereth in the crosse, death, & buriall of Christ nothyng but weakenesse: faith must passe beyond all those thinges, that it maye be furnished with full strength. Therfoze although we haue in his death a full accomplishment of saluation, bicause by it bothe we are reconciled to God, and his iust iudgement is satisfied, and the curse taken awaye, and the penaltie fully payed: yet we are sayd to be regenerate into a liuing hope, not by his death, but by his risynge agayne. For as he in risynge againe rose vp the vanquisher of death, so the victorie of our fayth consisteth in

Mat. xvi  
xxxvAct. ii  
xxvMat. xxv  
xlvJob. xvi  
xxv

1 Pet. i. iii.



In the very resurrection: but howe this is, is better expressed in the wordes of Paule. For he sayth, that Christ died for our finnes, and was rayled by agayne for our iustification: as if he should haue sayd: that by his death sinne was taken awaye, and by his rising agayne righteousnesse was renewed and restozed. For how could he by dyeng deliuer vs from death, yf he himself had lyen still ouercome by death: How could he haue gotten victorie for vs, if himself had ben vanquished in sight: wherefoze we doe so parte the matter of our saluation betwene the death and resurrection of Christ, that by his death we saye sinne was taken awaye and death destroyed, and by his resurrection righteousnesse was repaired, and lyfe rayled by agayne: but so that by meane of his resurrectiō, his death doth shewe forth her force and effect vnto vs. Therefore Paule affirmeth, that in his very resurrection he was declared the sonne of God, bycause then at last he vttered his heavenly power, whiche is bothe a cleare glasse of his godhed, & a stedfast staye of our sayth. As also in an other place he teacheth, that Christ suffred after the weakenesse of the flesh, & rose againe by the power of the spirit. And in the same meaning, in an other place, where he entreateth of perfection, he sayth: that I maye knowe him and the power of his resurrection. yet by and by after he adiopneth the fellowship with death. Wherwith most aptly agreeth that sayeng of Peter: that God rayled him by from the dead and gaue him glorie, that our faith and hope might be in God: not that our faith beyng byholden by his death should wauer, but that the power of God whiche kepeth vs vnder sayth, doth principally shewe it selfe in the resurrection. Therefore let vs remember, that so oft as mention is made of his death only, there is also comprehended that whiche properly belongeth to his resurrection: and like figure of comprehension is there in the word Resurrectiō, as oft as it is vled generally without speaking of his death, so that it dratweth with it that whiche peculiarly pertaineth to his death. But for as much as by rising agayne he obteyned the crowne of conquest, so that there should be both resurrection and life: therefore Paule doth for good cause affirme y sayth is destroyed, and the Gospell is become vayne and deceitefull, if the resurrection of Christ be not fastened in our heartes. Therefore in an other place, after he had glozied in the death of Christ agaynst all the terrours of damnation, to amplifie the same he sayth further: Yea the same he whiche died, is risen by agayne and nowe standeth a Mediatour for vs in the presence of God. Furthermore as we haue before declared, that vpon the partakyng of his crosse hangeth the mortificatiō of our flesh: so is it to be vnderstanded, that by his resurrection we obteyne an other commoditie whiche answereth that mortificatiō. For sayth the Apostle we are therefore grassed into the likenesse of his death, that beyng partakers of his resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in an other place: as he gathereth an argument of this that we are dead together with Christ, to proue that we ought to mortifie our members vpon earth: likewise also, bicause we are risen by with Christ, he gathereth thereupon that we ought to seke for those thinges that are aboue, and not those that are vpon the earth. By which wordes we are not only exhorted to be rayled by after the

Rom.  
11.1. Cor.  
11.  
Phil.1. Pet.  
11.1. Cor.  
11.Rom.  
11.Rom.  
11.

Col. 1.

Col. 1.



exāple of Chzist, to follow a newnesse of life. But we are taught that it is wrought by his power & we are regenerate into righteousnesse. We obteyne also a third frute of his resurrection. & we are, as by an earnest deliuered vs, assured of our owne resurrection, of whiche we knowe that his resurrection is a most certaine argument. Whereof he disputerh moze at large in the. xii. chapter of his first Epistle to the Cozinthians. But by the waye this is to be noted, that it is sayd, that he rose agayne from the dead: in which sayeng is expessed the truthe bothe of his death and of his resurrection: as yf it had ben sayd, that he did bothe die the same death that other menne naturally doe dye, and receyued immortallitie in the same fleshe whiche he had put on mortall.

14 To his resurrection is not vnfitly adioyned his ascendyng into heauen. For although Chzist beganne moze fully to set forth his glorie and power by risyng agayne, for that he had nowe layed awaye that base and vnnoble estate of mortall life, and the Shame of the crosse: yet by his ascendyng vp into heauen only, he truely beganne his kyngedome. Whiche the Apostle sheweth where he teacheth, that Chzist ascended to fulfil al thinges. Where in seuyng of repugnancie he sheweth that there is a goodly agreement: bycause he so departed from vs, that yet his pzesence might be moze profitable to vs, whiche had ben penned in a base lodgyng of the flesh, while he was conuersant in earth. And therefore John, after that he had rehearsed that notable callyng, If any thirst, let him come to me, &c. By and by sayth, that the holy ghost was not yet geuen to the saythfull, bycause Iesus was not yet glorified. Whiche the Lord himselte also did testifie to the Disciples; sayeng: It is expedient for you that I goe awaye. For if I doe not goe away, the holy ghost shall not come. But he geueth them a comfort for his corporall absence, that he will not leaue them as parentlesse, but will come agayne to them after a certayne manner, in deede inuisible, but yet moze to be desired, bycause they were then taught by moze assured experience, that the authoritie whiche he enioyeth, and the power whiche he vseth, is sufficient for the saythfull, not only to make them liue blessedly, but also to die happly. And truely we see howe muche greater abundance of his spirite he then poured out, howe much moze royally he then aduāced his kingdome, howe much greater power he then shewed, bothe in helpyng his, and in ouerthrowyng his enemies. Beyng therefore taken vp into heauen, he toke away the pzesence of his body out of our sight: not to cesse to be pzesent with the saythfull that yet wandzed in the earth, but with moze pzesent power to gouerne both heauen and earth. But rather the same that he had promised, that he would be with vs to the ende of the worlde, he performed by this his ascendyng, by whiche as his bodye was lifted vp aboue all heauens, so his power and effectuall workyng was poured and spred abroad beyonde all the boundes of heauen and earth. But this I had rather to declare in Augustines wordes than mine owne. Chzist (sayth he) was to goe by death to the right hande of the father, from whence he is to come to iudge the quicke and the dead: and that lykewyse in bodyly pzesence accordyng to the sounde doctrine and rule of sayth. For in spirituall pzesence

Eph. iij.

John. vij.  
Eph. iij.John. xvi.  
vii.tracta. in.  
u. ioh. a.  
109.



deede certayne, that not all shall sleepe, but all shall be chaunged. What meaneth that: In one moment their mortall life shall perish and be swallowed vp, and be vtterly transforned into a newe nature. This perishing of the fleſhe no man can denye to be a death: and yet in the meane time it remaineth true, that the quicke & the dead shall be ſummoned to the iudgement: becauſe the dead that are in Chriſt ſhall firſt riſe, and then they that ſhall remaine and be liuyng, ſhall with them be ſodenly taken vp into the ayre to meete the Lord. And truly it is likely that this article was taken out of the ſermon of Peter, whiche Luke reciteth, and out of the ſolemne proteſtation of Paule to Timothee.

Hereupon arriſeth a ſingular comforte, when we heare that he is iudge, whiche hath already appointed vs parteners w<sup>th</sup> him in iudging: ſo far is it of, that he will goe vp into the iudgement ſeate to condene vs. For how ſould the moſt mercyfull prince deſtroy his owne people: how ſould the head ſcatter abroad his owne members: how ſould the patrone condemne his owne clyentes: For yf the Apoſtle dare crye out, that while Chriſt is interceſſour for vs, there can none come forth that can condene vs: it is much moze true, that Chriſt himſelf being our interceſſour, will not condemne them whome he hath receyued into his charge and tuition. It is truly no ſmall aſſuredneſſe, that we ſhall be brought befoze no other iudgement ſeate, but of our owne redemer, from whome our ſaluation is to be looked for: mozeouer that he whiche nowe by the Goſpell promiſeth eternall bleſſedneſſe, ſhall then by ſitting in iudgement perfozme his promiſe. Therefore to this ende the father hath honozed the ſonne, in geuyng him al iudgement, that ſo he hath provided for the conſciences of them that be his, trembling for feare of the iudgement. Hether to I haue folowed the order of the Apoſtles Crede, becauſe whereas it ſhortly in ſeuere wordes cōteyneth the chiefe articles of our redemption, it maye ſerue vs for a table, wherem we do diſtinctly and ſenerally ſee thoſe thinges that are in Chriſt worthy to be taken heede vnto. I call it the Apoſtles Crede, not carefully regardyng whoe were the author of it. It is truly by great conſent of the olde wyrters aſcribed to the Apoſtles, eyther becauſe they thought that it was by cōmen trauctle wrytten and ſet out by the Apoſtles, or toz that they iudged that this abridgement being ſaythfully gathered out of the doctrine, deliuered by the handes of the Apoſtles, was worthy to be cōfirmed with ſuch a title. And I take it for no doubt, that where ſo euer it proceeded at the firſt, it hath euen from the firſt begynnyng of the church, and from the very time of the Apoſtles, be vſed as a publike confeſſion, and receyued by conſent of all men. And it is likely that it was not priuately wrytten by any one man, for aſmuch as it is euident that euen fro<sup>m</sup> the fartheſt age it hath alwaye continued of ſacred authoritie and credit among all the godly. But that thing whiche is only to be cared for, we haue wholly out of controuerſie, that the whole Hiſtozre of our ſayth is ſhortly and well in diſtinct order rehearſed in it, and that there is nothyng conteyned in it that is not ſealed with ſounde testimonies of the Scripture. Which being vnderſtanded, it is to no purpoſe either curiouſly to doubt, or to ſtryue with any mā, whoe were the author



of it: vnlesse perhappe it be not enough for some man to be assured of the truthe of the holy ghost, but if he do also vnderstād either by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hande it was wrytten.

But for asmuche as we do see, that the whole summe of our saluation, and all the partes thereof, are comprehended in Christ, we must beware, that we do not drawe awaye from him any part therof be it neuer so litle. If we seke for saluatiō, we are taught by the very name of Iesus, that it is in him. If we seke for any other gūtes of the spirit, they are to be found in his anoynting. If we seke for strength, it is in his Dominion: yf we seke for cleannesse, it is in his conception: yf we seke for tender kindnesse, it sheweth it selfe in his byrth, where by he was made in all thinges like vnto vs, that he might learne to sorowe with vs: yf we seke for redemption, it is in his passion: yf we seke for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if we seke for release of the curse, it is in his crosse: yf we seke for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: yf we seke for cleansyng, it is in his bloud: yf we seke for reconciliation, it is in his goyng downe to the helles: if we seke for mortification of the fleshe, it is in his buriall: yf we seke for newnesse of lyfe, yt is in his resurrection: yf we seeke for immortallitie, yt is in the same: if we seke for the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen, it is in his entrance into heauen: if we seke for Defense, for assurednesse, for plentie and stoz of all good thinges, it is in his kingdome: if we seke for a dzedlesse lopynge for the iudgement, it is in the power geuen to him to iudge. finally, sith the treasures of al sortes of good thinges are in him, let vs draw thense and from no where els, euen till we be full withall. For they whiche, beyng not content with him alone, are carried hether and thether into diuerse hopes, although they haue principall regard to him, yet euē in this thei are out of the right way, that they turne any parte of their knowlege to any other where. Albeit such distrust can not crepe in, where the abundance of his good giftes hath ones ben well knowen.

The. xvii. Chapter.

That it is truely and properly sayde, that Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluaiton for vs.



His question is also to be assoyled for an addition. For there are some suttile men after a wrong maner, whiche, although they confesse y we obtaine saluation by Christ, yet cā not abide to heare the name of deseruing, by which they think the grace of God to be obscured: & so they will haue Christ to be only the instrumēt or minister, not y authoz, guide, or Prince of life, as Peter calleth him. In deede I confesse, y if a man will set Christ simply and by himself agaynst the iudgement of God, thē there shalbe no roome for deseruing: bicause there can not be found in man any worthinesse that may deserue the fauour of God: But, as Augustine moste truely wryteth, the moste clere light of predestina- tion and grace is our Sauour hymselfe, the manne Christe Iesus, whiche hath obteyned so to be, by the nature of manne, whiche is in him, without any deseruynges of woꝝkes or of sayth goyng before.

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19  
Act. iij. vii

1. Cor. i.  
xxx.  
Hebr. vii.  
viii.

Gala. iij.  
vii.

1

Act. iij. x.

Libro. i. de  
pred. sacra  
florū.



I beseeche you let me be answered, wheteby that same Man deserued to be taken vp by the Worde that is coeternall with the father into one persone, and so to be the only begotten sonne of God. Let therfoze appere in our head the very fountayne of grace, fro whome accozding to the melute of euery one, it floweth abrode into all his members. By that grace euery one from the beginnyng of his sayth is made a Christian, by whiche that same man from his beginnyng was made Christ. Agayne in an other place: there is no playner example of predestination than the Mediatour himselte. For he that made of the seede of Dauid a man righteous that neuer should be vnrighteous, without any deseruyng of his will goynge befoze, euen the same he dothe of vnrighteous make them righteous that are the membez of that hed: and so fozt as there foloweth. Therfoze when we speake of Christes deseruyng, we doe not say that in him is the beginnyng of deseruyng, but we clymbe vp to the ozdinance of God, whiche is the firste cause thereof: bycause God of his owne mere good will apointed him Mediatour, to purchace saluation for vs. And so is the deseruyng of Christ vnfitly set agaynst the mercie of God. For it is a common rule, that thinges orderly one vnder an other doe not disagree. And therfoze it maye well stande together, that mans iustification is free by the mere mercie of God, and that there also the deseruyng of Christ come betwene, whiche is conteyned vnder the mercie of God. But agaynst our wozkcs are aptly set, as directly contrarie, both the free fauour of God, and the obedience of Christ, either of them in their degree. For Christ could not deserue any thyng but by the good pleasure of God, and but bycause he was apointed to this purpose, with his sacrifice to appeale the wozath of God, and with his obedience to put away our offences. Finally in a summe: bicause the deseruyng of Christ hangeth vpon the only grace of God, whiche apointed vs this meane of saluatiõ, therfoze as well the same deseruing, as that grace, is fitly set against all the wozkcs of men.

This distinction is gathered out of many places of the Scripture. God so loued the world, þ he gaue his only begotten sonne, that who so euer beleneth him, shall not perishe. We see how the loue of God holdeth the first place, as the soueraigne cause oz original, & the foloweth sayth in Christ, as the second oz nerer cause. If any man take exception and saye, that Christ is but the formal cause, he doth moze diminish his power than the wordes may beare. For yf we obtaine righteousness by sayth that resteth vpon him, then is the matter of our saluation to be sought in him, whiche is in many places playnely proued. Not that we first loued him, but he firste loued vs, and sente his sonne to be the appealyng for our sinnes. In these wordes is clerely shewed, that God, to the ende that nothing should withstand his loue toward vs, apointed vs a meane to be reconciled in Christ. And this worde Appealyng, is of great weight: bycause God after a certayne vnspeakeable manner, euen the same time that he loued vs, was also angry with vs, vntil he was reconciled in Christ. And to this purpose serue all those sayenges: He is the satisfactiõ for our sinnes. Agayne: It pleased God by hym to reconcile all thinges to hymself, appealyng himselte through the bloud of the crosse by him, &c. Agayne, God was

De bono  
perseuerat  
cap. vlt.

2  
Ih. iij. 16

Ih. iij. 16

i. Ih. ii. ii.  
Col. i. 11.  
ii. Cor. v.  
11.



in Christ, reconciling the worlde to himselfe, not imputing to men their sinnes. Agayne: He accepted vs in his beloued sonne. Agayne. That he might reconcile the bothe to God into one man by the crosse. The reason of this mysterie is to be fetched out of the first chapter to the Ephesians, where Paule, after that he had taught that we were chosen in Christ, addeth therewithal, that we haue obtained fauour in him. Now did God beginne to embrace with his fauour them who he loued before the making of the world, but vicause he vttered his loue when he was reconciled by the blood of Christ: For sithe God is the fountaine of al righteousnesse, it must needes be, that mā so long as he is a sinner, haue God hisemie & his iudge. wherfoze the beginning of his loue is righteousnesse, such as is described by Paule: He made him that had done no sinne, to be sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. For he meaneth, that we haue obteyned free righteousnesse by the sacrifice of Christ, y<sup>e</sup> we should please God, which by nature are the childzen of wrath, & by sinne estranged from him. But this distinction is also meante so oft as the grace of Christ is ioyned to the loue of God. wherupō foloweth, that he geueth vs of his owne that which he hath purchaced: For otherwise it would not agree with him, that this prayse is geuen him seuerally from his father, that it is his grace and procedeth from him.

3 But it is truely and perfectly gathered by many places of the Scripture, that Christ by his obedience hath purchaced vs fauour with his father. For this I take for a thyng confessed, that if Christ hath satisfied for our sinnes, if he hath suffred the punishment due vnto vs, if by his obediēce he hath appealed God, finally, if he beyng righteous, hath suffred for the vnrightheous, then is saluation purchaced for vs by his righteousnesse: whiche is as much in effecte as to deserue it. But, as Paule witnesseth, we are reconciled and haue receued reconciliation by his death. But recōciliation hath no place, but where there went offence before. Therefore the meanyng is: that God, to whome we were hateful be reaso of sinne, is by y<sup>e</sup> death of his sonne appealed, so that he might be fauorable vnto vs. And the comparison of contraries that foloweth a litle after, is diligently to be noted: As by the trasgression of one man, many were made sinners: so also by y<sup>e</sup> obediēce of one, many are made righteous: For y<sup>e</sup> meaning is thus: As by y<sup>e</sup> sinne of Adā we were enstranged from God & ordeined to destruction, so by the obedience of Christ we are receued into fauour as righteous. And the future time of the verbe doth not exclude pzelent righteousnesse, as appereth by the procelle of the texte: For he had sayd before, that the free gift was of many sinnes vnto iustification.

4 But when we saye, that grace is purchaced vs by the deseruyng of Christ, we meane this, that we are cleansed by his blood, and that his death was a satisfactiō for our sinnes. His blood cleaseth vs frō sinne. This blood is it y<sup>e</sup> is shed for remission of sinne. If this be the effect of his blood shed, y<sup>e</sup> sinnes be not imputed vnto vs: it foloweth, that with that price the iudgemēt of God is satisfied. To which purpose serueth that sayeng of John the Baptist: Beholde the lambe of God, that taketh away the sinne of the worlde. For he letteth in comparison Christ agaynst all the sacrifices of the law, to teache that in him only was

was

Eph. ii.  
rvi.  
Sph. i. di.

1. Cor. v.  
iii.

Ro. v. p.

So. b. p.

Jh. i. v.

Luc. xxv.

ff.

Jh. i. xxv.



was fulfilled that whiche those figures shewed. And we knowe, what Moses eche where saith: Iniquitie shalbe cleansed, sinne shalbe putte awaie & forgeuen. Finally we are very well taught in the olde figures, what is the force and effect of the death of Christe. And this point the Apostle setteth out in the epistle to the Hebrewes, very fytly taking this principle, that remission is not wrought withoute shedynge of bloodde. Wherbypon he gathereth, that Christ for the abolishing of sinne, appeared ones for all by his sacrifice. Againe: that he was offered by to take awaie the sinnes of manie. And he hadde saide before, that not by the bloodde of goates or of calues, butte by his owne bloodde hee ones entered into the holy place, finding eternall redemption. Nowe when he thus reasoneth: If the bloodde of a calfe do sanctifie, accordinge to the cleannesse of the flesh, that muche more consciences are cleansed by the bloodde of Christ from deade workes: it easily appeareth that the grace of Christe is to muche diminished, vnesse we graunt vnto his sacrifice the power of cleansinge, appeasing and satisfieng. As a little after hee addeth: This is the mediator of the new testament, that thei whiche are called, maie receiue the promise of eternall inheritance, by meane of death for the redemption of sinnes goinge before, which remained vnder the lawe. But specially it is conuenient to weye the relation which Paule describeth, that he became curse for vs. &c. for it were superfluous, yea and an absurditie, that Christ shoulde be charged with curse; but for this entent, that he payinge that which other did owe, shoulde purchace righteousnes for them. Also the testimonie of Elsie is playne that the chastisement of our peace was laied vpon Christ, and that we obtained healtie by his stripes. For if Christe had not satisfied for oure sinnes, it coulde not haue been saide, that he appealed God by takinge vpon him the peine wherevnto we were subiect. Wherewith agreeth that whiche foloweth in the same place: For the sinne of my people I haue stricken him. Let vs also recite the exposition of Peter, which shall leaue nothing doubtful: that he did beare our sinne, vpon the tree. For he saith, that the burthen of damnation from whiche we were deliuered, was laide vpon Christe.

And the Apostles do plainly pronounce, that he payed the price of raunsome to redeeme vs from the gyltinesse of death. Being iustified by his grace, through the redemption whiche is in Christ, whome God hath set to be the propiciatorie by faith which is in his bloodde. Paule commendeth the grace of God in this point, because he hath geuen the price of redemption in the death of Christ: and then he biddeth vs to flee vnto hys bloodde, that hauinge obtained righteousnesse, we maie stande boldly before the iudgement of God. And to the same effecte is that saieng of Peter: that we are redeemed, not by golde and siluer, but by the precious bloodde of the vnspotted Lambe. For the comparison also woulde not agree, vnlesse with that price satisfaction had ben made for sinnes: for whiche reason Paule saith, that we are precious bought. Also that other saieng of his wold not stande together: Ther is one mediator that gaue hymselfe to bee a redemption, vnlesse the peine hadde ben caste vpon him whiche wee had deserued: Therefore the same Apostle desyneth, that the redemptio in the bloodde of Christ is the forgeuenesse of synnes: as if he shoulde haue saide, that wee are

Heb. 10. 11.

Ga. 3. 13.

Esa. 53. 5.

1. Pet. 2. 24.

Rom. 3. 24.

1. Peter. 1. 18.

1. Cor. 6. 20.

Col. 1. 14.



God the Redeemer.

Col. b. ii. iustified or acquyted before God, bycause that bloodc aunswereth for  
 satisfaction for vs. Wherewith also agreeth the other place, that the  
 Col. b. ii. hande writinge which was against vs, was cancelled vpon the crosse.  
 For therein is meant the payment or recompense that acquyteth vs  
 from gyltinesse. There is also great weight in these wordes of Paule:  
 Gal. ij. ppi If we be iustified by the workes of the lawe, then Christe dyed for no-  
 thyng. For hereby we gather, that we muste fetch from Christe that  
 whych the lawe woulde geue, yf any man can fulfill it: or (whych is  
 all one) that wec obteyne by the grace of Christe that, whych God  
 De. xlii. v promysed to oure woorkes in the lawe, when he sayde: He that dothe  
 these thynges, shall lyue in them. Whych he no lesse playnely confyrmeth  
 Act. xiii. in hys sermon made at Antioche, affyrmeth that by beleuyng in  
 Christe we are iustified from all those thynges, from whiche we coulde  
 not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. For if the keepinge of the lawe be  
 Gal. iiii. righteousnesse, who can denie that Christe deserued fauoure for vs,  
 when takynge that burden vpon hym, he so reconciled vs to God, as yf  
 we our selue had kept the lawe? To the same purpose serueth þ which  
 he afterward writeth to the Galatians: God sent his Sonne subiecte  
 to the lawe, that he mighte redeeme those that were vnder the lawe.  
 For to what ende serued that submission of his, but that he purchaced  
 to vs righteousnesse, taking vpon hym to make good that whych we  
 Rom. iiii. wer not able to pay: Hereof cometh that imputation of righteousnesse  
 without woorkes, wherof Paule speaketh, bycause the righteousnesse  
 Joh. vi. li is reckened to vs which was founde in Christ only. And truely for no o-  
 ther cause is the fleshe of Christ called our meate, but bicause we finde  
 in him the substance of life. And that power proceedeth from nothinge  
 Eph. v. li. els, but bicause the Sonne of God was crucified, to be the price of our  
 Rom. iiii. swete fauoure. And in an other place: He died for our sinnes, he rose a-  
 gain for our iustification. Her vpon is gathered, that not only saluatiõ  
 Gal. iiii. is geuen vs by Christe, but also þ for his sake hys father is now fauou-  
 rable vnto vs. For there is no doubt þ that is perfectli fulfilled in him,  
 which God vnder a figure pronounceth by Esai, saieng: I wil do it for  
 mine obone sake, & for Dauid my seruantes sake. Whereof the Apostle  
 is a right good witnesse, where he saith: pour sinnes are forgiven you  
 for his names sake. For though the name of Christ be not expressed, yet  
 Ihon after his accustomed manner signifieth hym by thys pronome  
 He. In whiche sense also the Lorde pronounceth: As I liue bicause of  
 my father, so shall ye also liue bycause of me. Wherewith agreeth that  
 Phi. i. ppi whiche Paule saith, It is geuen you bicause of Christe, not onely to be-  
 leue in him, but also to suffer for him.

But to demaünd, whether Christ deserued for himself, (as Lombard, &  
 other scholemen do) is no lesse foolish curiositie, thã it is a rash deter-  
 mination when thei affirme it. For what neded þ sonne of God to come  
 Sentent. li. down to purchase any new thing for himselfe: And the Lord declaring  
 3. dist. 18. his obon counsel, doth put it wholly out of doubt. For it is not said, þ the  
 father provided for the comoditie of his sonne in his deseruings, but þ  
 Rom. viii. he deliuered him to death, & spared him not, bicause he loued þ worlde.  
 Esa. ix. vi. And the prophetes manners of speaking are to be noted, as A child is  
 bozne to vs. Again: Keioce þ Daughter of Sio: behold thy king cometh  
 to



to thee. Also that confymation of loue shoulde be very colde whyche  
 Paule setteth oute, that Chyste suffered deathe for his enemies. For  
 therebpon we gather, that he had no respect of himselfe: & that same  
 he plainly affirmeth in saieng: I sanctifie my selfe for them. For he  
 that geueth awaie the frute of his holynesse vnto other, doth thereby  
 testifie that he purchaceth nothing for hymselfe. And truely this is  
 mooste worthyly to be noted, that Chyste, to geue him selfe wholly to  
 saue vs, did after a certaine manner forget himselfe. But to thys pur-  
 pose thei doo wrongfully drawe this testimonie of Paule: Therefore  
 the father hath exalted him, & geue him a name. &c. For by what deser-  
 uinges coulde man obtaine to be iudge of the world, and the heade of  
 the Angeles, and to enioye the soueraigne dominion of God, and that  
 in hym shoulde rest that same maiestie, the thousandth parte whereof  
 all the powers of men and Angeles can not reach vnto:

Rom. v. 7.

Ioh. xvi.

phi. ii. 7.

But the solution thereof is easy and playne,  
 that Paule doth not ther entreate of the  
 cause of exalting of Chyste, but  
 onely to shewe the ef-  
 fect ensuing there-  
 of, that it might  
 be for an ex-  
 ample

Lu. xxi.  
xvi.

to vs. And no other thing is meant by that  
 whiche is spoken in an other place,  
 that it behoued that Chyste  
 shold suffer, and so enter  
 into the glorie of  
 his father.





# The thirde booke of the Institution of Christ:an Religion;

Whiche entreateth of the manner howe to receiue  
the grace of Christ, and what profites do growe vn-  
to vs, and what effectes ensue thereof.

## The fyrste Chapter.

That those thinges which are spoken of Christ, do  
profite vs by secret working of the holy Ghoste.



Owe it is to be seen howe those good thinges doe  
come vnto vs, whiche the father hath geuen to  
his only begotten Sonne, not for his own priuate  
vse, but to enriche them that were without them &  
needed them. And fyrste this is to be learned, that  
so longe as Christe is oute of vs, and we be seuered  
from him, whatsoeuer he suffered or dyd for the sal-  
uation of mankinde, is vnprofitable and nothinge  
auayleth for vs. Therefore that he maye enterparten wyth vs those  
thinges that he hath receiued of hys father, it behoueth that he be-  
come oures, and dwell in vs. And for that cause he is called our heade,  
and the fyrste begotten amonge many brethren: and on the other side  
it is laide, that we are graffed into him, and did putte on hym. For (as  
I haue before saide) all that euer he possesseth belongeth nothinge to  
vs, vntyll we growe together into one with hym. But although it be  
true that wee obteyne thys by saythe: yet sozasmuche as we see that  
not al without dyfference do embrace this enterpartening of Christe,  
whyche is offered by the Gospel, therefore very reason teacheth vs to  
clymbe by hyer, and to enquire of the secret effectuall workinge of the  
Spicite, by whyche it is brought to passe, that we enioye Christe and  
all his good thynges. I haue before entreated of the eternall godhede  
and essence of the Spirit, at thys present let vs be content wyth thys  
one speciall article, that Christe so came in water and bloode that the  
Spicite shoulde testifie of hym, leaste the saluation that he hath pur-  
chaced, shold slippe awaie from vs. For as there are alleged thre wri-  
tesses in heauen, the father, the Worde and the Spirit, so are there  
also thre in earth, Water, Bloode & Spirit. And not without cause  
is the testimonie of the Spicite twise repeted, whiche we seele to bee  
engrauen in oure heartes in steede of a seale: whereby commeth to  
passe, that it sealeth the washinge and sacrifice of Christ. After whi-  
che meaninge Peter also saith, that the saythfull are chosen in sanctifi-  
cation of the spirit vnto obedience and sprynkling of hys blood of Christ.  
By whiche woordes he telleth vs, that to the entent the shedding of  
that holy bloode shoulde not become voyde, oure soules are cleansed  
wyth it by the secreete wateringe of the holy Spicite. According wher-  
vnto Paule also speakinge of cleansinge and iustificacion, saith that  
we are made partakers of them bothe in the name of Iesus Christe  
and in the Spicite of oure God. Finally thys is the summe, that the  
holy

Eph. iiii.  
ro.  
Rom. viii.  
xxx  
Ro. xi. xlii  
Ga. iii. xvi

Jo. v. vii

1. pe. i. ii.



holy Spirit is the bonde wherewith Christe effectually byndeth vs vnto hym . For prooffe whereof also do serue all that wee haue taughte in the laste booke before thys, concernynge hys anoyntynge.

But that this, being a matter specially worthy to be knowen, may be made more certainly euident, we must holde this in minde, that Christ came furnished with the holy Spirit after a certaine peculiar manner, to the ende that he might seuer vs from the worlde, and gather vs together into the hope of an eternal inheritance. For this cause he is called the Spirit of sanctification, because he doth not onely quicken and nourish vs with that general power which appeareth as wel in mankinde as in all other liuinge creatures, but also is in vs the roote and seede of heauenly life. Therefore the Prophetes do principally comend the kingdome of Christe by this title of prerogative, that then shoulde florish the more plentiful abundance of the Spirit. And notable aboute all the rest is that place of Joel: In that day I will poure of my Spirit vpon al flethe. For though the Prophet there seeme to restraine the giftes of the Spirit to the office of prophecieng, yet vnder a figure he meaneth, that God by the enlightning of his Spirit will make those his scholers whyche before were vnskilfull and voyde of all heauenly doctrine. Nowe forasmuche as God the father dothe for his Sonnes sake geue vs his holy Spirit, & yet hathe left with him the whole fulnesse thereof, to the ende that he shoulde be a minister and distributor of his liberalitie: he is sometime called the Spirit of the father, and sometime the Spirit of the Sonne. Ye are not (saith Paule) in the flethe, but in the Spirit, for the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any haue not the spirit of Christe, he is not his. And herevpon he putteth vs in hope of full renuing, for that he which raised by Christ from the deade, shall quicken our mortall bodies because of his Spirit dwelling in vs. For it is no absurditie, that to the father bee ascribed the praise of his owne giftes, whereof he is the author: & yet that the same be ascribed to Christe, with whome the giftes of the Spirit are left, that he maie geue them to those that be his. Therefore he calleth all them that thirste, to come to him to drynke. And Paule teacheth that the Spirit is distributed to enery one, according to the measure of the gifte of Christ. And it is to be knowen, that he is called the Spirit of Christ, not onely in respect that the eternall Worde of God is with the same Spirit ioyned with the father, but also according to his person of mediator, because if he had not had that power, he had come to vs in vaine. After whiche meaning he is called the seconde Adam geuen fro heauen, to be a quickning Spirit: whereby Paule compareth h singular life h the sonne of God breatheth into them h be his h ther may be al one with hym, with the natural life that is also common to h reprobate. Likewise where he wissheth to the faithful the fauoure of Christ and the loue of God, he ioyneth withall the common partaking of the Spirit, without which no man can tast neither of the fatherly fauoure of God, nor of the bountifullnesse of Christe. As also he saith in an other place: The loue of God is poured out into oure heartes by the holy Spirit that is geuen vs.

And here it shalbe profitable to note, wyth what titles the Scripture setteth out the holy Spirit, where it entreateth of beginnunge

Joel. ii.  
xxviii.Rom. vii.  
iv.Ro. viii.  
vi.Ihon. vii.  
xxvii.  
Eph. iiii.  
vii.I. Cor. xii.  
xv.

Ro. v. v.



and whole restoring of oure saluation. fyrste he is called the Spirit of adoption, bicause he is a wytnesse vnto vs of the free goodwill of God, wherewith God the father hath embraced vs in hys beloued onely begotten Sonne, that he might be a father vnto vs, and doth encourage vs to praiue boldly, yea and dothe minister vs wordes to criue with oute feare Abba, father: by the same reason hee is called the earnest pledge, and seale of our inheritance, bicause he so geueth life from heauen to vs wandringe in the worlde, and being like to deade men, that we maie be assured that oure soule is in safegarde vnder the faithfull keeping of God: for which cause he is also called life, by reason for righteousnesse. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh vs fruitful to brynge forth the buddes of righteousnesse, he is oftentimes called water, as in Esaie: All ye that thyrste come to the waters. Againe: I will poure out my spirit vpon the thyrsty, and floodes vpon the drye land: wherewith agreeth that sayeng of Christ, which I did euen now allege: If any thyrste, let him come to me. Albeit sometime he is so called, by reason of his power to purge and cleanse, as in Ezechiel where the Lord promisseth cleane waters wherewith he wil washe his people from fylthinesse. And forasmuch as herestoreth & noiseth into liuely quicknes, them vpo whom he hath poured the liquore of hys grace, he is therefore called by the name of oyle and anoyntement: Agayne by cause in continually seethynge oute and burninge by the vices of oure luste, hee setteth oure heartes on fyre wyth the loue of God and zeale of godlynesse, he is also for thys effect worthily called fyre. Finally he is described vnto vs as a fountaine, from whence do stowe vnto vs all heavenly rycheffe, or the hande of God, wherewith he vseth hys power: by cause by the breathe of hys power he so breatheth diuine lyfe into vs, that wee are not nowe styred by oure selues, but ruled by hys styrringe and mouynge: so that yf there bee any good thynges in vs, they bee the frutes of hys grace: but oure owne gyftes wythout hym, bee darkenesse of mynde and peneuernesse of hearte. Thys poynte ys sette oute playnely enoughe, that tyll oure myndes bee bente vpon the holy ghoste, Christe lyeth in a manner idle, by cause we coldely espye wythout vs, yea and farre awaye from vs. But wee knowe that hee profyteth none other but them whose heade hee ys, and the fyrste begotten amonge brethren, and them whyche haue putte on hym. Thys contoynginge onely maketh that, as concernyng vs, he is come not vnprofytably wyth the name of sauoure. And for prooffe hereof serueth that holy mariage whereby we are made fleshe of hys fleshe, and bones of hys bones, yea and all one wyth hym. but by the Spirite onely hee maketh hym selfe one wyth vs: by the grace and power of the same Spirite wee are made hys membres, so that hee conteyneth vs vnder hym, and wee agayne possesse hym.

4 But forasmuche as faithe is his principall woorke, to it are for the moste parte referred all those thynges, that we commonly finde spoken to expresse his force and working: bicause he bryngeth vs into the light of y Gospel by nothyng: but by faith: as Ihon baptiste teacheth, y this prerogative is geuen to them y beleue in Christ, y thei be y childre of God which ar borne not of flesh & blood, but of God: wher setting God

al. iiii. vi  
Co. i. xxi

o. viii. r.

sa. lv. l.  
sa. xliii.  
ii.  
ehn. vii.  
xvii.  
ze. xxxvi.  
xxv.

Jo. ii. xx.  
u. iii. xvi

ohn. iiii.  
xiii.  
et. i. xxi.

Eph. iiii.  
xv.  
Rom. viii.  
xxx.  
Sala. iij.  
xxvii  
Eph. v. xxx

Jo. i. xiii.



God againste fleshe and bloode, he affirmeth it to be a supernaturall gift that thei receiue Christe by faith, whose otherwise shoulde remaine subiect to their owne infidelitie. Like where vnto is that answer of Christe: fleshe and bloode hath not reueled it to thee, but my father whiche is in heauen. These thinges I do nowe but shortly touche, by cause I haue already entreated of them at large. And lyke also is that saieng of Paule, that the Ephesians were sealed by with the holy spirit of promise. For Paule sheweth that he is an inwarde teacher, by whose workynge the promyse of saluation pearceth into oure mindes, whiche otherwise shoulde but beate the ayre or oure eares. Likewise when he saith, that the Thessalonians were chosen of God in the sanctification of the spirit and beleuing of the truth: by whiche ioyning of them together, he briesely admonisheth that saythe it selfe proceedeth from nothing els but from the holy spirit: whych thyng I hon setteth out moze plainely, saieng: We knowe that there abideth in vs of the spirit whiche he hath geuen vs. Againe. By this we knowe that we dwel in him, and he in vs, bicause he hath geuen vs of his spirit. Therefore Christ promised to his Disciples the Spirit of truthe whiche the worlde canne not receiue, that thei might bee able to receiue the heauenly wisdom. And he assigneth to the same spirit this propre office, to put them in mynde of those thynges that he hadde taught them by mouth. Bicause in vaine shoulde the light shewe it selfe to the blinde, vnlesse the same spirit of vnderstanding shoulde open the eyes of their minde: so as a man may rightly call the holy spirit, the keye by which the treasures of the heauenly kingdome are opened vnto vs: and may call his enlightning, the eyesight of oure minde to see. Therefore doth Saint Paule so muche commend the ministerie of the spirit: by cause teachers shoulde crie without profiting, vnlesse Christ himselfe the inwarde maister shoulde drawe them with his spirit that are geuen him by his father. Therefore as we haue sayde, that perfecte saluation is founde in the person of Christ: so that we may be made partakers thereof, he doth baptize vs in the holy spirit and fyre, lightning vs into the faith of his Gospell, and so newe begetting vs, that we maie be newe creatures: and purging vs from vnholly fylthynesse, doth dedicate vs to be holy temples to God.

Mat. 23  
ruil.

Eph. i. 13

1. The. 5

1. Job. 33  
ruil. & 33  
Job. 33  
ruil.1. Cor. 13  
ruil.

Lu. 11. 13

## The seconde Chapter.

Of faith, wherein bothe is sette the definition of it, and the proprietie that it hath, are declared.



But al these thinges shalbe easy to vnderstand, when there is shewed a plaine definitiō of sayth, that the readers may knowe the force and nature thereof. But fyrste it is conuenient to call to minde againe these thynges that haue ben already spoken, that syth God doth appoint vs by his law what we ought to do, if we fall in any point thereof, the same terrible iudgement of eternall death that he pronounceth doth rest vpon vs. Againe, that forasmuch as it is not only hearde but altogether aboue oure strength and beyond all oure power to fulfill the lawe, if we only beholde our selues, & weie what estate is worthy for our deseruinges,



there is no good hope left, but we lie cast away from God vnder eternall destruction. Thirdly this hath ben declared, that there is but one meane of deliuerance to drabe vs out of so wretched calamitie: wherin appeareth Christ the Redeemer, by whose hand it pleased the heauenly father, hauing mercie vpon vs of his infinite goodnesse & clemencie, to succoure vs, so that we wyth sounde faith embrace thys mercie, and with constant hope rest vpon it. But now it is conuenient for vs to weie this, what manner of faith this ought to be, by which al thei that are adopted by God to be hys chyldren, do enter vpon the possession of the heauenly kingdome, forasmuch as it is certaine that not euery opinion nor yet euery perswasion is sufficient to bring to passe so great a thing. And with so much the more care & study must we loke about for, and searche out the natural proprietie of faith, by how much the more hurtfull at thys day is the erreure of many in this behalf. For a great part of the world, hearing the name of faith, conceiueth no hier thing, but a certaine common assent to the historie of the Gospel. Yea when thei dispute of faith in the scholes, in barely callynge God the obiecte of faith, thei do nothinge but (as we haue saide in an other place) by vaine speculation rather drabe wretched soules out of the right way, thā direct them to the true mark. For wheras God dwelleth in a light that none can atteine to, it behoueth of necessitie that Christe become meane betweene vs and yt. For whyche cause he calleth hym selfe the light of the world: & in an other place The way, the Truth, & the Life, because no man commeth to the father (which is the fountaine) of life, but by him: because he onely knoweth the father, & by him the faithful to whome it pleaseth him to disclose him. According to this reason, Paule affirmeth, that he accompteth nothing excellent to be knowen, but Christ: and in the .xx. chapter of the Actes he saith, that he preached faith in Christ. &c. And in an other place he bringeth in Christ speakinge after this manner, I wil send thee amonge the Gentiles, & thei maye receiue forgeuenes of sinnes, & portion among holy ones, by the faith which is in me. And Paule testifieth, & the glorie of God is in his person visible vnto vs: or (whiche is all one in effect) that the enlightning of the knowledge of Gods glorie shineth in his face. It is true indeede & faith hath respect only to the one God, but this also is to be added, that it acknowledge him whome he hath sent, euen Iesus Christe. Because God himselfe shoulde haue ien secret and hydden farre from vs, vnlesse the brightnesse of Christe did cast his beames vpon vs. For this entent the father left al & he had with his onely begotten sonne, euen by the comunicatinge of good thynges wyth him to expresse the true image of his glorie. For as it is saide, that we must be drabwen by the spirit, & we maie be stirred to seeke Christ, so againe we ought to be admonished, that the inuisible father is no where els to be sought but in this image. Of whiche mater Augustine speaketh excellently well, whiche entreating of the marke that faith should shoote at, saith that we must know whether we must goe and which waie: and then by & by after he gathereth & the safest waye against all erreures is he that is both God and man. For it is God to whome we go, and man by whom we go: and bothe these are founde no where but in Christe. Neyther dothe Paule when he speaketh of faith in God, meane to ouerthrowe that whiche he so ofte repeteth of faith that hath her whole stay vpon Christe

Tim. vi.  
vi.

ohn. viij.  
Eu.  
h. viij. vi.  
uc. f. pō.  
Cor. ii.  
ct. rr.  
viii.  
Cor. iiii  
vi.

Libr. ii. de  
Ciuil. Dei,  
cap. 2.



Christe. And Peter dothe most fittly loyne them bothe together, saleng that by him we beleue in God.

1. Pet.  
vii.

Therefore thys euell, euen as innumerable other, is to be imputed to the Scholemen, whiche haue hidden Chyste as it were with a veile drawn before hym, to the beholdyng of whome vnlesse we be dyrectly bent, we shall alwaie wander in many vncertaine mazes. But byslyde thys that with theyr darke definition they doe deface and in a manner bring to naught the whole force of faith, they haue forged a deuylse of vncxpressed faith, wyth which name thei garnysing theyr most grosse ignorance doe with greate hurte deceyue the silly people, yea (to saye truely and plainely as the thinge is in deede) thys deuylse doth not onely burie but vtterly destroye the true faith. Is this to beleue, to vnderstand nothing, so that thou obediently submitte thy sense to the Church: say the standeth not in ignorance but in knoweledge, and that not onely of God, but of the wyll of God. For neither do we obtaine saluation by thys that wee eyther are ready to embrace for true whatsoeuer the Church appoynteth, or that we do committe to it all the office of searchyng and knowing: but when we acknowledge God to be a mercifull father to vs by the reconciliation made by Christ, and that Christe is geuen vs vnto ryghteousnesse, sanctification, and lyfe. By thys knoweledge, I saye, not by submitting of oure sense, we atteine an entrie into the kyngedome of heauen. For when the Apostle saith, that with the hearte we beleue to righteousnesse, and wyth the mouthe confession is made to saluation, hee sheweth that it is not enoughe, if a man vncxpressedly beleue that whiche he vnderstandeth not, nor seeke to learne: but he requyret an expressed acknowledging of Gods goodnesse, in whyche consyseth oure ryghteousnesse.

Rom. x.

In dede I denie not (such is y<sup>e</sup> ignoranc wherwith we are copassed) y<sup>e</sup> ther now be & herafter shall be many thinges wrapped & hidden from vs, till hauing put of the burden of our flesh we come neter to the presence of God: in which very thinges that be hidden from vs, nothing is more profitable than to suspend our iudgment, but to stay our mind in determined purpose to kepe vnitie with the Church. But vnder thys coloure to entitle ignoraunce tempered with humilitie by the name of faith, is a great absurditie. For faith lieth in knowledg of God & of Christ not in reuerence of y<sup>e</sup> church. And we se what a maze thei haue framed with this their hidden implication, that any thinge whatsoeuer it be wythoute any choise, so that it bee thrust in vnder title of the Church, is greedy receiued of the ignorant as it wer an oracle, yea sometime also most monstrous erroures. Whyche vncaduyfed lyghtnesse of beleefe, wheras yt is a mooste certayne downefall to ruyne, is yet excused by them, for that yt beleueth nothyng determinately, but wyth this condition adioyned, yf the faith of the Church be suche. So do they faine, that truth is holden in erreure, light in blindness, true knowledg in ignorance. But bicause we wil not tarry long in confuting them, we doe only warne y<sup>e</sup> readers to compare their doctrine wyth oures. For y<sup>e</sup> very pleanesse of the trueth it selfe wil of it selfe minister a confutation ready enough. For this ys not y<sup>e</sup> question among them, whether sayth be yet wrapped wyth many remnauntes of ignoraunce, but they desinitiuely say that thei beleue aryght, which stande amased in their ignoranc,

3

Jo. viii.



yea and doe flatter them selues therein, so that they doe agree to the authoritie & iudgement of the Church, concerning things vnknownen. As though the Scripture did not euerywhere teache, that with fayth is ioyned knoweledge.

4

bill. iii.  
p.

But we do graunt, that so longe as we wander from home in thys worlde, oure fayth is not fully expressed, not onely bicause many things are yet hidden from vs, but bicause being compassed with many mistes of erroures, wee atteine not all thinges. For the hyghest wysedome of the moste perfect is thys, to profite moze and proceede on further forwarde with gentill willingnesse to learne. Therefore Paule exhorte the faithfull, if vpon any thinge thei differ one from an other, to abide for reuelation. And truely experience teaceth, that till we be vnclothed of oure fleshe, we atteine to knowe lesse than were to be wisshed, and dayly in reading we light vpon many darke places whiche do conuince vs of ignorance. And with this bydle God holdeth vs in modestie, assigning to euery one a measure of fayth, that euen the very best teacher may be ready to learne. And notable exammples of thys vexpressed faith, we may marke in the Disciples of Christ, before that thei hadde obtained to be fully enlightned. We see, how thei hardly tasted the very fyrste introductions, how thei did sicke euen in the smallest pointes, howe they hanginge at the mouthe of their maister did not yet muche proceede, yea when at the womens information they ranne to the graue, the Resurrection of their master was lyke a dreame vnto them. Sithe Christe dyd before beare wytnesse of theyr faythe, we may not saie that they were vtterly without fayth: but rather, if they had not been perswaded that Christe shoulde rylse agayne, all care of him wold haue perished in them. For it was not superstition that dyd drawe the women to embalme with spices the corpes of a deade man of whome ther was no hope of life: but although thei beleued his words whome thei knewe to be a speaker of trueth, yet the grosnesse that styll possessed their myndes so wrapped theyr faith in darkenesse, that thei were in a manner amased at it. Where vpon it is saide, that thei then at the last beleued when thei hadde by tryall of the thinge it selfe proued the trueth of the wordes of Christ: not that they then beganne to beleue, but bycause the seede of hidden fayth whiche was as it were deade in their heartes, then receiuing liuelynesse, dyd sprynge vp. There was therefore a true fayth in them, but an vexpressed faythe, bicause they reuerently embraced Christe for their onely teacher, and then beyng taught of him, they determined that he was the author of their saluation: synally, they beleued that he came from heauen, by the grace of his father to gather his Disciples to heauen. And we neede not to seke any moze familiar poofe hereof than this, that in al thinges alway vbelefe is mingled with fayth.

5

We may also call it an vexpressed faith, whiche yet in deede is nothunge but a preparation of faith. The Euangelistes do reherse that many beleued, whiche onely beinge rauished to admiration wyth myracles, proceded no further but that Christe was the Messias whyche had ben promysed, albeit thei tasted not so much as any sclender learning of the Gospell. Such obedience which brought them in subiectio willingly to submit them selues to Christe, beareth the name of faith where



where it was in deede but the beginning of faith. So the courtier that beleued Christes promise, concerninge the healinge of his sonne, when he came home, as the Euangelist testifieth, beleued againe: by cause he receiued as an oracle that whiche he hearde of the mouthe of Christe, and then submitted hym selfe to his authoritie to receiue hys doctrine. Albeit it is to be knowen, that he was so tractable and ready to learne, that yet in the fyrste place the woorde of beleninge signifieth a particular beleefe: and in the seconde place maketh hym of the numbre of the Disciples, that professed to bee the scholars of Christe. Myke example dothe Ihon sette forth in the Samaritanes, whiche so beleued the womans reporte, that they ranne earnestly to Christe, whiche yet when they hadde hearde hym, saide thus: Now we beleue not by cause of thy report, but we haue hearde hym, and we know that he is the sauoure of the worlde. Hereby appeareth that they whyche are not yet instructed in the fyrste introductions, so that they be disposed to obedyence, are called faithfull, in deede not proprely, but in thys respect, that God of hys tender kyndenesse vouchesaueeth to graunte so greate honoure to that godly affection, but this willingnesse to learne, with a desire to procede further, differeth farr from that grosse ignorace, wherein they lye dull that are content wyth the vnerpressed faith, suche as the Papistes haue imagined. For if Paule seuerely condemneth them whiche alwaie learning, yet neuer come to the knowledge of trueth, howe muche more greuous reproche do they deserue, that of purpose studie to know nothing.

This therfore is y true knowledge of Christ, if we receiue him such as he is offered of his father, that is to saye, clothed with his Gospel. For as he is appoynted to be the marke of oure faith, so we can not go the right waie to him, but by the Gospell going before to guide vs. And truely ther are opened to vs y treasures of grace, which being shut by, Christ should litle profite vs. So Paule ioyneth faith an vnseparable companion to doctrine, wher he saith: ye haue not so learned Christ, for ye haue been taught what is the trueth in Christe. Yet do I not so restraine faith to the Gospell, but that I confesse that there hath been so much taught by Moses and the Prophetes, as sufficed to the edification of faith, but bicause ther hath ben deliuered in the Gospell a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is woorthly called of Paule, the doctrine of faith. For which cause also he saith in an other place, that by the comming of faith the lawe is taken awaie. meaning by this word faith, y newe & vnaccustomed manner of teaching, wherby Christ sines he appeared our scholemaster, hath more plainly set forth the mercy of his father, & more certainly testified of our saluation. Albeit it shalbe y more easye & more conuenient ordre, if we descend by degrees from the generaltie to y specialtie. first we must be put in minde y there is a general relation of faith to the word, & that faith can no more be seuered from y word, than y sunbeames from y sunne fro whome they procede. Therefore in Esaie God cryeth out: Heare me and your soule shall lyue. And that the same is the fountaine of faythe, Ihon sheweth in these woordes: These thinges are written that ye may beleue. And the prophete meaninge to exhorte the people to beleefe, saythe: This daie yf ye shall heare hys voyce. And to heare is commonly taken for to

Jo. iij. .iii.

Iohn. iiii.

ij. Tim. iij. vii.

6

Eph. iiii.

ff

Ro. x. iiii.

Esa. lv. ii.

Jo. a. p. xiii.

Ipsa. r. bcl. vii.

Beleue



Of the manner howe to receiue

Beleue. Moreover, God dothe not wythout cause in Esaie sett e thys marke of difference betwene the children of the Church and straungers, that he will instructe them all, that thei maie be taught of him. For if it were a benefite vniuersall to all, why shoulde he direct hys woordes to a fewe? Wherewith agreeth thys that the Euange listes do commonly vse the woordes faithfull, and Disciples, as seuerall woordes expressing one thing, & specially Luke very oft in the Actes of the Apostles. yea and he stretcheth that name euen to a woman in the ninthe chapiter of the Actes. Wherfore if faith do swerue neuer so little from this marke, to which it ought to be directly leuelled, it kepeth not her owne nature, butte becometh an vncertaine lightnesse of belese and wandring erreure of mynde. The same Worde is the foundation wherewith faith is bpholden & sustemed, from which if it swarue, it falleth downe. Therfore take awaie þ Worde, & then there shal remaine no faith. We do not here dispute whether the ministerie of man be necessarie to solue the worde of God that faith may be conceiued thereby, which question we will els where entreate of: but we saie that the worde it self, howesoener it be conueied to vs, is like a mirroure when faith may beholde God. Whether God dothe therein vse the seruice of man, or worke it by his owne onely power, yet he doth alwaie shewe him selfe by his worde to those, whome his will is to drawe vnto him: wherebpon Paule defineth faith to be an obedience that is geuen to the Gospell. Rom. i. And in an other place he praiseth the obedience of faith in the Philippians. For this is not the onely purpose in the vnderstanding of faith, that we knowe that there is a God, but this also, yea this chesely, that we vnderstande what wil he beareth toward vs. For it not so muche behoueth vs to knowe what he is in himself, but what a one he will be to vs. Nowe therefore we are come to thys point, that faith is a knoweledge of the will of God, perceyued by his worde. And the foundation hereof is a sozeconceiued perswasion of the truthe of God. Of the assurednesse whereof so longe as thy minde shal dispute with it selfe, the worde shal be but of doubtful and weake credit, yea rather no credit at all. But also it sufficeth not to beleue that God is a true speaker, whiche can neither deceiue nor lie, vnlesse thou further holde this for vndoubtedly determined, that whatsoener procedeth from him, is the sacred and inuiolable truthe.

7 But bicause not at euery word of God mang hearte is raised vp to faith, we must yet further search what this faith in the word hath properly respecte vnto. It was the saieng of God to Adam: Thou shalt die the death. It was the saieng of God to Cain: The blood of thy brother crieth to me out of the earth. Yet these are suche saiengs as of them selues canne doe nothyng butte shake saythe, so muche lesse are they able to stablyshe saythe. We denye not in the meane season that yt ys the offyce of saythe to agree to the truthe of God, howe ofte soener, what soener, and in what sorte soener yt speaketh: butte nowe oure question is onely, what saythe fyndeth in the worde of the Lorde to leane and rest vpon. When oure conscience beholdeth onely indignation and vengeance, howe canne it butte tremble and quake for feare? And howe shoulde yt butte flee God, of whome yt is afraide? But saythe oughte to seeke God, and not to flee from him.

It

Act. vi. i. 7  
 x. x. xvi.  
 x. x. xvi. 7  
 vi. 7 xiii.

Ro. i. v.

Philip. ii.  
 vii.

Ge. ii. xvi  
 x. x. x. 7



It is plaine therefore, that we haue not yet a full definition of saythe, bycause it is not to be accompted for faithe to knowe the wyll of God, of what sorte so euer it be. But what yf in the place of wyll, whereof many tymes the message is sorrowefull and the declaration dreadfull, we putte kindenesse or mercie. Truely so we shal come nerer to the nature of faithe. For wee are then allured to seeke God, after that wee haue learned that saluation is laied vp in store with him for vs. Whyche thyng is confyrméd vnto vs, when he declareth that he hath care and loue of vs. Therefore there needeth a promise of grace, whereby he maie testifie that he is oure mercifull father, for that otherwise wee canne not approche vnto hym, and vpon that alone the hearte of man maie safely rest. For thys reason commonly in the Psalmes these two thinges Mercie and Truth do cleaue together, bicause neither should it any thyng profite vs to know that God is true, vnlesse he did mercifully allure vs vnto him: neither were it in our power to embrace his mercie, vnlesse he did with his owne mouthe offer it. I haue reported thy truth and thy saluation, I haue not hidden thy goodnesse and thy truthe. Thy goodnesse and thy truthe keepe me. In an other place. Thy mercie to the heauens, thy truthe euen to the cloudes. Againe. All the wayes of the Lorde are mercie and truthe, to them that keepe his couenant. Againe. His mercie is multiplied vpon vs, and the truth of the Lorde abydeth for euer. Againe. I will singe to thy name vpon thy mercie and truthe. I omitte that whiche is in the Prophetes to the same meaninge, that God is mercifull and saythfull in hys promyses. For wee shal rashly determine that God is mercifull vnto vs, vnlesse himselve do testifie of himselve and preuent vs wyth his callinge, leaste his wil should be doubtful and vnknowen. But we haue already seen, that Christ is the onely pledge of his loue, without whome on euery side appeare the tokens of hatred and wrath. Nowe forasmuche as the knoweledge of Gods goodnesse shal not muche preuaile, vnlesse he make vs to rest in it, therefore suche an vnderstanding is to be banished as is mingled with doubting, and doth not soundly agree in it selfe, but as it were, disputeth with it selfe. But mans witte, as yf is blinde and darkened, is farre from attaining and climbing vp to perceiue the very will of God: and also the hearte of man, as it wauereth with perpetuall doubting, is farre from resting assured in that persuasion. Therefore it behoueth bothe that our witt be lightned, and oure heart strengthened by some other meane, that the worde of God may be of ful credit with vs. Now we shal haue a perfect definition of sayth, if we saie, that it is a stedfast & assured knoweledge of Gods kindnes toward vs, which being grounded vpon the truthe of the free promise in Christ, is both reueled to our mindes, and sealed in our heartes by the holy ghooste.

But before I procede any further, it shalbe necessary, that I make some preambles to dissolue certain doubts that otherwise might make some stoppe to the readers. And first I must confute the distinction that lieth about in the scholes, betwene faith fourmed and vnformed. For thei imagine that such as are touched with no feare of God, with no feling of godlinesse, do beleue all that is necessarie to saluation. As though the holy ghooste in lyghtenyng oure heartes vnto saythe, were not a witness to vs of oure adoption. And yet presumptuously, when all the

Scripture

psa. xl. xi.

ps. lxxv. v.

psa. lxxv. vi.

psa. cxvii.

ps. cxxxviii.



Scripture crieth out againste it, they getie the name of faith to suche perswasion boide of the feare of God. Wee neede to strue no further with theyr definition, but simply to reherse the nature of faith, such as it is declared by the worde of God. Whereby shall plainely appeare how vnskillfully & foolishly they rather make a noise than speake of it. I haue already touched parte, the rest I will adde hereafter as place shall serue. At this present I saie, & there can not bee imagined a greater absurditie, than this inuention of theites. They will haue faith to be an assent, whereby euery despyser of God maie receiue that whiche is vttered out of the Scripture. But fyrste they should haue seen whether euery manne of hys owne power do byynge faith to hymselfe, or whether the holy ghooste be by it a witnesse of adoption. Therefore they do chyldeishly plaie the fooles, in demaunding, whether faith, whiche qualitie addeth dothe fourme, be the same faith or an other and a newe faith. Whereby appeareth certainly, that in so bablinge they neuer thought of the syngular gyfte of the holy ghooste. For the begynning of beleuinge dothe already contene in it the reconciliation, whereby manne approacheth to God. But if they dyd weye that sayeng of Paule: With the hearte is beleued to righteousnesse, they wold celle to sayne that same colde qualitie. If we hadde but thys one reason, it should be sufficient to ende thys contention: that the very same assent (as I haue already touched, and will againe more largely re-  
om. i. f. pete) is rather of the hearte than of the brayne, rather of affection than of vnderstandynge. For whyche cause it is called the obedience of faythe, whyche is suche as the Lorde preferreth no kynde of obedience aboue it: and that woorthily, forasmuche as nothyng is more precious to hym than hys truthe, whyche as Ihon the Baptist wytnesseth, the beleuers doe as yt were subscribe and scale vnto. Sythe the matter ys not doubtfull, we doe in one woorde determinately saie, that they speake sondly when they saie that faith is fourmed by addynge of godly affection vnto assent: whereas assent it selfe, at leaste suche assent as ys declared in the Scriptures, consisteth of godly affection. Butte yet there ys an other playner argument that offereth yt selfe to be alleged. For whereas faythe embraceth Christe as hee ys offered vs of the father: and Christe ys offered not onely for ryghteousnesse, forgiuenesse of synnes and peace, butte also for sanctification, and a fountayne of luyng water: wythoute doubt no man eanne euer truely knowe hym, vnesse he doe therewythall receyue & sanctification of y<sup>e</sup> Spirite. Or, if any manne desyre to haue it more plainely spoken, faythe consysteth in the knowledge of Christe. And Christe canne not bee knowen, butte wyth sanctification of hys Spirite: therefore it foloweth, that fayth can by no meane be seuered from godly affection.

9

Whereas they are wonte to laye thys agaynste vs, that Paule sayeth: If a manne haue all faythe, so that hee remoue mountaynes: yf he haue not charitie, hee ys nothyng: whereby they woulde de-  
Coz. xii. f. forme faythe, in spoylinge it of charitie: they consyder not what the Apostle in that place meaneth by faythe. For when in the chapter next before it, he hadde spoken of the diuerse gyftes of the holy ghooste, amonge the whyche he had reckened the diuerse kindes of languages,  
power



power and propheticke, and hadde exhorted the Corinthians to folowe the beste of these gistes, that is to saie, suche gistes whereby more profit and commoditie myghte come to the whole body of the Church: he streyghtwaie saide further, that he woulde shewe them yet a more excellent waie. That all suche gistes, howe excellent soeuer they bee of them selues, yet are nothings to be esteemed, vnlesse they serue charitie: for they were geuen to the edyfyng of the Church, and vnlesse they bee applyed therevnto, they loose theyr grace. For prooffe of thys he particularly reherseth them, repetyng the selfe same gistes that hee hadde spoken of before, butte in other names. And hee vseth the woordes Powers and faythe, for all one thyng, that is for the power to do miracles. Sythe therefore thys, whether ye call it power or faithe, is a particular gyfte of God, whyche euery vngodly manne maye booth haue and abuse, as the gyfte of tongnes, as propheticke and other gistes of grace: yt ys no maruell yt yt bee seuered from charitie. Butte all the erreure of these menne standeth in thys, that where thys woorde faythe, hath dyuerse significations, they not consyderinge the dyuersitie of the thinge signified, dispute as though it were taken for one thyng in all places a lyke. The place of James whyche they allege for mayntaynace of the same erreure, shall bee els where dyscussed. Butte althoughe for teachynges sake, when wee meane to shewe what manner of knoweledge of God there ys in the wycked, wee graunte that there are dyuerse sortes of faythe: yet wee acknoweledge and speake of butte one faythe of the godly, as the Scripture teacheth. Many in deede doe beleue that there ys a God, they thynke that the Hystorie of the Gospell and other partes of the Scripture are true (as commonly wee are wonte to iudge of suche thynges, as eyther are reported beyng done longe agoe, or suche as wee oure selues haue beene presente at and seene. There bee also some that goe further, for bothe they beleue the woorde of God to be a mooste assured oracle, & they do not altogethe despise hys commaundementes, and they somewhat after a sorte are moued with hys threatenynges and promyses. It is in deede testified that suche haue faythe: butte that ys spoken oute by abuse, bycause they do not wyth open vngodlynesse syghte agaynste the woorde of God, or refuse or despise it: butte rather pretende a certayne shewe of obedyence.

But thys ymage or shadowe of faythe, as yt is of no value, so is yt not woorthy of the name of faythe. Frome the sounde trithe where of howe farre it dyffereth, althoughe it shall be hereafter more largely entreated, yet there is no cause to the contrarie, why it shoulde not now be touched by the waie. It is said that Simon Magus beleued, whyche yet wythin a lyttle after bewrayed hys owne vnbelefe. And whereras it is saide that he beleued, we do not vnderstande it as some do, that hee fained a belefe when he hadde none in his hearte: butte we rather thinke that being ouercome with the maiestie of the Gospell, he had a certaine faith such as it was, and so acknowledged Christ to be the autho: of lyfe and saluation, that he willingly professed himselfe to bee one of hys. After the same manner it ys sayde in the Gospell of

Act. viii.  
xii. & xiii.Luc. vii.  
vii. & xii.



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is choked by before it bring forth fruite, or before it take any roote at all, it by and by withereth awate and perisheth: we doubt not that suche delited with a certaine taste of the worde doe greedily receiue it, and beginne to feele the diuine force of it: so farre that with deceitful counterfaiting of faith, they beguile not only other mens eyes, but also their owne myndes. For they perswade them selues, that that reuerence whiche they shewe to the worde of God, is moste true godlynesse, by cause they thinke that there is no vngodlynesse but manifest and confessed reproche or contempte of his worde. But what manner of assent soeuer that be, it pearceth not to y very heart to remaine there stabli- shed: and though sometime it seemeth to haue taken rootes, yet those are liuely rootes. The heart of man hath so many secreete corners of vanitie, is full of so many hidinge holes of lyeng, is covered wyth so guilefull hypocrisie, that it ofte deceiueth himselfe. But let them that glorie in suche shadowes of faith vnderstand, that therein they are noe better than the Deuell. But that firste sorte of men are farre worse then the Deuell, whiche do senselessly heare and vnderstand those things for knoweledge whereof the Deuells do tremble. And the other are in this pointe egall with the Deuell, that the feelinge suche as it is wherewith they are touched, tournet only to terroure and discouragement.

Jac. ii. xix

ii  
ii. Cor. i.  
iii.

Heb. vi.

I knowe that some thinke it harde, that we assigne faith to the reprobate, whereas Paule affirmeth saythe to be the fruite of election, whyche doubteth yet is easily dysolved: for though none receiue the light of faith, nor do truly feele the effectuall working of the Gospell, but they that are foreordayned to saluacion: yet experience sheweth that the reprobate are sometime moued wyth the same feelinge that the elect are, so that in their owne iudgement they nothing differ from the electe. Wherefore it is no absurditie, that the Apostle ascribeth to them the taste of the heauenly gistes, that Christ ascribeth to them a fayth for a tyme: not that they soundly perceauie the spirituall force of grace and assured light of faith: but bicause the Lorde, the more to condemn them and make them mercurable, conueieth himselfe into their myndes so farre forth, as his goodnesse maie be tasted without the spirit of adoption. If any object, that then they remaineth nothing more to the faithfull whereby to proue certainly their adoption: I answer that though there be a great likenesse and affinitie betwene the elect of God, and them that are endued with a fallinge faith for a tyme, yet there liueth in the elect onely that affianciance whiche Paule speaketh of, that they crie with full mouthe, Abba, father. Therefore as God doth regenerate onely the elect with incorruptible seede for euer, so that the seede of lpe planted in their heartes neuer perisheth: so soundly doth he seale in them the grace of his adoption, that it may be stable & sure. But this withstandeth not but that that other inferioure working of the Spirite maie haue his course, euen in the reprobate. In the meane season the faithfull are taught, carefully and humbly to examine them selues, least in steede of assurednesse of faith, do creepe in carelesse confidence of the fleshe. Wylde that, the reprobate do neuer conceiue but a confused feelinge of grace, so that they rather take holde of the shadowe than of the sounde bodie, bicause the holy Spirite doth properly  
scale



seale the remission of sinnes in the electe onlye, so that they applye it by speciall fayth to their vse. But yet it is truely sayde, that the reprobate beleue God to be mercyfull vnto them, bicause they receyue the gifte of reconciliation, although confusedly and not plainely enough: not that they are partakers of the selve same fayth or regeneration with the childzen of God, but bycause they seme to haue as well as they, the same beginnyng of fayth, vnder a cloke of Hypocrisie.

And I denye not, that God dothe so farre geue light vnto theyr myndes, that they acknowledge his grace, but he maketh that same felyng so different from the peculiar testimonie whiche he geueth to his elect, that they neuer come to the sounde effecte and fruition thereof. For he dothe not therefore shewe himselve mercyfull vnto them, for that he hauyng truely deliuered them from death, dothe receyue them to his sauegarde, but onely he discloseth to them a present mercie. But he vouchesauech to graunt to the only electe the liuely roote of fayth, so that they continue to the ende. So is that obiection answered, yf God doe truely shewe his grace, that the same remayneth perpetually stablished, for that there is no cause to the contrarie, but that God maye enlighten some with a present felyng of his grace, whiche afterwarde vanissheth awaye.

Also, though fayth bee a knowledge of Gods kindenesse toward vs, and an assured perswasion of the truth thereof: yet it is no maruell that the felyng of Gods loue in tempoꝛall thynges dothe vanissheth awaye: whyche although it haue an affinitie wyth fayth, yet doth it muche differ from fayth. I graunt, the will of God is vnchangeable, and the truth thereof dothe alwaye stedfastly agree wyth it selve, but I denye that the reprobate doe procede so farre as to atteyne vnto that secrete reuelation, whyche the Scripture sayeth to belonge to the electe onely. Therefore I denye that they doe eyther conceyue the will of God as it is vnchangeable, or doe stedfastly embrace the truth thereof, bycause they abide in a felyng that vanissheth awaye: Lyke as a tree that is not planted deepe enough to take liuely rootes, in processe of tyme waxeth drye, although for a fewe yeres it byngeth forth not only blossomes and leaues, but also frute. Finally, as by the fall of the firste manne, the Image of God mighte haue benne blotted out of his mynde and soule, so it is no maruell, yf God do shyne vpon the reprobate wyth certayne beames of his grace, whyche afterwarde he suffreth to bee quenched.

And there is no cause to the contrarie, but that he maye lightly ouer walsh some, and thzoughly soke other some wyth the knowledge of hys Gospell. This is in the meane tyme to bee holden for truth, that howe small and weake so euer fayth bee in the electe, yet bycause it is to them a sure pleadge of the Spyrte of God, and a seale of their adoption, the prynte thereof canne neuer bee blotted out of theyr heartes: as for the reprobate, that they are ouer spzed wyth such a lyght as afterwarde commeth to nought. And yet the Spyrte is not deceyptfull, bycause he geueth not lyfe to



Of the manner how to receiue

the seede that he casteth in theyr heartes, to make it abyde alwayes incorruptible, as he dothe in the elect. I goe yet further, for whereas it is euident by the teachyng of the Scripture and by dayely experience, that y<sup>e</sup> reprobate are sometime touched with the felyng of Gods grace, it muste needes be that there is rayled in their heartes a certayne desire of mutuall loue. So for a time there lyued in Saul a godly affection to loue God, by whome he knew himself to be fatherly handeled, and therefore was delited with a certayne swetenesse of his goodnesse. But as the persuation of the fatherly loue of God is not faste rooted in the reprobate, so doe they not soundely loue him agayne as his chylzen, but are led wyth a certayne affection like hired seruantes. For to Christ only was that Spirite of loue geuen, to this ende, that he shoulde poure it into his membres. And truely that sayeng of Paule extendeth no further, but to the elect only: The loue of God is poured abrode into our heartes by the holy Spirite that is geuen vs, euen the same loue y<sup>e</sup> engendzeth the same confidence of callyng vpon him, whyche I haue before touched. As on the contrarie side we see God to bee maruelously angry with his chylzen, whome yet he cesseth not to loue: not that in hymselfe he hateth them, but bycause his will is to make them afrayde wyth the felynge of his wraath, but to the entent to abate theyr pride of fleshe, to shake of their drowesinesse, and to moue them to repentance. And therefore all at one tyme they conceyue hym to bee bothe angry with them or with their synnes, and also mercyfull vnto them: bycause they not fainedly doe praye to appeale his wraathe, to whome yet they flee wyth quiet assured trust. Hereby it appereth that it is not true that some doe counterfayte a shewe of fayth, whyche yet doe lacke the true faith, but while they are caried wyth a sodeyne violent motion of Zele, they deceyue themselues wyth false opinion, And it is no doubtte that sluggishnesse so possesseth them, that they doe not well examine their heart as they ought to haue done. It is likely that they were suche to whome (as John witnesseth) Christ dyd not commit himselfe when yet they beleued in hym: bycause he knewe them all, and knewe what was in manne. If many dyd not fall from the common fayth (I call it common, bicause the fayth that lasteth but a time hath a greate lykenesse and affinitie with the liuely and continuyng fayth) Christe woulde not haue sayde to his Disciples: If ye abide in my worde, then are ye truely my Disciples, and ye shall know the truthe, and the truthe shall make you free. For he speaketh to them that had embraced his doctrine, and exhorteth them to the encrease of fayth, that they shoulde not by their owne thoughtfulness quench the lighte that is geuen them. Therefore dothe Paule affirme, that fayth peculiarly belongeth to the electe, declaryng that many vanishe away, bycause they haue not taken liuely roote. Like as Christ also sayth in Matthew: every tree that my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. In other there is a grosser kinde of lyeng, that are not ashamed to mocke bothe God and menne. James inueyeth agaynst that kinde of menne, that wyth deceiptfull pretense doe wickedly abuse fayth. Neyther woulde Paule require of the children of God a fayth unfained,

Rom. v. v.

1h. 4. xliij

1h. viij. iij

Tit. i. i.

Mat. xv.

xliij.

1ac. ii.

1Tim. i. v



vnfayned, but in respect that many do presumptuously chalenge vnto themselves that whyche they haue not, & with bayne colozed deceypte do beguile other or sometime themselves. Therefore he compareth a good conscience to a cheste wherein fayth is kepte, bycause many in fallynge from good conscience, haue suffred shipwreck of their fayth.

We must also remember the doutefull signification of the woord fayth. For oftentimes fayth signifieth the sounde doctrine of religion, as in the place that we nowe alleaged, and in the same Epistle where Paule wyrteth: Deacons: to holde faste the misterie of fayth in a pure conscience. Againe, where he publisheth the fallynge awaye of certayne from the faith. But on the other side he sayth that Timothee was nourished by with the woordes of fayth. Agayne where he sayth that pzoophane vanities and oppositions, falsly named sciences, are the cause that many depart from the faith: whome in an other place he calleth reprobate touchyng fayth. As agayne he chargeth Titus, sayeng, Warne them that they be sounde in the fayth. By foundenesse he meaneth nothing els but purenesse of doctrine, which is easily corrupted and brought out of kynde by the lightnesse of men. Euen bicause in Christ, whome faith possesseth, are hidde all the treasures of wisdom and knoweledge: therefore fayth is woorthyly extended to signifie the whole summe of heauenly doctrine, from which it can not be leuered. Contrariwise sometime it is restrayned to signifie some particular obiect, as when Matthew sayth, that Christ saw the fayth of them that did let downe the manne sicke of the palsey thzough the tyles: and Christ himselte cryeth out that he founde not in Israell so great fayth as the Centurion bzought. But it is likely that the Centurion was earnestly bente to the healynge of his doughter, the care whereof occupied all his minde: yet bycause beyng contented with the onely assent and answer of Christ, he required not Christes bodyly pzesence, therefore in respecte of this circumstance his fayth was so muche commended. And a litle here befoze we haue shewed, that Paule taketh fayth for the gifte of wozyngge miracles, whyche gifte they haue that neyther are regenerate by the Spirite of God, nor doe hartly wozypppe him. Also in an other place he setteth fayth for the doctrine whereby we are instructed in fayth. For where he wyrteth that fayth shall bee abolished, it is out of question that that is meante by the ministerie of the Church, whiche at this tyme is profitable for oure weaknesse. In these foymes of speach standeth a pzopoztionall relation. But when the name of fayth is vnproperly remoued, to signifie a false pzofession, or a lyeng title of fayth, that shoulde seeme to be as harde a figuratiue abuse, as when the feare of God is set for a corrupte and wzongefull manner of wozypppyngge, as when it is oftentimes sayde in the holy Historie, that the fozraine nations whiche had ben transplanted into Samaria and the places borderyngge there about, feared the fayned Gods and the God of Israell: whiche is as much, as to mingle heauen and earth together. But now our question is, What is that fayth whiche maketh the chyldzen of God different from the vnbeleuers, by which we call vpon God by the name of our father, by whyche we passe from death to life, and by which Christ the eternall saluacion and life

i. Tim. i.  
ff.

13

i. Tim. iij.  
ff.

i. Tim. iiii.

i. &amp;. vt.

ii. Tim. ii.

vii. &amp;. iij.

viii.

Tit. i. iij.

&amp;. ii. ii.

Col. ii. iii.

Mat. ix. ii.

Mat. viii.

f.

i. Cor. xii.

f.



dwelleth in vs. The force and nature thereof I thinke I haue shortly and plainly declared.

14 Now let vs againe goe through all the partes of it, euen from the beginning, which beyng diligently examined, (as I thinke) there shall remaine nothing doubtfull. When in defining faith we call it a knowledge, we meane not thereby a comprehending, such as men vse to haue of those thinges that are subiect to mans vnderstanding. For it is so far aboue it, that mans wit must goe beyond & surmount it self to come vnto it, yea and when it is come vnto it, yet doth it not attayne that whiche it seeth, but while it is perswaded of that whiche it conceineth not, it vnderstandeth moze by the very assurednesse of persuasion, than yf it did with mans owne capacitee througely perceiue any thing familiar to man. Therefore Paule sayth very well, where he calleth it to comprehend what is the length, bredth, depth, and heighth, and to knowe the loue of Christ that farre surmounteth knowledge. For his meanyng was to signifie, that the thyng whiche our mynde conceiueth by faythe, is euery waye infinite, and that this kinde of knowledge is farre hyper than all vnderstandinge. But yet because the Lorde hath disclosed to his Saintes the secret of his will whiche was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reason fayth is in Scripture sometime called an acknowledging: and John calleth it a certayne knowledge, where he testifieth, that the faithfull doe certainly knowe that they are the children of God. And vndoubtedly they knowe it assuredly: but rather by beyng confirmed by persuasion of Gods trueth, than by beyng informed by naturall demonstration. And this, also the wordes of Paule doe declare, sayeng that while we dwell in the body, we are wanderyng abrode from the lord, because we walke by fayth and not by sight: whereby he sheweth that those thynges whiche we vnderstande by fayth, are yet absente from vs and are hidden from our sight. And hereupon we determine, that the knowledge of fayth stādeth rather in certaintie than in comprehending.

15 We further call it, a sure and stedfaste knowledge, to expresse thereby a moze sound constantie of persuasion. For as faith is not contented with a doubtfull and rowling opinton, so is it also not contented with a darke and entangled vnderstanding: but requireth a full and fixed assurednesse, such as men are wont to haue of thinges sound by experience and proued. For vnbelefe sticketh so faste and is so deperooted in our heartes, and we are so bent vnto it, that this which all men confesse with their mouth to be true, that God is faithfull, no mā is without great contention perswaded in his heart. Specially when it cometh to the profe, then the waueryng of all menne discloseth the fault that befoze was hidden. And not without cause the Scripture with so notable titles of cōmendacion maineteyneth the authozitie of the worde of God, but endeuozeth to geue remedie for the aforesayde disease, that God maye obteyne to be fully beleued of vs in his promyses. The wordes of the Lorde (sayth Dauid) are pure wordes, as the Siluer tryed in a forname of earth, fined seuen times. Agayne. The worde of the Lorde fined is a shield to all that truste in him. And Salomon confirmynge the same, and in a manner in the same wordes,

Eph. iii.  
xliij.

Colos. i.  
xxvii.

1. Th. iii. ii.

4. Cor. v.  
vi.

Pla. xij.  
xxi.

Pla. xxxij.

wordes,



wordes, sayth: Euery worde of God is pure. But sithe the whole. cxiij. Psalme entreateth only in a manner vpon the same, it weare superfluous to allege any moe places. Cruely so oft as God doth so comend his word vnto vs, he doth therein by the waye reproche vs with our vnbeleuingnesse: bycause that commendaciō tendeth to no other end, but to roote by all peruerse doubtinges out of our heartes. There be also many which so cōceiue the mercie of God, that they take litle cōfozt thereof. For they be euen therewithall pinched with a miserable carefulnesse, while they doubt whether he will be mercifull to them or noe, bicause they enclose within to narrow boundes the very same mercifulnesse, of whiche they thinke themselues moſte assuredly persuaded. For thus they thinke with themselues, that his mercie is in deede greate and plentiefull poured out vpon many, offrynge it selfe and ready for all menne: but that it is not certayne whether it will extende vnto them or no, or rather whether they ſhal atteyne vnto it or no. This thought when it so stayeth in the midde race, is but a halfe. Therefore it doth not so confirme the spirite with assured quietnesse, as it dothe trouble it with vnquiet doubtfulnesse. But there is a far other selyng of full assurednesse, whiche in the Scriptures is alwaye assigned to fayth, euen suche a one as playnely settinge before vs the goodnesse of God, dothe clearely put it out of doubt. And that can not be, but that we muste needes truely feele and proue in our selues the sweetenesse thereof. And theretofore the Apostle out of fayth deriueth assured confidence, and out of it agayne boldenesse. For thus he sayeth, that by Christe we haue boldenesse, and an entrance with confidence, whiche is thzough fayth in him. By whiche wordes truly he sheweth, that it is no right fayth, but when we are bolde with quiet mindes to shewe our selues in the pzeſence of God. Which boldenesse procedeth not but of assured confidence of Gods good will and our saluation. Whiche is so true, that many times this word Faith, is vsed for Confidence.

Eph. iii. 12

But herupon hangeth the chiefe staye of our faith, that we do not think the promises of mercie which the Lord offreth to be true only in other bilide vs, & not at all in our selues: but rather that in inwardly embracing thē, we make them our owne. Frō hense procedeth that confidence which the same Paule in an other place calleth peace, vnlesse some had rather say, y peace is deriued of it. It is an assurednesse that maketh the consciēce quiet & cherefull befoze God, without which the cōscience must of necessitie be vexed, & in a manner tozne in peces with troublesome trembling, vnlesse parhappes it do forget God & it selfe, & so stōber a litle while. & I may truely say, for a litle while, for it doth not lōg enioy that miserable forgetfulnesse, but is with often recourse of the remembrance of Gods iudgement sharply tormented. Briefly, there is none truely faithful, but he that beyng persuaded with a solid assurednesse that God is his merciful & louyng father, doth promise himselfe all thinges vpon trust of Gods goodnesse: and none but he that trustyng vpon the promises of Gods good will toward him, conceyueth and vndoubted lokyng for of saluation: as the Apostle sheweth in these wordes: yf we keepe sure to the ende our confidence and glozyng of hope, for hereby he meaneth that none hopeth well

16

Rom. v. 1

Hebr. iii. 14



in the Lorde, but he that with confidence glozieth that he is heyre of the kyngdome of heauen. There is none (I saye) saythfull, but he that leanyng vpon the assurednesse of his owne saluation, doth confidently triumph vpon the deuell and death, as we are taught by that notable concluding sentence of Paule: I am perswaded (sayth he) that neyther death, noz life, noz Angeles, noz pzinpalities, noz powers, noz thinges present, noz thinges to come, shalbe able to separate vs fro y loue of God. wherewith he embraceth vs in Christ Iesu. And in like manner, the same Apostle thinketh, that the eyes of our minde are by no other meane well lightened, vnlisse we see what is the hope of the eternall inheritance to whiche we are called. And eche where his common manner of teachyng is such, that he declareth that no otherwise we do not well compzehend the goodnesse of God, vnlisse we gather of it the frute of great assurednesse.

17 But (some man will say) the faithfull doe finde by experience a far other thing within themselves, whiche in recordyng the grace of God toward them, are not only tempted with vnquietnesse, whiche oftentimes chaunceth vnto them, but also are sometime shaken with most greuous terroz: so great is the vehemencye of temptations to thzow downe their mindes: which thing seineth not sufficiently wel to agree with that assurednesse of sayth. Therefore this doubt must be answered, if we will haue our aforesayde doctrine to stande. But truely, when we teache that sayth ought to be certayne and assured, we doe not imagine suche a certaintie as is touched with no doubtynge, noz suche an assurednesse as is assayed with no carefulnesse: but rather we saye, that the saythfull haue a perpetuall stryfe with their owne distrustfulnesse. So farre be we from setlyng their consciences in such a peasable quietnesse, as maye be interrupted with no troubles at all yet on the other side we saye, that in what sozte so euer they bee afflicted, they doe neuer fall and departe from that assured confidence whiche they haue conceyued of the mercie of God. The Scripture setteth forth no example of sayth moze playne, oz moze notable than in Dauid, specially if a manne beholde the whole continuall course of his lyfe. But yet howe he was not alwaye of quiet minde, hymselfe declareth by innumerable complaintes, of whiche at this time it shal be sufficient doe choose out a fewe. When he reprocheth his owne soule with troublesome motions, what is it els but that he is angry with his owne vbeleuengnesse: why treblest thou my soule (sayth he) and why art thou disquieted within me: trust in God. And truely that same discouragement was a plaine token of destruction, euen as if he thought himselfe to be forsaken of God. And in an other place we reade a larger confession thereof, where he sayth: I sayd in my ouerthzow, I am cast out from the sight of thy eyes. Also in an other place he disputeth with himselfe in carefull and miserable perplexitie, yea & quateleth of the very nature of God, sayeng: Hath God forgotten to haue mercie: will he caste of for euer: And yet harder is that whiche foloweth: But I haue sayde, To die is mine: charges are of the right hande of the hyst. For, as in despere he condemneth himselfe to destruction, and not only confesseth himselfe to be tossed with doutyng, but as if he were bāquished in battel, he leaueth nothyng to himself, bicause

Rom. viii.  
vii.

Ephes. i.  
viii.

Psal. lxxi.  
vi. & lxxii. v

Psal. lxxi.  
viii.

Psal. lxxii.  
i.



because God hath forsaken him, and hath turned to destroy him, the same hande that was wont to be his helper. Wherefore not without cause he exhorteth his soule to returne to her quietnesse, because he had found by experience, that he was tossed among troublesome waues. And yet (whiche is meruellous) in al these assaults, faith vpholdeth the heartes of the godly, and is truely like vnto a Date tree to endeavour and rise vppwarde agaynst all burdens, howe great soeuer they be: as Dauid, when he might seme to be vtterly ouerwhelmed, yet in rebukynge himselfe, cessed not to rise vp to God. And truely he that struiuing with his owne weakenesse, resorteth to faith in his troubles, is alredy in a manner conquerour. Whiche maye be gathered by this sentence and other like: Waite for the Lord, be stronge, he shall strengthen they heart: waite for the Lord. He reprocheth himselfe of feafulnesse, and in repetyng the same twise, confesseth himself to be sometimes subiect to many troublesome motions. And in the meane time he doth not only become displeas'd with himselfe in these faultes, but earnestly endeuozeth to amendement. Truly if we will moze nerely by good examination compare him with Achaz, there shall be founde great difference. Elaye was sente to byngge remedie to the carefull grieue of the wicked king and hypocrite, and spake vnto him in these wordes: Be in sauegarde and be quiet: feare not, &c. But what did Achaz? As it was befoze sayd, that his heart was moued as the trees of the woode are shaken with winde, though he hearde the promise, yet he cessed not to quake for feare. This therefore is the prope rewarde & punishment of vbelefe, so to tremble for feare, that in temptation he turneth himselfe awaye from God, that doth not open to himselfe the gate by fayth. Contrarywise the faythfull whome the weighty burden of temptations maketh to stoupe, and in a maner oppresseth, do constantly rise vp, although not without trouble and hardinesse. And because thei know their owne weakenesse, thei pray with the Prophete: Take not the worde of truth away from my mouth continually. By which wordes we are taught, that somtime they become dumme, as though their fayth were vtterly ouerthzomen, yet they faint not, nor turne their backs, but procede in their battell, & with prayer do encourage their slouthfulnesse, lest by fauozing themselues they should growe to vnsensible dulnesse.

For the vnderstādyng therof, it is needeful to returne to that diuision of the fleshe and the spirit, wherof we made mention in an other place, which doth in this behalf most clearly appere. The godly heart therefore feleth a diuision in it self, which is partly delited with sweetnesse by acknowledging of þ goodnesse of God, & partly greued with bitternesse by felyng of his owne miserie, partly resteth vpon the promise of the Gospel, and partly trembleth by reason of the testimonie of his owne wickednesse: partly reioyseth with conceyuing of life, and partly quaketh for feare of death. Whyche variation cometh by imperfection of fayth, for as muche as we neuer be in so good case in the course of this present life, as beyng healed from all disease of distrustfulnesse, to be altogether filled & possessed w faith. Hereupon procede those battels, whē the distrustfulnesse that abideth in the remnātes of the fleshe, riseth vp to assaile the faith that is inwardly conceiued. But

Psa. cxi.  
vii.Psa. cxi.  
xiiij.

Esa. lvi. ii.

Psa. cxix.  
liii.

13



if in a faythfull minde assurednesse be mixed with doubtfulnesse, come we not then alwaye to this pointe, that faith stādeth not in a certaine and clere knowledge, but in a darke & doubtfully entangled knowledge of Gods will toward vs: No, not so. For though we be diuersly drawen with sondry thoughtes, yet are we not therefore by and by leuered from fayth: though we be vexed with tossing by and downe of distrustfulnesse, yet are we not therefore drowned in the bottōlesse depth thereof: and though we be shaken, yet be we not thrust downe out of our place. For this is alwaye the ende of this battell, that faith doth at length with wrastling ouercome those hard troubles, wherewith when she is so besieged, she seemeth to be in danger.

19 Let this be the summe of all. So sone as any droppe of fayth, be it neuer so small, is poured into our heartes, we by and by beginne to beholde the face of God milde and pleasant, and louyng toward vs: yet the same we see from a farre of, and far distant from vs, but with so sure sight, that we know we are not deceiued. Fro thense forward, howe muche we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by procedyng further, we come vnto so much the neter, and therefore certainer beholdyng of him, and by very continuance he is made more familiar vnto vs. So we see, that the minde enlightened with the knowledge of God, is first holden wrapped in much ignorance, which by litle and litle is wyped awaye. yet the same minde is not so hindered by beyng ignozāt of some thinges, oz by darkly seyng that which she seeth, but that she enioyeth a clere knowledge of gods wil toward her, which is the first and pzincipal point in fayth. For as if a man beyng shut by in pryson, haue beames of the sunne shynyng in, sidelong at a narrowe windowe, oz as it were but half glummeryng, he wanteth in deede the free beholdyng of the sunne, yet he seeth with his eyes an vndoubted brightnesse thereof, and receyueth the vse of it: so we beyng bounde with the fetters of an earthly body, howe so euer we be on eche side shadowed with muche darkenesse, yet we are sufficiently enlightened vnto perfect assurednesse, by the light of God, extendyng his beames of light vpon vs, though it be but a litle, to shew forth his mercie.

20 Both these pointes the Apostle very wel teacheth in diuerse places.

Cor. iiii. For when he sayth, that we know vnperfectly, and propheticie vnperfectly, and see by a darke speakyng as by a glasse, he sheweth howe slender a litle portyon of the true godly wisdomē is geuen vs in this present life. For though those wordes do not expressely shew that our faith is vnperfect so long as we grone vnder this burden of the fleshy, but that it happeneth vnto vs by our owne imperfectiō, that we haue neede to be continually exercised in learning: yet he secretly declareth that that thinge whiche is infinite, can not be comprehended by our small capacitie, and narrowe compasse. And this Paule reporteth of the whole church, but vnto euery owne of vs, his owne dulnesse is a hinderance & staye that he can not come so nere as were to be wished. But howe sure and vndeceivable a taste of it self, euen a small droppe of faith doth make vs fele, the same Apostle sheweth in an other place, where he affirmeth, that by the Gospell we beholde the glozy of God with vncouered face, hauing no veile betwene vs and it, so effectually that



that we be transformed into the same image. In such entanglements of ignorance there muste needes be wrapped together bothe muche doubtynge and feareful tremblyng, specially for asmuch as our heart, by a certaine natural instinct of it self, is enclined to vnbeleuingnesse. By side that, there be tentations which bothe infinite in number, and diuerse in kinde, do oftentimes with great sodeine violence assaile vs. But specially our owne conscience oppressed with heauy burden of sinnes lyeng vpon it, dothe sometime lament and grone with it selfe, and sometime accuseth it selfe: sometime secretely murmureth, and sometime is openly troubled. Whether therfore aduersities do shew an apparance of the wrath of God, or the conscience doth kinde in it selfe any profe or matter of his wrath, from thense vnbeleue doth take weapons and engines to vanquish fayth withall: whiche are alway directed to this ende, that we thinkyng God to be our aduersarie and hatefully bent agaynst vs, should bothe not hope for any helpe at his hande, and also be stayde of him as of our deadly enemye.

To beare these assaults, faith doth armie and fortifie her self with the worde of God. And when such a tentation assaileth, that God is our enemye, because he is sharpe against vs: faith in the other side answereth, that euen when he punisheth he is also mercifull, because his chastisement cometh rather of loue than of wrath. When faith is stricken with this thought that God is a reuenger of iniquities, agaynst that stroke he letteth his pardon redy for al offenses, so oft as the sinner resorteth to the mercifulnesse of the Lord. So a godly minde how so euer it be in maruelous wise tossed and vexed, yet at length riseth by aboue all dangers, and neuer suffreth the confidence of Gods mercie to be plucked awaye from it: But rather what so euer contentions do trouble and wery it, in the ende they turne to the assurednesse of this confidence. And herof this is a profe, that the holy ones, whē they thinke themselues moste of al pressed with the vengeance of God yet euen then do make their complayntes to the same God: and when it seemeth that they shal not be heard at all, euen then neuertheless they call vpon him. For to what purpose were it, to make their moane to him from whome they hoped for no comfort: truly they would neuer finde in their heartes to call vpon him, vlesse they beleued that there were some helpe at his hande prepared for them. So the Disciples, in whome Christ blameth their smallnesse of fayth, complayned in deede that they perished, but yet they called to him for helpe. And when he rebuketh them for their small fayth, yet he doth not reiect them from the number of his, nor maketh them of the number of the vnbeleuers, but stirreth them to shake of that fault. Therefore we affirme againe that whiche we haue aboue spoken, that the roote of fayth is neuer plucked out of a godly heart, but sticketh so faste in the bottome, that howe so euer it be shaken and seme to bende this waye or that waye, the light thereof is so neuer quenched or choked by, but that it lyeth at leaste hidden vnder some embers: and by this token is playnely shewed, that the word which is an vncorruptible seede, bringeth forth frute like to it selfe, the spryng whereof doth neuer whither and vterly perish. For whereas this is the extremest matter of despeire to the holy ones, to sele according to the consideration of present thinges, the



b. xiii. hande of God bent to their destructiō: yet Job affirmeth that his hope  
 v. shall procede so far, that though God do kill him, yet he wil not ther-  
 foze cesse to trust in him. This is the truthe therfoze: Unbelefe reig-  
 neth not within the heartes of the godly, but outwardly assaileth  
 them: neither doth she deadly wound them with her wepons, but only  
 troubleth them, or so hurteth them, that yet the wound is curable. For  
 phc. vi. sayth, as Daule teacheth, serueth vs for a shield: that beyng holden  
 vii. by agaynst weapōs, doth so receiue the force of them, that it either vt-  
 terly driueth them backe, or at least so breaketh their violēce, that thei  
 can not pearce them to danger of life. Therfoze when sayth is Ma-  
 ken, it is like as if a strēg souldior with the violent stroke of a darte  
 be compelled to remoue his foote, and geue ground a litle: and when  
 faith it self is wounded, that is like as if his buckler by some stroke  
 be in some part brokē, but yet so y it is not strikē through. For alway  
 the godly minde will atteine to rise thus hie as to say with David, If  
 I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I wil feare none euil,  
 because thou art with me. It is in deede terrible to walke in y dark-  
 nesse of death, & it can not be but that the faithfull, how much strength  
 soeuer they haue, must be astrayde of it. yet because this thought sur-  
 mounteth it, that they haue God present with them, and prouidyng  
 for their safetie, that feare is ouercome with assurednesse. For (as Au-  
 gustine sayth) how great engines so euer the deuell raiseth by agaynst  
 vs, so lōg as he posselseth not the place of the heart, where faith dwel-  
 leth, he is cast out of the dozes. And so if we may iudge by the successe,  
 the faithfull not only escape safe from euery battel, so that by and by  
 receyuyng fresh courage they are redy to come againe into the ffield:  
 but also that is fulfilled whiche John sayth in his canonical Epistle:  
 Th. b. iiii. This is the victorie that ouercometh the world, eue your faith. For he  
 affirmeth y it shal not only winne the victorie in one or fewe battels,  
 or agaynst some one assault, but also that it shal get the ouerhande of  
 the whole world, although it be a thousand times assayled.

22 There is an other kinde of feare & tremblng, but such a one as by  
 it the assurednesse of faith is so nothing at all diminished, y thereby it  
 is the moze soundely stablihed. That is, when the faithfull either in  
 thinking that the exāples of Gods vengeance agaynst the wicked are  
 shewed for lessōs for thē to learne by, do carefully beware that they  
 happen not to prouoke gods wozath agaynst thēselues with the same  
 offenses: or recording with thēselues their owne miserie, do learne to  
 hang altogether vpon the Lord, without whō thei see thēselues to be  
 moze fickle & soner vanishing than any blast of winde. For when the  
 Apostle in letting forth y scourges wherewith y Lord in old time had  
 Coz. p. xi. punished y people of Israel, putteth y Corinthians in feare y they en-  
 tāgle not thēselues w like euils: he doth not therby abate their affiāce,  
 but only shaketh away y dulnesse of the flesh by whiche faith is wont  
 moze to be oppressed thā strēghened. And whē he taketh occasiō of y  
 No. xi. ff. Jewes sal to exhort him y standeth, to take heede y he sal not, he doth  
 not therby bidde vs to wauer, as though we were not fully assured of  
 our stedfastnesse, but only he taketh away arrogāt presumptiō & rash  
 trusting to much in our owne strēgh, y after the thrusting out of the  
 Jewes, y Gentiles being receyued into their place, shuld not to much  
 outragiouly



outragiously triumph agaynst them. Albeit he speaketh there not on-  
ly to the faithfull, but also in the same sayeng comprehendeth the Hy-  
pocrites that glozied only in outward shewe. For neyther doth he ad-  
monish euery man particularly, but makynge a cōparison betwene the  
Jewes and the Gentiles, after that he had shewed that the Jewes in  
this that they were reiected, did suffer iuste punishment for their vn-  
belese and vnthankfulnesse, he also exhorted the Gentiles that they  
should not, by beyng proude and extollyng themselves, lose the grace  
of adoption lately conueyed vnto them. But as in that generall reiec-  
tyng of the Jewes, there remained yet some that were not fallen from  
the covenant of adoptiō, so out of the Gentiles there might arise some,  
whiche without true faith, should be puffed vp only with foolish confi-  
dence of the flesh, and so abuse Gods louyng kindnesse to their owne  
destruction. But although you take this as spoken to the elect & faith-  
full, yet thereupon shall follow no inconuenience. For it is one thyng  
to holde downe the rash presumption whiche out of the remnantes of  
the flesh creepeth sometime euen into the holy ones, that with bayne  
confidence it waxe not outragiously wanton: and an other thyng to  
strike the conscience with feare, that it rest not with full assurednesse  
in the mercie of God.

Then, when he teacheth, that with feare and trembling we should  
worke our owne saluatiō, he requireth nothing els, but that we should  
accustome vs with much abacyng of our selues, reuerently to loke vp  
vnto the mightinesse of God. For truly nothyng doth so much awake  
vs to cast all our confidence and assurance of mynde vpon the Lorde,  
as doth the distrust of our selues and carefulnesse cōceyued by know-  
ledge in conscience of our owne wretchednesse. And accordyng to this  
meanynge is that sayeng in the Prophet to be take: In the multitude  
of thy goodnesse I will entre into thy temple: I will worship in feare.  
Where he comely coniouneth the boldnesse of fayth that leaneth vpon  
Gods mercie with a reuerent feare, whiche we muste needes fele so  
oft as cōpyng into the sight of Gods maicstie, we perceyue by the glo-  
rious bryghtnesse thereof, howe greate is our owne filthinesse. And  
Salomon sayth truly, where he pronounceth the man blessed, that  
continually waketh his owne heart astrayde, for by hardening thereof  
men fall hedlong into euell. But such feare he meaneeth as maye make  
vs moze heedfull, not such wherby we should be troubled and vtterly  
fall: euen such a feare as when the minde confounded in it self, dothe  
recouer it selfe agayne in God: when despeiryng it selfe, it reuiueth by  
trust in him. Therefore there is no cause to the contrarie, but that the  
faythfull maye at one time bothe be in feare, and also enioye mozte as-  
sured comfort, in respect that sometime they turne their eyes to behold  
their owne vanitie, and sometime they cast the thought of their minde  
vpon the truthe of God. But how (will some man saye) shall feare and  
fayth dwell bothe in one minde: euen thus, as contrarily vn-  
sensible dulnesse, and carefulnesse, for wheras the wicked trauaile to procure  
to themselves a want of greife, that no feare of God might trouble thē,  
yet, the iudgement of God so preileth them, that they can not attayne  
that whiche they desire. So there is nothyng to withstande, but that  
God maye exercise them that be his to humilitie, that in fightyng ba-  
liantly

23

Phil. 4. 1

Ps. 5. 11

Pro. 1. 1



liantly, they maye restrayne themselues vnder the bzidle of modestie. And by the pzoocesse of the texte it appereth, that this was the entent of the Apostle, where he assigneth the cause of feare and trembling to be the good pleasure of God, whereby he geueth to them that be his bothe to will wel, and valiantly to goe thzough with it. Accozding to this meaning ought we to take that sayeng of the Pzophete: The children of Israel shal feare God and his godnesse: bicause not only, godlinesse engēdzeth the reuerence of God, but the very swetenesse and pleasant taste of grace, filleth man beyng discouraged in himself with feare and admiratiō, to make him hange vpon God, and humbly yeld himselfe subiect to his power.

24 Yet we do not herby make roome to that most pestilēt Philosophie; whiche many halsepapistes at this daye beginne to coyne in cozners. For, bicause they cā not defende that grosse doubtfulness which hath ben taught in Scholes, thei flie to an other deuise, to make a confidēce mingled with distrustfulness. Thei confesse, that so oft as we loke vnto Chzist, we finde in him full mater to hope well: but bicause we are alwayes vnwozthy of those good things that are offred vs in Chzist, they would haue vs to wauer & stagger in beholding of our owne vnwozthinesse. Briefely, they place conscience so betwene hope & feare, that it altereth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times & courses: and they so compare sayth & hope together, that when the one springeth vp the other is pzedded downe, whē the one ariseth the othre againe falleth. So whē Satan seeth ȳ those open engines wherewith befoze time he was wont to destroy ȳ assurednesse of faith, do now nothing pzeuaile, he endeuozeeth by croked vndermininges to ouerthzow it. But what manner of cōfidence shal that be, which shal now & then yeld to desperatiō: If (say they) thou cōsider Chzist, there is assured saluatiō: but if thou returne to thy self, there is assured dānation. Therefore of necessitie distrust and good hope must by enterchāgeable courses reigne in thy minde: As though we ought to imagine Chzist standing a far of, and not rather dwellyng within vs. For therefore we loke for saluation at his hande, not bycause he appereth a far of vnto vs, but bicause he hath graffed vs into his bodye, and so maketh vs partakers not only of all his good thinges, but also of himself. Therefore I thus turne this their argument against themselues: If thou consider thy self, there is certaine damnation. But bicause Chzist with all his good thinges is by way of cōmunicatyng so geuen vnto thee, that all his thinges are made thine, and thou arte made a member of him, yea & all one with him: his righteousnesse drowne thy sinnes, his saluation takeeth awaye thy damnation: he by his wozythynesse cōmeth betwene thee and God, that thy vnwozythynesse come not in the sight of God. Briefely, this is the truthe: we ought neyther to separate Chzist from vs, noz vs from him, but with bothe handes to holde fast that selowshippe whereby he hath coupled himselfe vnto vs. So the Apostle teacheth vs: The body in deede (sayth he) is dead by reason of sinne: but the Spirit of Chzist that dwelleth in you, is life for righteousness. Accozding to these mens trifeling deuise he should haue said, Chzist in deede hath life with himself: but you, as you be sinners, remaine subiect to death and damnation. But he sayth far otherwise,



For he teacheth that that damnatio which we deserue of our selues, is swallowed by by the saluation of Christ, and to proue it, he vseth the same reason that I haue alleged, bicause Christ is not without vs, but dwelleth within vs, and cleaueth vnto vs not only with vndiuidable knot of felowshippe, but with a certaine maruellous communion Dayly moze and moze groweth with vs into one body, till he be made altogether one with vs. And yet I denie not, as I haue sayd a litle befoze, that sometime there happen certaine interruptions of sayth, as the weakenesse thereof is amonge violent sodeine motions bowed hether oz thether. So in the thicke miste of tētations the light thereof is choked, but what so euer happeneth, it celseth not from endeavour to seke God.

And no otherwise doth Bernarde argue, when he purposely entreateth of this question in his. v. Homelie in the Dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I say) by the benefite of God studieng vpon the soule, me thinkes I finde in it two thinges as it were contrarie. If I behold the soule it selfe, as it is in it selfe and of it selfe, I can saye nothyng moze truely of it, than y it is vtterly brought to nought. What neede I nowe to reckon by particularly all the miseries of the soule, how it is loaden with sinnes, couered with darknesse, entangled with deceitfull enticementes, itching with lustes, subiect to passions, filled with illusions, alwaye enclined to euell, bent to all kindes of vice, finally full of shame and confusion: Now if al the very righteousneses of it beyngeloked vpon by the light of truthe be founde like a clothe stayned with floures, then what shall the vnrighteousneses thereof be accompted: If the light that is in vs be darkenesse, how great shall the very darkenesse be: what then: without doubtte man is made like vnto vanitie: man is brought to nought: man is nothing. But how the is he vtterly nothing, whome God doth magnifie: How then is he nothyng, toward whome Gods heart is set: Brethren, let vs take heart againe. Though we be nothing in our owne heartes, peraduenture there maye somewhat of vs lie hidden in the heart of God. O father of mercies, O father of the miserable, howe doest thou set thy heart toward vs: For thy heart is where thy treasure is. But howe be we thy treasure, if we be nothyng: All nations are so befoze thee as yf they were not, they shall be reputed as nothyng. Euen befoze thee, not within thee: so in the iudgement of thy truth, but not in the affection of thy pitie. Thou callest those thinges that are not, as though they were. Therefore bothe they are not, bicause thou callest those thinges that are not, and also they are bycause thou callest them. For though they are not, in respect of theselues, yet with thee they are, according to that sayeng of Paule, not of the woorkes of righteousnesse, but of him that calleth. And then he sayth, that this couplyng together of bothe consideracions is maruellous. Cruely those thinges that are knit together, do not the one destroye the other. Which also in the conclusion he moze plainly declareth in these wordes. Now if with both these consideracions we diligently loke vpon our selues what we be, yea in the one consideraciō how we be nothing, and in the other how much we be magnified, I thinke our glozieng semeth to be tempered, but paraduēture it is moze encreased. Cruely it is perfectly stablished, that

25

Pla. lxxij  
vi.  
Matt. vi.  
rij.

Ro. ix. xij.



that we glorie not in our selues but in the Lord. If we thinke thus: If he hath determined to saue vs, we shall by and by be deliuered: now in this we may take courage. But let vs climbe vp into a hie watche toure, & seke for the citie of God, seke for the temple, seke for his house, seke for the spouse. I haue not forgotten, but I say it with feare & reuerence, we saye be, but in the heart of God. We be, but by his allowyng as worthy, not by our owne worthinesse.

26 Now, the feare of the lord, whercof commonly in euery place witnesse is bozne to al the holy ones, & whiche is in some places called the beginning of wisdom, & in some places wisdom it selfe, although it be but one, yet it procedeth fro a double vnderstanding. For God hath in himself the reuerence both of a father & of a lord. Therefore he will cruely woorthip him, will endeuor to knowe himselfe bothe an obedient sonne & a seruisable seruant vnto him. The obedience that is geuen to him as to a father, the Lord by his Prophet calleth honor: the seruice that is done to him as to a lord, he calleth feare. The sonne (sayth he) honoureth the father & the seruant the lord. If I be a father, where is my honor? If I be a lord, where is my feare? But how soeuer he putteth differēce betwene thē, thou seest how he confoundeth them both together. Therefore let the feare of the lord be vnto vs a reuerence, mingled w<sup>th</sup> that same honor & feare. Neither is it any maruel, if one minde receiue both those affectiōs. For he that considereth with himselfe what a father God is vnto vs, hath cause enough, although there were no helles at all, why he should dzeade his displeasure moze greuously thā any death. But also (such is the wantonnesse of our flesh to rāne to licentiousnesse of sinning) to restrain the same by al meanes, we ought therewithal to take hold of this thought, that the Lord vnder whose power we liue, abhorreth al iniquitie, whose vengeānce they shall not escape, & in liuing wickedly doe prouoke his wrath against thēselues:

27 But that which John sayth, that feare is not in charitie, but perfect charitie casteth out feare, bicause feare conteyneth punishment, disagreeeth not with this that we say. For his wicked feare not God in this respect that they dzeade to incurre his displeasure, if they might doe it without punishmēt: but bicause they know him to be armed w<sup>th</sup> power to reuēge: therefore they make for feare at his hearing of his wrath. And also they so feare his wrath, bicause they thinke that it hangeth ouer thē, for that they loke euery moment when it shall fal vpon their hedgs. As for the faithfull: they (as is aboue sayd) both feare his displeasure moze than punishmēt, and are not troubled with feare of punishmēt as if it did hang ouer their neckes, but they are made the moze ware not to procure it. So sayth the Apostle, whē he speaketh to the faithful: Be ye not deceiued: for this commeth the wrath of God vpon the children of vnbelefe. He threateneth not that Gods wrath will come vpon them, but putteth them in minde to thinke vpon this, that the wrath of God is prepared for suche wicked doinges as he had recited, that they themselues should not be willing also to proue it. Albeit it seldome happeneth that the reprobate be awākened w<sup>th</sup> onely and bare threatenings, but rather beyng already grosse and vnseñsibly dull with their owne hardnesse, so oft as God thundzeth from heauē they harden themselues to obstinacie, but when they are ones striken with his hand, then whether they will or no, they be enforced to feare.

This



This feare they commonly call a seruile feare: and in comparifon ſeē it for contrarie to free natured & willyng feare which becometh childzen. Some other do ſuttelly thruſt in a middle kynde, bicauſe that ſame ſeruile and conſtrayned affectiō ſometime ſo ſubdueth mens mindes, that they come willyngly to the feare of God.

Now we vnderſtand, that in the good wil of God, wherunto faith is ſayd to haue reſpect, the poſſeſſion of ſaluatiō and eternall life is obtained. For if we can wāt no good thing while God is fauozable vnto vs, it abundantly ſufficeth vs to the aſſuredneſſe of ſaluatiō, whē he himſelfe doth aſſure vs of his loue. Let him ſhewe his face (ſayth the Prophet) & we ſhalbe ſafe. wherupon the Scriptures determine this to be the ſumme of our ſaluatiō, that God putting away al enmitieſ, hath receyued vs into fauour. Whereby they ſhew, that when God is reconciled vnto vs, there remaineth no perill, but that al things ſhal proſper well with vs. Therfoze faith, hauing taken hold of the loue of God, hath promiſes of the preſent life and of the life to come, & perfect aſſuredneſſe of al good thinges: but that ſame ſuch as may be gathered out of the word of God. For faith doth not certainly promiſe to it ſelf epyther the lēgth oz honoz oz wealth of this life, for almuch as God willed none of theſe thinges to be apointed vnto vs, but is contented with this aſſuredneſſe, that God will neuer faile hōwe ſo euer many thinges faile vs that pertaine to the maintenance of this preſent life. But the chiefe aſſuredneſſe of faith reſteth in expectation of the life to come, which is ſet out of doubt by the worde of God. But what ſo euer miſeries and calamities betide vnto them whome God loueth, they can not worke the contrarie, but that his good will is perfect felicitie. Therfoze when we did meane to expreſſe the ſumme of bleſſedneſſe, we named the fauoz of God, out of whiche ſpring do ſlowe vnto vs al kindes of good thinges. And this we may cōmonly note throughtout the Scriptures, that when ſo euer mentiō is made not only of eternal ſaluatiō, but alſo of any good thing in vs, we be alwaye called backe to the loue of God. For which cauſe Dauid ſayeth, that the goodneſſe of God when it is felt in a godly heart, is ſweter and moze to be deſired than life it ſelfe. Finally, yf all thinges els do ſlowe vnto vs accozdyng to our owne wiſhing, and we be vncertaine of Gods loue oz hatred, our felicitie ſhalbe accuſed, and therfoze miſerable. But yf the fauozable face of God do ſhine vnto vs, euen our very miſeries ſhalbe bleſſed, bicauſe they are turned to helpeſ of our ſaluatiō. As Paule, when he heaped by a reherſall of all aduerſities, yet he glozieth that he was not by them ſeuered from the loue of God: and in his prayers he alwaye beginneth at the fauour of God, from whence ſloweth all proſperitie. Likewiſe Dauid ſetteth the only fauour of God agaynſte all the terrozſ that trouble vs. If (ſayth he) I ſhall walke in the middeſt of the ſhadowe of death, I will feare no euels, bycauſe thou arte with me. And we alwaye fele that our mindes do wauer, vnleſſe beyng cōtented with the fauour of God, they ſeke their peace in it, and haue this inwardly fixed in them that is ſayd in the Pſalme, Bleſſed is the people whoſe God is the Lord, and the nation whome he hath choſen to him for his inheritance.

We make the fundation of fayth to bee the free promiſe of God, bicauſe

23

Psal. lxxxij.  
iij.  
Ephel. 4.  
iiii.

Psal. lxxij.  
iii.

Rom. viii.  
xv.

Psal. cxlii.  
iii.

Pl. cxviii.  
iii.

29



bycause fayth properly stayeth vpon it. For though fayth doe beleue God to bee true in all thynges, whether he commaunde oz forbide, whether he promyse oz threaten, and also obediently receyueth his commaundementes, and bewareth of thynges that he prohibeteth, and hath regard to his threatenynge, yet properly it beginneth at the promise, and therein continueth, and thereupon endeth. For fayth seeketh for lyfe in God, whiche is not founde in commaundementes oz declaratiōs of penalties, but in promise of mercie, and in no other promise, but suche as is freely geuen. For the conditionall promise, by whiche we are sente to our owne woꝝkes, doth no otherwise promise life, but if we perceiue it to stand in our selues. Therfoze if we wil not haue our fayth to treble and wauer, we must stay it with that promise of saluatiō, whiche is willingly & liberally offred vs of the lord, rather in respect of our miserie, thā of our woꝝthinesse. Wherfoze the Apostle beareth this witnesse of the gospel, that it is the woꝝd of fayth: whiche name he taketh both frō the commaundementes and also from the promises of the lawe, bicause there is nothyng that can stablish fayth, but that liberal embassage, by which God recōcileth the woꝝld to himself. Therfoze the same Apostle oftentimes maketh a relation of fayth & the Gospel together, when he teacheth that the ministerie of the gospel was cōmitted to him vnto the obedience of fayth: that the same is the power of God, to saluation to euery one that beleueth: that in it is reueled the righteousnesse of God frō fayth to fayth. And no maruell. For sicke the gospel is the ministerie of reconciliation, there is no other testimonie sure enough of Gods good will toward vs, the knowledge whereof fayth requireth. Therfoze when we saye that fayth must rest vpon free promise, we do not denie but that the faithful do euery way embrace and receiue the woꝝde of God, but we apoint the promise of mercie to be the prope marke of fayth. Euen as the faithful ought in deede to acknowledge God to be the iudge and punisher of wicked doynge, & yet they properly haue regard vnto his mercifull kindenesse: for asmuch as he is described to them to be considered such a one as is louyng and mercifull, far from wꝝath, of much goodnesse, gentle vnto all, pouryng foꝝth his mercie vpon al his woꝝkes.

Neither yet do I regarde the barkynge of Pygmyes, oz suche other dogges, when they finde faulte with this restraint, as though in diuidyng fayth, it did take holde but of one peece thereof. I graunte (as I haue alre dy sayd) that the general obiect of fayth (as thei terme it) is the truthe of God, whether he threaten oz put vs in hope of fauour. Wherfoze the Apostle ascribeth this to fayth, that he feared the destruction of the woꝝlde, when it was not yet seene. If the feare of a punishment shortly to come, was the woꝝke of fayth, then ought not the threatenynge to be excluded out of the definition of fayth. This is in deede true. But the cauillers do vniustly accuse vs, as though we denied that fayth hath respecte to all the partes of the woꝝd of god. For our meaning is only to shew those two things, first, that fayth neuer stedfastly standeth vntil it come to the free promise: & then that we are no otherwise by it be recōciled to God, but bycause it coupleth vs to Christ. Both those pointes are woꝝthy to be noted. We seeke such a fayth, whiche may make differēce betwene y childꝛe of God

and

Ro. i. viii.

Ro. i. vi. & vii. viii.

4. Cor. v. viii.

Pl. lxxxvi. v. and ciii. lxxxvi. v.

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Heb. xi. viii



and the reprobate, betwene the faithful and the vnbeleuing. If a man do beleue that God bothe iustly commaundeth all that he commaundeth, and truely threatneth, shall he be therefore called faithfull: No- thing lesse. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith, vntlesse it be grounded vpon the mercie of God. But nowe to what ende do we dys- pute of faith: Is it not that we maie learne the way of saluation: But how doth faith bring saluation but in respect & it graffeth vs into the body of Christ: Therefore there is no inconuenience, if in the definiti- on we do enforce the principal effect thereof, and do ioyne vnto the ge- rall name, in stede of a difference that marke that seuereth the faithfull from the vnbeleuing. Finally, the malicious haue nothinge to finde fault withal in this doctrine, but they must worappe by Paule with vs in the same blame, which calleth the Gospel properly the word of faith.

But herevpon againe we gather that which we haue before decla- red, that faith doth no lesse neede the worde than the frute doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, bicause none other (as Dauid testifieth) can trust in the Lorde, but they that knowe his name. But thys knowledg is not according to euery mans imagination, but so farre as God hym- selfe is witnesse of hys own goodnesse. Whych the same Prophet con- fyrmeth in an other place, sayeng: Thy saluation is accordinge to thy worde. Againe. I haue trusted in thy word, saue me. Wher is to be no- ted the relation of faith to the worde, & then howe saluation soloweth. And yet in the meane time we do not exclude & power of God, with be- holding whereof, vnlesse faithe susteine it selfe, it can neuer geue vnto God his due honoure. Paule seemeth to reherse a certaine slender & common thing of Abraham, that he beleued that God which had pro- mised him the blessed seede, was able to perfourme it. Againe in an o- ther place, speaking of himselfe: I knowe whome I haue beleued, and I am sure that he is able to keepe that which I haue left with him vn- till that daie. But if a man weie with himselfe howe many doubtinges of the power of God do oftentimes creepe into mans mynde, hee shall well perceine that they which do highly esteeme it as it is worthy, haue not a little profited in faith. We all will confesse that God is able to do whatsoeuer he will; but when euen the leaste tentation throweth vs downe with feare, and amaseth vs with horroure, thereby appeareth plainely, that we diminish the estimation of Gods power, when we pre- ferre aboue it those thynges, that Satan threatneth againste Gods promises. This is the reaso why Esay, meaning to print into & hearts of the people the assurednesse of saluation, dothe so honorably entrea- teth of the infinite power of God. It seemeth ofte that so sone as hee hath begunne to speake of the hope of pardon and reconciliation, hee by and by tourneth to an other thing, and wandereth about in longe & superfluous circumstances, reherlinge howe maruelously the Lorde gouerneth the frame of heauen and earth and the whole ordre of na- ture: yet is there nothinge that serueth not fitly for the circumstance of the matter that he speaketh of. for vnlesse the power of God wher- by he is able to do all thinges be presently set before our eies, our eares will hardly heare the worde, or will not esteeme it so much as it is worth. Beside that, her is declared his effectual power, bicause godlinesse (as we haue already shewed in an other place) doth alwaie applie the po-

Ro. i. vii.

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Psa. ix. xi.

Psa. cxv.  
vii.

Ro. vii. xxi.

H. Tim. i.  
viii.



## Of the manner howe to receiue

wer of God to vse and worke, specially it setteth before it selfe those  
 woorkes of God, wherby he hath testified himselfe to be a father. Here-  
 vpon commeth that in the Scriptures is so often mention made of, the  
 redemption, wherby the Israelites might haue learned that God whi-  
 che was oncs the authoz of saluation, will be an euerastringe preseruer  
 thereof. And David putteth vs in mynde by hys owne example, that  
 those benefites whiche God hath particularly bestowed vpon euery  
 man, doe afterwarde auaille to the confyrmation of his faithe. yea when  
 God seemeth to haue forsaken vs, it behoueth vs to stretche oure  
 wittes further, that hys aunciente benefites maie recomforte vs, as it  
 is saide in an other Psalme: I haue ben mindefull of olde daies, I haue  
 studied vpon all thy woorkes. &c. Againe. I will remembre the woorkes  
 of the Lorde, and his meruelles from the beginning. But bicause with-  
 out the word all quickly vanissheth awaie that we conceiue of the power  
 of God and of his woorkes, therefore we do not without cause affyrme  
 that there is no faithe, vnlesse God geue lighte vnto it with testimonie  
 of hys grace. But here a question myghte bee moued, what ys to bee  
 thought of Sara and Rebecca, bothe which being moued as it semeth  
 with zele of iustice, passed beyonde the bondes of the word. Sara, when  
 she feruently desyred the promysed issue, gaue her bondmaide to her  
 housbande. It can not be denied but that shee many waies sinned: but  
 nowe I touche onely thys faulte, that beinge carryed awaye wyth her  
 zele, she did not restraine herselfe within the bondes of Gods worde, yet  
 it is certaine that that desire proceeded of faith. Rebecca beinge certified  
 by the oracle of God of the electio of her sonne Jacob, procured his bles-  
 sing by euell crafty meanes: she deceued hir husbände the witnesse and  
 minister of the grace of God: shee compelled her sonne to lye: she by dy-  
 uerse guiles and deceites corrupted the trueth of God. fynally in ma-  
 kinge a scorne of hys promise, shee dyd as muche as in her laye, destroe  
 it. And yet thys acte, howe muche soeuer it was euell, and woorthy of  
 blame, was not without faith, for it was necessarie that she holde ouer-  
 come many offenses, that shee might so earnestly endeouore to attein  
 that whiche without hope of earthly profite was ful of greate troubles  
 & daungers. As wee may not say that the holy Patriarche Isaac was  
 altogether without faithe, bicause he beinge by the same oracle of God  
 admonished of the honoure transferred to the yonger sonne, yet celled  
 not to bee more fauourably bente to hys fyrste begotten sonne Esau.  
 Truly these examples do teache, that oftentimes errourres are mingled  
 with faithe: but yet so that faith if it be a true faith, hath alwaie the vpr-  
 per hande. For as the particular erroure of Rebecca did not make void  
 the effect of the blessing, so neither did it make voide her faith whyche  
 generally reigned in her mynde, and was the beginning and cause of  
 that doynge. Neuerthelesse therein Rebecca vttered howe readye  
 mans mynde is to fall so sone as he geueth hym selfe neuer so lytle ly-  
 bertie. But thoughe mans defaut and weakenesse dothe darken faith,  
 yet it doth not quenche it: in the meane time it putteth vs in minde, how  
 carefully wee oughte to hange vpon the mouthe of God, and also  
 confyrmeth that whyche wee haue taughte, that saythe banyssheth  
 awaye, vnlesse yt bee vpholden by the woorde: as the myndes boothe  
 of Sara, and Isaac and Rebecca hadde become vaine, in theyr crooked  
 wanderings

St. c. xliii.  
 St. lxxvii.  
 Ft.

Se. xvi. b.

Se. lxxvi.



wanderinges out of the waie, vnesse thei had ben by Gods secret by-  
dle holden in obedience of the worde:

Againe, not without cause we include all the promises in Christ, for  
asmuche as in the knowledge of him the Apostle includeth al the Gos-  
pell: and in an other place he teacheth, that all the promises of God are  
in him, yea and Amen. The reason whereof is ready to be shewed. For  
if God promise any thinge, he therein sheweth hys good will: so that  
there is no promise of hys, that is not a testimonie of his loue. Neither  
maketh it any mater that the wycked when they haue great and con-  
tinuall benefites of Gods liberalitie heaped vpon them, doe thereby  
wrappe themselves in so much the more greuous iudgement. For syth  
thei do neither thinke nor acknowlege those things com vnto them  
fro y<sup>e</sup> hande of God, for if thei acknowlege it, thei do not with them-  
selues consider his goodnesse, therefore thei can not thereby be better  
taught of his mercie than brute beastes, which according to y<sup>e</sup> measure  
of their estate, do receiue the same frute of Gods liberalitie, & yet they  
perceiue it not. Neither doth it any more make againste vs, that many  
times in refusing the promises apointed for them, they do by that oc-  
casion procure to them selues the greater vengeance. For although the  
effectuall workinge of the promyses do then onely appeare, when they  
haue founde faith with vs, yet the force and natural proprietie of them  
is neuer extinguyshed by oure vnbelleefe or vnthankfulnesse. There-  
fore when the Lorde by hys promyses doth prouoke man not onely to  
receiue, but also to thinke vpon the frutes of hys bountifullnesse, hee  
doth therewith all declare vnto him hys loue. Wherevpon we muste re-  
turne to thys poynthe, that euery promise is a testifieng of Gods loue  
towarde vs. But it is out of question, that no man is loued of God but  
in Christe, he is the beloued Sonne, in whome the loue of the Father  
abydeth and resteth, and then from hym poureth it selfe abroad vnto  
vs: as Paule teacheth, that wee haue obteyned fauoure in the belo-  
ued one. Therefore it muste needes bee deriued and come vnto vs by  
meane of hym. For thys cause the Apostle in an other place calleth him  
oure peace: in an other place hee setteth hym oute as a bonde, where-  
by God is with fatherli natural kindenes bound vnto vs. It foloweth  
then that we muste caste our eyes vpon hym, so oft as any promise ys  
offered vs. And that Paule teacheth no absurditie, that all Gods pro-  
myses whatsoeuer they bee, are confyrmmed and fulfilled in hym. There  
be certayne exammples that make for the contrarie: For yt ys not  
lykely that Naaman the Syrian, when hee requyred of the Prophete  
the manner how to worship God arighte, was instructed concerning y<sup>e</sup>  
Mediator: yet his godlynesse is praised. Cornelius a Gentile & a Ro-  
maine, could scarcely vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> which was knowen not to al y<sup>e</sup> Je-  
wes, yea & that very darkely: yet his almes & prayers were acceptable  
to God. And y<sup>e</sup> sacrifice of Naaman, by the Prophets answer allowed.  
Whych thing neither of them coulde obtaine but by saythe. Lykewise  
yt maie be sayde of the Eunuche to whome Philippe was carried, whych  
che yt he hadde not had some saythe, woulde not haue taken vpon him  
the traouaile and expenses of so longe a iourney, to worshippe. Yet  
we see, when Philippe examined him, how he bewrayed his ignorance  
of the Mediator. And truely I graunte that they saythe was partly

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Ro. i. vii.  
h. Cor. i. 7.Matt. iii.  
xvi.

Eph. i. vii.

Eph. ii. xii.

Ro. viii. iii.  
& xv. viii.

Act. x. viii.

Act. viii.  
ii. Kin. v.  
vii.ii. Ke. v.  
xvii.  
Act. viii.  
iii.



vnexpressed, not only concerning Christes person, but also concerninge his power and the office committed vnto him of the father. Yet in the meane time it is certaine, that thei were instructed in suche principles, as gaue them some taste of Christe, althoughe but very small. They ther dought this to seeme strange. For neither wold the Eunuche haue come in haste to Ierusalem from a farre countrie to worshipping an vnknown God, neither did Cornelius when he had ones embraced the Jewish religion spende so much time, without being acquainted with the first groundes of true doctrine. As for Naaman, it had ben to sonde an absurditie for Elyzeus when he taught him of small thynges, to haue saide nothinge of the principall pointe. Therefore although there were among them a darke knowledg of Christ, yet it is not likely that ther was no knowledg because thei did vse them selues in the sacrifices of the lawe, whiche must haue been discerned by the very ende, of them that is Christe, from the false sacrifices of the Gentiles.

33

But this bare and outward declaration of the word of God, ought to haue largely sufficed to make it be beleued, if our owne blyndenesse and stubbournesse did not withstande it. But oure minde hath suche an inclination to vanitie, that it can neuer cleaue faste vnto the trueth of God, and hath suche a dulnesse, that it is alwaie blinde and can not see the light thereof. Therefore there is nothyng available done by the worde without the enlightninge of the holy ghoste. Whereby also appeareth, that faithe is farre aboue mans vnderstanding. Neither shal it be sufficient that the minde be lightned with the spirit of God, vnlesse the hearte be also strengthened and stablised with his power. Wherein the Schoolemen do altogether erre, whiche in considerynge of faithe, do onely take holde of a bare and simple assent by knowledg, leauinge out the confidence and assurednesse of the heart. Therefore faith is both waies a syngular gyfte of God, bothe that the mynde of man is cleansed to taste the trueth of God, and that his hearte is stablised therein. For the holy ghoste not onely is the beginner of faythe, but also by degrees encreaseeth it, vntil by it he bring vs to the heauenly kingdome. That good thinge (saith Paule) whiche was committed to thy keepyng, kepe in the holy ghoste which dwelleth in vs. But howe Paule saith that the holy ghoste is geuen by the hearing of saythe, we may easily dissolue it. If there hadde ben but one onely gyfte of the holy ghoste, then it had ben an absurditie for him to call the holy ghost the effect of faith, whyche is the authoz and cause of faithe. But when he maketh report of the gyftes wherewyth God garnyseth his Churche, and by encreaseinges of faithe byngeth it to perfection, it is no meruell if he ascribe those thynges to faithe whiche maketh vs fitt to receiue them. This is reckened a mooste strange conclusion, when it is saide, that no man but he to whome it is geuen, can beleue in Christ. But that is partely bycause they do not consyder either howe secreete and hie the heauenly wysedome is; or howe greate mans dulnesse is in conceiuinge the misteries of God: and partly bycause they looke not vnto that assured and stedfast constantnesse of hearte, that is to saye, the cheefe parte of faith.

ii. Ti. i.  
iii.  
Ca. iii. ii.

34

Co. ii. ii.

But if (as Paule preacheth) no manne is wytnesse of the wyll of manne, but the spirite of manne that is within him, then howe shoulde



man be sure of the will of God: And if the truth of God be vncertaine among vs, in those thinges that we presently beholde with our eye, how should it be assured & stedfast among vs ther wher y<sup>e</sup> lord promiseth such thinge as neither eye seeth nor witt comprehendeth: But herein mans sharpnesse of vnderstanding is so ouerthrowen & faileth, that the fyrste degrees of profitinge in Gods schoole, is to forsake his owne wit: For by it as by a veile cast before vs, we are hyndred that we can not atteine the misteries of God, whiche are not disclosed but to little ones: For neither dothe flesh & blood disclose, nor natural man perceiue those thinges that are of the Spirit, but rather to him the learning of God is foolishnesse, bicause it is spiritually to be iudged. Therefore herein y<sup>e</sup> helpe of y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost is necessarie, or rather herein his force onely reigneth. Ther is noman that knoweth y<sup>e</sup> minde of God, or hath ben his counseller: but the holy Spirit searcheth out all thinges, euen y<sup>e</sup> depe secretes of God, by whome it is brought to passe, that we know the minde of Christ. No man (saith he) can come to me, vnlesse my father y<sup>e</sup> sent me, drawe hym: Euery one therfore that hath heard & learned of my father, commeth: Not y<sup>e</sup> any man hath seen y<sup>e</sup> father, but he that is sent of God. Euen as therfore we can not come vnto Christ, but being drawn by y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God: so when we be drawn, we are lifted vp in witt & minde aboue our owne vnderstanding. For the soule enlightned by hym, taketh as it wer a new sharpnes of vnderstanding, wherwith it maye beholde heauenly misteries, with brightnes wherof it was before daseled in it selfe. And so mans vnderstanding receiuing brightnesse by the lighte of the holy ghost, doth neuer till then truely beginne to taste of those thinges that belong to y<sup>e</sup> kingdome of God, being before altogether vnsauourie and without iudgment of tast to take assay of them. Therefore when Christ did notably set out vnto two of hys Disciples the misteries of his kingdome, yet he nothing preuailed, vntill he opened their senses that they might vnderstand the Scriptures. When y<sup>e</sup> Apostles weare so taughte by his Godly mouth, yet the Spirit of truth must be sent vnto them, to poure into their mindes y<sup>e</sup> same doctrine whiche they had hearde with their eares. The worde of God is like vnto the sunne that shineth vnto all them to whome it is preached, but to no profit amonge blinde men. But we are al in this behalfe blind by nature, therfore it can not pearce into our minde but by the inward master the holy ghoste, making by his enlightning an entrie for it.

In an other place, when we had to entreat of y<sup>e</sup> corruption of natur, we haue more largely shewed how vnfit men are to beleue. Therefore I wil not toery y<sup>e</sup> readers with repeting y<sup>e</sup> same againe. Let this be sufficient y<sup>e</sup> the spirit of faith, is called of Paule faith it selfe, which the spirit geueth vs, but not which we haue naturally. Therefore he praieth y<sup>e</sup> god fulfil in y<sup>e</sup> Thessalontians al his good pleasure, & y<sup>e</sup> worke of faith in power. Wherin calling faith the worke of God, & geuing it y<sup>e</sup> title for a name of additio, & calling it by figure of appositio Gods good pleasure, he denieth y<sup>e</sup> it is of mans odon motion: & not contented therwith he addeth further, that it is a declaratio of Gods power: writing to y<sup>e</sup> Corynthians, where he saith, that faith hangeth not vpon the wisdom of men, but is grounded vpon the power of the holy ghoste. He speaketh in dede of outewarde miracles: but bicause the reprobate are bynde

Mat. xi.  
Luc. x. pp  
Mat. xv  
vii.  
i. cor. ii. xi  
Rom. xi.  
ppiii  
i. Cor. ii.  
Ihon. vi  
xiii.

Lu. xiii  
ppii. & xi  
Ihon. xv  
v.

35

ii. Cor. iii  
viii.  
ii. Thes.  
i.



at the beholding of them, hee comprehendeth also that inward seale, wherof he maketh mention in an other place. And God, the more gloriously to set forth his liberalitie in so noble a gifte, vouchesaueeth not to graunt it to al vniuersally without difference, but by singular priuilege geueth it to whome he will. For prooffe whereof we haue alleged testimonies before. Of which Augustine being a faithfull expositor, crieth out that it woulde please the sanioure to teache him, and that the very beleuing it selfe, is of gifte and not of deseruing. Roman (saith he) commeth to me, vnlesse my father drawe him, and to whome it is geuen of my father. It is maruellous that twoo do heare, the one despyseth, the other ascendeth by. Let him that despiseth, impute it to himselfe: let him that ascende not, yt arrogantly assigne to himselfe. In an other place. Why is it geuen to one and not to an other? It greueth me not to say it, this is the depth of the crosse. Out of I wote not what depth of the iudgmentes of God which we maie not searche, procedeth all that we can. What I can, I see: whereby I can, I see not, sauinge that I see thus farre, that it is of God. But why hym, and not hym? That is muche to me. It is a bottomelesse depth, it is the depth of the crosse. I maie crie out with woundering, but not shewe it in disputing. Finally the summe commeth to this, that Christ when he enlightneth vs vnto faith by the power of hys spirite, doth there withall graffe vs into his bodie, that wee maie be made partakers of all good thynges.

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Nowe remaineth that that whiche the minde hath receiued, may be further conueied into y heart. For the word of God is not throughly receiued by faith, if it swimme in the toppe of the braine, but when it hath taken roote in the bottome of the heart that it may be an inuincible defense to beare and repulse all the engines of tentations. Now if it be true, that the true vnderstanding of the mynde is the enlightning thereof, then in such confyrmation of the hearte, his power much more euidently appeareth; euen by so muche as the distrustfulnesse of the hearte is greater than the blindnesse of the witte: and as it is harder to haue the mynde furnyshed wyth assurednesse, than the witte to be instructed with thynking. Therefore the Spirit perfourmeth the office of a seale, to seale by in our heartes those same promyses, the assurance whereof it fyrste emprinted in oure wittes, and serueth for an earnest to confyrm and stablyshe them. Sithe ye beleued (saith the Apostle) ye are sealed by with the holy Spirite of promyse, whiche is the earnest of oure inheritance. See you not how he teacheth that by the spirit the heartes of the fathfull are grauen as with a seale: and how for the same reason he calleth him the Spirite of promise, bycause he ratifieth the Gospell vnto vs: Lyke wyse to the Corynthians he saith: God whiche annoynted vs, whiche hath also sealed vs, and geuen the earnest of hys Spirite in oure heartes. And in an other place when he speaketh of confidence and boldnesse of hopigne well; hee maketh the pledge of the Spirite the foundation thereof.

ph. i. xiii

Cor. i. ii. v. v.

37

Neither yet haue I forgotten that whyche I sayde before, the remembrance whereof experience continually reneweth, that is; that faith is tossed wyth dyuerse doubtynge; so that the myndes of the godly are seldome quyet, or at least doe not alwaie entoye a peasa- ble state: but wyth what soeuer engine they be shaken, either they rise

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by out of the very gulfe of temptations, or do abide faste in their standing. Truly thys assurednesse onely nourisheth and defendeth faith, when we holde fast that whiche is saide in the Psalm: The Lorde ys our protection, our helpe in trouble, therefore we will not feare, when the earthe shall tremble, and the mountaines shall leape into the heart of the sea. Also this moste sweete quietnesse is spoken of in another place: I laye downe and slepte, and rose againe, because the Lorde hath sustained me. It is not meante thereby that Dauid was alwaies wyth one vndisturbed course framed to a merry cherefulness: but in respect that hee tasted the grace of God, according to his proportion of faith, therefore hee gloryeth that hee wythoute feare despiseth all that euer might disquiet the peace of his minde. Therefore the Scripture meaning to exhort vs to faith, biddeth vs to be quiet. In Esai it is saide: In hope and silence shall be your strength. In the Psalm: Holde thee still in the Lorde, and waite for him. Wherwith agreeth that sayeng of the Apostle to the Hebrues: Patience is needefull, &c.

Hereby we may iudge how pestilent is that doctrine of the Scholemen, that we can no otherwise determine of the grace of God towarde vs, than by morall coniecture as euery man thinketh himselfe worthy of it. Truly if we shall weie by oure workes howe God is minded towarde vs, I graunt that we can attaine yt wyth any coniecture, be yt neuer so slender: but sith faith oughte to haue relation to a simple & free promise, there is leste no cause of doubting. For with what confidence (I beseeche you) shall we be armed, if we saie that God is fayourable vnto vs vpon this condition, so that the purenesse of oure life do deserue it. But because I haue appoynted one place properly for the discussing herof, therefore I wil speake no more of them at this present, specially for as muche as it is plaine enoughe, that there is nothinge more contrarie to faith, than either coniecture or any thinge nere vnto doubting. And thei do very ill writhe to this purpose that testimonie of the Preacher whiche thei haue ofte in their mouthes: Roman knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or loue. For (to speake nothinge how this place is in the common translation corruptly turned) yet very children can not be ignorant what Salomon meaneth by such words: that is, that if any man will iudge by the present state of things, whom God hateth, or whom God loueth, he laboreth in vaine, and troubleth himselfe to no profitte for his paines: sith all thinges happen alike, both to the righteous and the wicked, to him that offereth sacrifices and him that offereth none. Wherupon foloweth, that God doth not alway witness his loue to them to whome hee maketh all thynges happen prosperously, nor dothe alwaies bitter the hatred to them whome hee punisheth. And that he dothe to condemne the banitie of mans wytte, sith it is so dull in thynges moste needefull to be knowen. As he hadde written a little before, that it canne not be discerned what the soule of a man differeth from the soule of a beast, because it seemeth to dye in like manner. If any manne will gether thereof, that the opinion that wee holde of the immortalitie of soules, standeth vpon coniecture: maye he not worthily be compted a madde manne. Are they then in theyr right wittes whiche gather that there is no certaintie of Gods grace, because wee can conceyue none by the carnal beeholdyng of presente



thynges.

39 But thei alleage that it is a point of rashe presumption, to take vpon vs an vndoubted knoweledge of Gods will. I woulde in dede graunt it vnto them, if we did take so muche vpon vs, that we wolde make the incomprehensible secret purpose of God subiect to the sclendernesse of oure witte. But when we simply saie with Paule, that we haue receiued not the spirite of thys worlde, but the Spirit that is of God, by whose teachinge wee maie knowe those thinges that are geuen vs of God, what canne thei barke againsite it, but they muste flaunderously speake against  $\text{h}$  Spirit of God. But if it be a horrible robberie of God to accuse the reuelation that commeth from him, either to be lyeng, or vnassured or doubtfull, what do we offend in affirminge that it is assured. But they say, that this also is not without greate presumptuousnesse, that we dare so glorie of the Spirit of Chyste. Who woulde thynke that their dulnesse were so greate that woulde bee compted maisters of the worlde, that they so fowly stumble in the fyrste principles of religion. Surely I woulde not thinke it credible, vnlesse they owne wytynges that are abroad dyd testifie yt. Paule pronounceth  $\text{h}$  they onely are the chyldren of God, that are moued wyth hys spirit: and these menne woulde haue them that bee the chyldren of God, to be moued wyth theyr own spirit, & to be without the Spirite of God: Paule teacheth that we call God oure father, as the holy ghooste misistreteth that woorde vnto vs, whyche onely canne beare witnesse to oure spirite that we are the children of God: These men, althoughe they forbydde vs not to call vpon God, yet do take awaie his Spirite, by whose guydinge hee shoulde haue been rightly called vpon. Paule denyeth that thei are the seruantes of Chyst, that are not moued wyth the Spirit of Chyll: these men saine a Chyistianitie that needeth not the Spirit of Chyste. Paule maketh no hope of the blessed resurrection, vnlesse wee feele the holy ghooste abydinge in vs: they forge a hope withoute any suche feeling. But peraduenture the will answer, that thei do not denie  $\text{h}$  we ought to be endued with it, but  $\text{y}$  it is a point of modestie and humilitie not to acknowledge it. What meaneth he then, when he biddeth the Corynthians to trie whether thei be in the faith, to proue themselues whether thei haue Chyste, whome vnlesse a man do acknowledge to be dwelling in him, he is a reprobate. But by the Spirite that God hath geuen vs (saith Ihon) we knowe that he abydeth in vs. And what do we els but cal the promises of Chyst in doubt, when we will be compted the seruantes of God without his Spirite, whiche he hath openly declared, that he woulde poure out vpon all his. Beside that, we do wronge to the holy ghooste, whiche do separate from him faith that is his peculiar worke. Sithe these are the firtle lessons of godlie religion, it is a token of miserable blindenesse, to haue Christians noted of arrogancie, that dare glorie of the presenc of the holy ghooste, without whiche glorieng Chyistianitie it selfe dothe not stand. But thei declare by their example how truly Chyst saide, that his Spirite is vnknownen to the worlde, and is onely knownen of them with whome he abideth.

40

And bycause thei will not go about to ouerthrowe the stedfastnesse of faith with digging onely of one myne, they assaile it also otherwile, for thei say,  $\text{h}$  although according to our present state of rightcounes,

we



we mai gather a iudgment of þ grace of God, yet þ knowledg of perseuerance to þ ende abideth in suspense. A goodly confidence of saluation forsoothe is left vnto vs, if we iudge by morall coniecture, þ for a presēt moment we be in fauoure, & what shal become of vs to morrow we can not tell. The Apostle teacheth farr otherwise: I am sūrely perswaded (saith he) that neither angeles, nor powers, nor principalities, neither death, nor life, neither present things nor things to come, shal seuer vs frō þ loue wherewith þ lord embraceth vs in Christ. Thei seke to escape with a trifling solutiō, pratinge þ the Apostle had þ by speciall reuelation: But thei are holden to hard to slippe away so. For ther he entreateth of those good things þ cōmonly come by faith to the faithfull, not those þ he himselfe specialli selet. But þ same Paule in an other place putteth vs in feare w mention of our weakenes & vnstedfastnes: Lot him þ standeth (saith he) beware þ he fal not. It is true, but not suche a feare wherby we shold be ouerthrowē, but wherby we may learne to humble our selues vnder þ mighty hand of God, as Peter expoundeth it. Then how against ordre & truthe is it to limite þ assurednes of faith to a moment of time, whose proprietie is to passe beyond the spaces of this life, & extend further to immortalitie to come. Sith therefore the faithfull do impute it to þ grace of God, þ being lightned w his spirite thei do by faith enioy þ beholding of þ heauenly life: so farr is such glo-rieng frō presumptuousnesse, þ if any man be ashamed to confesse it, he doth therein moze bewraie his extream vnthankfulnesse, in vnkindely hiding Gods goodnes, than he doth declare his modestie or submissiō.

Because it semed þ the nature of faith could not otherwise better or more plainly be declared than by þ substance of þ promise vpon whiche it resteth as vpon her propre foundation, so þ if the promise be taken away, faith by & by falleth down or rather vanissheth away: therefore we toke our definition frō thense, which yet varieth not from þ definition, or rather descriptiō of þ Apostle, þ he applieth to his discourse, wher he saith þ faith is a substance of things to be hoped for, & a certaintie of things þ are not seen. For by this word Hypostasis substance (for þ terme he vseth) he meaneth as it wer, an vpholding stay, wherēvpon þ godly minde leaneth & resteth. As if he shold say þ faith is a certain & assured possession of those things þ are promised vs of God, vlesse a man had rather to take Hypostasis for affiance, which I mislike not, albeit I tolowe þ which is more cōmonly receiued. Againe, to signifie þ euen to þ last day when þ booke shal be opened, thei are hier than those things þ may be perceiued w our senses, or seen w our eyes, or handled with our handes, & that þ same are no otherwise possessed by vs, but if we go beyond þ capacitie of our own witt, & bend our vnderstanding aboue all things þ are in þ world, yea & climbe aboue our selues, he hath therfor added þ this assurednesse of possessiō, is of things þ lie in hope, & therefore are not seen. For plaine appearāce (as Paule writeth) is not hope, neither hope we for those things þ we see. And whē he calleth it a certaintie or prose (or as Augustine hath oft translated it) a cōiunction of things not present: for in Greke it is Elenchos, he saith asmuch as if he did say, that it is an euidente shewing of things not appearing, a seeing of things not seen, a plainnesse of darke things, a presence of thynges absente, an open shewing of hidden things. For the mysteries of God, suche as they be that pertaine to oure saluation, can not

Rom. vii.  
xxviii.

i. cor. x. f.

i. Pet. v.  
vi.

41

Heb. xi. f.

Dan. vii.

Rom. vii.  
xiii.Aug. Hon  
in Ioan. 7  
95.De peccat  
merit. &  
remiss. lib.  
cap. 31.



be seen in them selues and in their owne nature as they call yt : butte wee beholde them onely in hys worde , of whose truth we oughte to be so fully perswaded, that we oughte to holde all that he speaketh as it were already done and fulfilled. But howe canne the mynde lyfte vp it selfe to receiue suche a taste of Gods goodnesse, but  $\text{f}$  it must nedes be therewyth wholly kyndled to loue God againe : for that flowing plentie of sweetenesse whiche God hath laied vp in store for them that feare him, canne not bee truely knowen, but that it muste therewyth all behermenly moue affection : and whose affection it ones moueth, it viterly rauisheth and carrieth hym beyonde himselfe . Therefore it is no maruell, if into a peruerse & crooked hearte neuer entreth this affection , by whiche beinge conueyed vp into the very heauen, we are suffred to com to thee moste secretly hidden treasures of God, and the most sacred priuie places of hys kyngedome ; whiche maie not be defyled wyth the entrance of an vncleane hearte. For that which the Scholemen teache, that charitie is before faith and hope , ys a mere madnesse . For it is saythe onely that fyrste engendreth charitie in vs . Howe muche more ryghtly dothe Bernarde teache : I beleue (saythe he) that the testimonie of conscience, which Daule calleth the glorie of the godly, consisteth in thre thynges. For first of all it is necessarie to beleue that thou canst not haue forgeuenesse of synnes, but by the pardon of God : then that thou canst haue no good worke at all , vnlesse he also geue it : last of all that thou canst by noe woorkes deserue eternall life, vnlesse it also be geuen freely. A little after he addeth that these thynges suffice not , but that ther is a certain beginning of faith, bicause in beleuing that synnes can not be forgeuen but of God, we oughte also to beleue that they are not forgeuen vs, till also we be perswaded by the testimonie of the holy ghooste, that saluation is laied vp in store for vs : bicause God forgeueth synnes, he himself geueth merites, and he himself also geueth rewards, that wee maie not stay styll in this beginninge . But these and other thynges shalbe to be entreated of in places fit for them. Nowe let it onely suffice to knowe what faith is.

24 Now whersoever this liuely faith shalbe, it can not be possible but  $\text{f}$  it hath with it  $\text{f}$  hope of eternal saluation, as an vndiuidable copanion: or rather  $\text{f}$  it engendreth or bringeth it forth out of it self, which hope being taken away, how eloquently, gloriously soeuer we talk of faith, yet we are conuicted to haue no faith at all, for if faith (as is aboue said) be an assured perswasion of Gods truth,  $\text{f}$  it can not lie vnto vs nor deceiue vs, nor become boide, then thei that haue conceiued this assurednesse, truely do therewithal looke for a tyme to come that God shall performe his promises, whiche in their perswasion can not be but true : so that brefely, hope is nothing els, but a loking for those thynges whiche faith hath beleued to be truely promise of God. So faith beleueth that God is true, hope loketh for  $\text{f}$  performance of his truth in conueniente time. Faith beleueth that he is oure father, hope looketh for him to shewe himselfe suche a one toward vs. Faith beleueth that eternall life is geuen vs, hope looketh that it be one daie reueled. Faith is the foundation wherbypon hope resteth , hope nourissheth and susteineth faith. For as no man canue looke for any thyng at Gods hande , butte hee that hath the fyrste beleued hys promises : so againe the weakenesse of oure

ib. 3. Sen.  
ist. 25. C.  
pius.  
cr. 1. in  
annuntia-  
tione.  
cor. i. xii



our faythe muste with pacient hope and expectacion bee susteyned and cherished, that it fall not as faintinge for wearines. For which reason Paule doth wel place our saluacion in hope. For hope, while it in silence loketh for  $\text{h}$  lord, restrameth faith that it fall not hedlong with to much haste: hope strengthneth faith, that it wauer not in Gods promyse, nor beginne to doubt of the truth of them: hope refresheth faith that yt wære not weary: Hope stretcheth faythe to the vttermoste bonde, that it fainte not in the midde course nor in the very beginning. Finally, hope by continually renewinge and restoringe, it maketh it now and then to fyse by fresher than it selfe to continuance. But howe many wayes the helpes of hope are necessarie to the strengthning of faith, shall better appeare, yf we consyder wyth howe many sortes of temptations they are assailed and shaken, that haue embraced the worde of God. Fyrst the Lorde in differring his promises doth oftentimes hold oure myndes longer in suspense than wee woulde wishe: here it is the office of hope to persourme, that whiche the Prophete commaundeth, that though he hys promises do tarry, yet we holde waite stil for them. Sometime he suffereth vs not onely to faint, but also seemeth to be hiely displeasid: here it is muche more necessarie to haue hope to helpe vs, that according to the saieng of an other Prophete, we maie stil loke for the Lorde that hath hidden his face from Jacob. There rise vpp also scorneres (as Peter saith) that aske: where is his promise or hys comyng: forasmuch as sins the fathers slept, all thynges so continued from the beginning of the creation. yea the flesh and the world do wisper the same thing in oure eares. Here must faith stave with sufferance of hope be holden fast fixed in be-holdyng of eternitie that it maye accompt a thousand yeres like as one daye.

For thys conioynng and aliance the scripture sometime confoundeth the names of faythe and hope: for when Peter teacheth that we are by the power of God preserued through faith, vnto the disclosinge of saluacion, he geneth that vnto faith whyche dyd more sittely agree with hope, and not without cause, for asmuche as we haue already taught, that hope is nothynge els but the nourishment and strength of faith. Sometimes they are ioyned together: as in the same epistle That your faith and hope shoulde be in God. But Paule to the Phillipians out of faith deriueth expectation, bicause in pacientli hoping, we holde oure desires in suspense, till Gods conuenient oportunitie be opened. All whiche matter wee maye better vnderstande by the tenth chapiter to the Hebrewes, whyche I haue already alleaged. Paule in an other place, although he speake vnpropely, yet meaneth  $\text{h}$  same thing in these wordes: We loke in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousness, euen bicause we embracing the testimonie of the Gospell concerning his free loue, do loke for the time when God shall openly shewe that whiche is now hidden vnder hope. And nowe it is plaine howe sofly Peter Lombard laleth two foundations of hope,  $\text{h}$  is the grace of God, & the deseruing of works. Hope can haue no other mark to be directed vnto but faith: & we haue already declared  $\text{h}$  faith hath one only mark the mercie of God, to which it ought to loke (as I maie so speake) with both eyes. But it is good to heare what a lively reaso he bringeth, If (saith he) thou darst hope for any thing without deseruinges,  $\text{h}$  shall not

Rom. vi  
xiii.

Ech. ii.

Esa. viii  
xiii.  
ii. Pet. ii.  
iii.Esa. xliii  
iii.43  
ii. Pet. iii  
viii.  
i. Pet. i. b

Phil. i. r.

Gal. v. b

not



## Of the manner howe to receiue

not be worthy to be called hope, but presumption. Whoe (gentile reader) will not worthily abhorre suche beastes, that saie, it is a rashe and presumptuous dede, if a man haue confidence that God is true of his word: For where the Lord willet vs to loke for all thinges at his goodnesse, thei saie it is presumption to leane and rest vpon it. A master meete for suche scholers as he founde in the madde schole of filthy babblers. But as for vs, when we se that wee are commaunded by the oracles of God to conceiue a hope of saluation, let vs gladly presume so much vpon his truth, as trusting vpon his onely mercie, casting away the confidence of workes, to be bolde to hope well. He will not deceiue that saide: Be it vnto you according to your faith.

Mat. ix.  
xxx.

## The thyrde Chapter.

That we are regenerate by faith. Wherein is entreated of Repentance.



Albeit we haue already partly taught how faith possesseth Christe, & how by it we enioye hys benefites: neuerthelesse thys weare yet darke, vnlesse we dyd also make declaratiō of hys effectes that we feele thereby. Not without cause it is said, that the summe of the Gospell standeth in repentance and in forgeuenesse of sinnes. Therefore leauing out these two pointes, whatsoeuer we shal saie of faith, shalbe but a hungry & vnperfect, yea & in manner vnprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth geue both vnto vs, & we obtaine both by faith, that is to saie, both newnesse of life & fre reconciliation, reaso & ordre of teaching requireth, that in this place I beginne to speake of bothe. Dure next passage from faith shalbe to Repentance, because when this article is well perceued, it shal the better appeare howe man is iustified by onely faith and mere pardon, & yet howe real holinesse of life (as I maie so call it) is not seuered fro free imputation of righteounesse. Now, it ought to be oute of question, h Repentance doth not only immediatly solow faith, but also spring out of it. For wheras pardon & forgeuenesse is therefore offred by h preaching of h Gospell, h the sinner being deliuered from h tyrānie of Satan, from h yoke of sinne, & fro miserable bondage of vices, maie passe into h kingdome of God, truly no man can embrace h grace of the Gospell, but he muste returne from the erroures of hys former life into the right way, and applie all hys studie to the meditation of repentance. As for them that thinke that repentance dothe rather goe before faith than flow or spring forth of it, as a frute out of a tree, thei neuer knowe h force therof, and are moued with to weake an argument to thinke so.

Christ (saie thei) & Iohn in their preachinges do first exhorte h people to repentance, & then thei afterwarde saie that h kyngdome of heauen is at hand. Such commaudemēt to preach, h Apostles receiued such ordre, Paule folowed, as Luke reporteth. But while thei superstitiously stick vpon h ioining together of syllables, thei mark not in what meaning h words hang together. For whē h lord Christ & Ihs do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for h kyngdome of heauen is come neare at hand: do they not fetche the cause of repentance fro very grace & promise of saluatiō. Therefore their words are as much in effecte as if thei had said: because h kyngdō of heauē is com nere at hand, therefore repēt

Mat. iii. ii  
Mat. iiii.  
vii.  
Act. ix. xxi



ye. For Matthewe, when he hathe shewed that Ihon so preatched, saith that in him was fulfilled the prophesie of Esaie, concerninge the voyce cryeng in the wyldernesse, Prepare the waie of the Lorde, make streight the pathes of oure God. But in the Prophete that voyce is commaunded to beginne at comfort and glade tydings. yet when we referre the beginning of repentance to faith, we do not dreame a certaine meane space of time, wherein it bringeth it out: but we meane to shew that a man can not earnestly applie him selfe to repentance, vnlesse he know him selfe to be of God. But no man is truely perswaded that he is of God, but he that hathe firste receiued his grace. But these things shalbe more plainely dyscussed in the processe folowing. Paraducenture this deceiued them, that many are firste by terroutes of conscience tamed, or framed to obedience, before that thei haue throughli digested; yea before they haue tasted the knowledge of grace. And this is the feare at the beginning, whiche some accompte among vertues, bicause thei see that it is nere to true and iuste obedience. But oure question is not here how diuersly Christ draweth vs vnto him, or preparerth vs to the endeuoure of godlinesse: only this I say, & ther can be no vprightnesse founde where reigneth not that Spirit whiche Christe receyued to communicate the same to his membres. Then according to that saying of the Psalme: Myth thee is mercifulnesse, that thou maiest bee feared. Noe man shall euer reuerently feare God, but he that trusteth that God is mercifull vnto him: no man wil willingly prepare himselfe to the kepinge of the lawe, but he that is perswaded that his seruices please him: whiche tendernesse in pardoning and bearing with faultes, is a signe of fatherly fauoure. Whiche is also shewed by that exhortation of Osee, Come, let vs returne to the lord, bicause he hath plucked vs, and he will heale vs: he hath stricken vs, and he wil cure vs. bicause the hope of pardo is bled as a picke to make the not to lie dull in their sinnes. But their doting erreure is without all coloure of reason, whiche to beginne at repentance, do apoint certaine daies to their new conuertes, during the which thei must exercise themselves in penance: and when those daies are ones past, they admit them to the communion of the grace of the Gospell. I speake of many of the Anabaptistes, specially those that maruelously reioyce to be compted spirituall, & their companions the Iesuites, & such other dregges. Suche frutes forsoothe & spirit of godnesse bringeth forth, to determine repentance within compass of a fewe daies, which a Christian man ought to extende in continuance throughout his whole life.

But certaine learned men, euen long before these times, meaning to speake simply & sincerely of repentance, according to y<sup>e</sup> truth of Scripture, haue said & it consisteth of two parts, mortification, & viuification, Mortification thei expounde to be a sorrowe of y<sup>e</sup> soule & feare conceined of the acknowledging of sinne, & of the feeling of the iudgement of God. For when a man is ones broughte into true knowledge of synne, then he truely begynneth to hate and abhorre synne: then he heartyly misliketh hym selfe, confelleth himselfe to be miserable and losse, and wyseth himselfe to be an other man. Further, when he is touched wyth some feelinge of the iudgemente of God (for the one immediatly foloweth vpon the other) then hee lyeth stryken and ouerthrowen, then

Esa. xl.

Psa. c. xxiii.

Ose. vi. ii.

3



then he trembleth, humbled and cast down, then he is discouraged and despireth. This is the first parte of repentance, whiche thei haue commonly called Contrition. *Uuification* thei expounde to be the comfort that groweth of faithe, when a man ouerthrowen with conscience of sinne, and striken with feare of God, loking afterwarde vnto the goodnesse of God, vnto the mercie, fauoure in saluation that is throughe *Chuste*, raiseth vp himselfe, taketh the breath againe, recouereth courage, and returneth as it were from death to life. And these wordes, if they haue a right exposition, do aptly enough expresse the nature of repentance. But wher thei take *Uuification* for the cherefulness, whiche the minde receiueth beinge brought into quietnesse from trouble & feare, therein I agree not with them: forasmuche it rather signifieth a desire to liue holily and godly, whiche groweth of regeneration, as if it were saide, that man dyeth to himselfe, to beginne to liue to God.

4 Some other, bicause thei sawe this word diuersly taken in Scripture, haue made two sortes of Repentance: and bycause they woulde make them differently knowen by some mark, the haue called the one Repentance of the Law, by which the sinner wounded with y<sup>e</sup> searing iron of sinne, and worne awaie with feare of the wrath of God, sticketh fast in that trouble & can not winde himselfe out of it. The other Repentance thei call of the Gospell, by whyche the synner is in dede greuously vexed with himselfe, but he ryseth vp higher & taketh holde of *Christ*, the salue of his soze, y<sup>e</sup> comforte of his feare, y<sup>e</sup> hauen of his miserie. Of y<sup>e</sup> repentance of y<sup>e</sup> law thei putt those examples: *Cain*, *Saul*, & *Judas*. Whose repentance when the Scripture reherseth vnto vs, it meaneth that they acknowleginge the greuousnesse of theyr sinne, were afraide of the wrath of God, but in thinking vpon God onely as a reuenger & iudge, thei fainted in that feeling. Therefore their repentance was nothing els but a certain entrie of hel, wherinto thei being entred in this present life beganne already to suffer punishment, from the face of the wrath of Gods maiestie. The repentance of the Gospell, we see in al them, that being galled with the spurre of sinne in themselves, but recōforted & refreshed with confidence of the mercede of God, are turned vnto the lord. *Ezechias* was striken with feare, when he receiued the message of death: but he praied weping, and loking vnto the goodnesse of God, he toke againe good confidence vnto him. The *Ammites* wer troubled with the horrible threating of destruction. But thei clothed them selues in sackcloth and ashes & praied, hoping that y<sup>e</sup> Lord might be turned to them, & turned from the furoz of his wraathe. *Dauid* confessed that he had to much sinned in nombing the people: but he said further, Lord take awaie y<sup>e</sup> wickednesse of thy seruant. He acknowledged his offense of adulterie, when *Nathan* rebuked him, & did cast himselfe downe befoze the Lorde, but therwithal he also loked for pardon. Suche was y<sup>e</sup> repentance of them y<sup>e</sup> at the preachinge of *Peter* were pricked in their heart: but trustinge vpon the goodnesse of God, thei saide furthermore: Ye men or brothren, what shall we doe. And such was the repentance of *Peter* himselfe, whiche wept in dede bitterly, but he cessed not to hope well.

5 Although al these thinges be true, yet the very name of repentance (so farre as I can learne by the Scriptures) is other wyse to be taken



For wher they comprehend faith vnder repentance, it disagreeeth with that whiche Paule saith in the Actes, that he testified to the Jewes and Gentiles repentance vnto God and faith in Iesus Christe. Where he reckoneth repentance and faith as twoo dyuerse thinges. What then? Can true repentance stande without faith? No. But though they can not bee seuered, yet they muste be distinguished. As faith is not wythout hope, and yet faith and hope are dyuerse thynges: so repentance and faith, although they hange together with one perpetuall bonde, yet they rather would be conioyned than confounded. And truly I am not ignorant, that vnder the name of repentance is comprehended the whole turning vnto God, whereof faith is not the leaste part: but in what meaninge it is so comprehended, shall mooste easily appeare when the force and nature thereof shall be declared. The name of repentance in Hebrew is deriued of couerting or returning, in Greke of chaunging of the mynde or purpose, and the thinge it selfe dothe not ill agree wyth either deriuations, whereof the summe is, that we departing from oure selues shoulde turne vnto God, and puttinge of our olde mynde, shoulde putte in a newe. Wherefore in my iudgmente, repentance maie thus not amysse be defined: that it is a true turninge of oure lyfe vnto God, proceedinge from a pure and earnest feare of God, whiche consisteth in the mortifyeng of the flesh and of the olde man, & in the quyckening of the spirite. In thys sense are to be taken all the preachinges wherin either the Prophetes in olde time, or the Apostles afterwarde exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this onely thinge they traualled to perswade, that confounded with theyr owne synnes, and prick'd wyth feare of the Lordes iudgement, they shoulde fall downe and be humbled before hym, agaynste whome they had offended, and with true amendement returne into his right waie. Therefore these wordes, To be turned or returne vnto the lord, To repent, or do penaunce, are amonge them bled wythoute difference in all one signification. And therefore also the holy historie saith, that men repēt after the Lord, when they that liued wantonly in their owne lustes, not regardinge him, do begynne to folowe hys worde, and are ready at their captaines commaundement to goe whether he calleth them. And Ihon and Paule bled these wordes, to bringe forth the frutes worthy of repentance, for, to leade suche a lyfe as maye represent and testifie suche an amendement in all their doinges.

But before we go any further, it shall be profitable that we do more playnely sette out at large the definition that we haue made. Wherein there be cheefely three pointes to be considered. Fyrsse when wee call it a turninge of life vnto God, we require a traissourning, not onely in outwarde woorkes, but also in the soule it selfe, whiche when it hath the put of her oldnesse, then beginneth to bring forth the frutes of woorkes agreable to her renewing. Which when the prophet goeth about to expresse, he commaundeth them whom he calleth to repentance, to make them a newe heart. Therefore Moses oftentimes meaning to shewe how the Israelites might repent, & so be rightly turned vnto y<sup>e</sup> Lord, teacheth y<sup>e</sup> it be done with al their heart, & w<sup>th</sup> al their soule (which manner of speaking we see often repeted of y<sup>e</sup> Prophetes) & naming it y<sup>e</sup> circumcising of y<sup>e</sup> heart, he shaketh away all inward affections. But there



is no place whereby a man maye better perceiue what is the naturall proprietie of repentance than the fourth Chapter of Iereme. If thou returne to me, O Iſraell, (ſaith the Lorde) returne to me, plowe vpp your arable lande and ſowe not vpon thornes. Be circumciſed to the Lorde, and take away the vncircumciſed ſkinnes of your heartes. Se how he pronounceth that they ſhall nothinge preuaile in taking vpon them the ſolowing of righteousneſſe, vneſſe wickedneſſe be firſt plucked out of the bottome of their heartes. And to moue them thoroughly, he warneth them that they haue to doe wyth God, with whome there is nothing gotten by Dalping, becauſe he hateth a double heart. Therefore ſtaie laugheth to ſcorne the fooliſhe endeoures of hypocrites, whiche did in dede buſily go about an outward repentance in ceremonies, but in the meane tyme they hadde no care to looſe the bundles of wickedneſſe wherewith they helde podre men faſt tyed. Where alſo he very well ſheweth in what dueties vnfained repentance properly ſtandeth.

7 The ſecond point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earneſt feare of God. For, beſore that the minde of a ſinner be inclined to repentance, it muſt be ſtirred vp with thinking vpon the iudgement of God. But when this thought is ones thoroughly ſettled, that God wyll one daye goe vp into hys iudgement ſeate, to require an accompt of all ſaiengs & doings: it will not ſuffer the ſilly man to reſt, nor to take breathe one minute of time, but continually ſtirreth him vp to thinke vpon a newe trade of life, whereby he may ſafely appeare at that iudgement. Therefore oftentimes the Scripture, when it exhorteſt to repentance, maketh mention of the iudgment: as in Iereme: leaſt peraduenture my wrath goe out as fyre, & there be none to quench it, bycauſe of the naughtineſſe of your workes. In Paules ſermon to the Athenians: And wheras hetherfo God hath borne with the times of thys ignorantie, nowe he geueth warning to men, that al men euery where may repent them, bycauſe he hath apointed the daie wherein he will iudge the worlde in equitie. And in many other places. Sometime it declareth by the puniſhmentes already extended, that God is a iudge, that ſinners ſhoulde thynke wyth them ſelues, that worſe thinges hang ouer them if they do not repent in time. You haue an example thereof in the xxix. of Erodus. But bycauſe the turning beginneth at the abhorring and hatred of ſynne, therefore the Apoſtle maketh ſorrowfulneſſe, ſuche as is accordinge to God, the cauſe of repentance. And he calleth ſorrowfulneſſe accordinge to God, when wee are not onely afraid of puniſhment, but do hate and abhorre ſinne it ſelf, for ſomuche as we vnderſtand that it diſpleaſeth God. And no maruel: for vnleſſe we be ſharply pricked, the ſlouthfulneſſe of oure fleſh could not be corrected, yea prickings woulde not ſuffice for the dulneſſe and ſlouthfulneſſe therof, vnleſſe God in ſtretching out his roddeſ ſhould pearce more depely. This is alſo an obſtinacie whiche muſt be beaten downe as it were with beetles. Therefore the peruerſeneſſe of our nature enforceth God to the ſeueritie that he bleth in threating, becauſe he ſhoulde in vaine call vs alluringly with faire ſpeache while wee lye a ſlepe. I recite not the teſtimonies that commonly offer them ſelues to be founde. The feare of God is in another manner alſo the beginning

Ier. liii. iiij

Eſa. lxxv. iij  
vi.

Ie. liii. liii  
Act. xvii.  
ff.

u. Co. vii.  
f.



beginnyng of repentance. For though many life were absolutely furnished with all pointes of vertues, if it be not applied to the worshipping of God, it may in deede be praysed of the world, but in heaven it shalbe mere abomination, for asmuche as the chiefe parte of our righteousnesse is to geue God his due right and honour, wherof he is wickedly robbed, when we bende not our selues to yeld vs subject to his gouernement.

Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is meant by this that we say, that Repentance consisteth in two partes, that is to say, mortifying of the flesh, & quickenynge of the spirit. The Prophetes do plainly expresse it, although somewhat simply & grossly, accordyng to the capacitie of the carnal people, when they say: Cesse from euell & do goodnesse. Againe. Be washed, be cleane, take away y euell of your workes from mine eyes: Cesse to doe peruersly, learne to do well, seke iudgement, help the oppressed, &c. For when they call men away fro wickednesse, they require the death of the whole flesh, which is stuffed full of wickednesse & peruersnesse. It is in deede an vneasy and hard thing to put of our selues, & to depart fro our natural dispositiō. Neyther can it be thought that the flesh is thzoughly dead, vnesse al that we haue of our selues be abolished. But for asmuch as al the affectiō of the flesh is enemie against God, the first entree to the obeying of his lawe, is the forsaking of our owne nature. Afterward they expresse the renewynge by the frutes that solow therof, as righteousnesse, iudgemēt & mercie. For it were not enough to do those dueties rightly, vnesse the minde it self and the heart haue first put on the affection of righteousnesse, iudgement & mercie. That is done whē the spirit of God hath sooked in new thoughtes & affections, our soules first washed with his holynesse, that they may rightly be compted newe. And truely as we are naturally turned away fro God, so vnesse y forsaking of our selues do goe befoze, we can neuer go toward that which is right. Therfoze we are so oft comāunded to put of the olde man, to forsake the world & flesh, to bidde our lustes farewell, & to be renewed in the spirit of our minde. Howouer the very name of mortificatiō doth put vs in minde how hard it is to forget our former nature: bicause we therby gather that we are not otherwise framed to the feare of God, nor do learne the principles of godlinesse, but when we are violently slaine with the worde of the Spirit, and so brought to nought: euen as though God should pronounce, that to haue vs to be accompted amonge his children, there needeth a death of all our commune nature.

Both these thinges do happen vnto vs by the partaking of Christ. For yf we doe truely communicate of his death, by the power there of our old man is crucified, & the body of sinne dieth, that the corruption of our former nature maye liue no moze. If we be partakers of his resurrection, by it we are raised vp into a newnesse of life, y maye agree with the righteousnesse of God. In one worde I expōnd repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other marke wherunto it is directed, but y the image of God which was by Adams offence sowly defaced & in a māner bitterly blotted out, may be renewed in vs. So the Apostle teacheth, whē he sayth: but we representyng the glory of God with vncouered face are transformed into the same image, out of

8

pl. xxiij.  
v.  
Ela. i. fol.

Ro. viij.  
lii.

9

Ro. vi. vj.

h. Cor. iij.  
viij.



Of the manner how to receiue

*Eph. iiii.* glozie into glozie, as by the spirit of the Lord. Againe. We ye renewed  
*119.* in the spirit of your minde and put on the new man, whiche is created  
*Col. iii. 7.* accordyng to God in righteousnesse and holinesse of truth. Agayne in  
 an other place: puttynge on the new man, whiche is renewed after the  
 knowledg and image of hym that created him. Therefore by this re-  
 generation we be by the benefit of Christ restozed into the righteous-  
 nesse of God, from which we were fallen by Adam. After which man-  
 ner it pleaseth the lord wholly to restoze all those whome he adopteth  
*1. Cor. vii.* into the inheritance of life. And this restozynge is fulfilled not in one  
*ps.* moment, oz one day, oz one yere, but by continuall, yea and sometimes  
 slowe procedynges God taketh awaye the cozrptions of the fleshe in  
 his elect, cleanse them from filthinesse, and consecrateth them for  
 temples to himself, renewyng all their senses to true purenesse, that  
 they maye exercise themselues all their life in repentance, and knowe  
 that this warre hath no ende but in death. And so much the greater  
 is the lewdenesse of that filthy rayler & apostata Sraphylus, whiche  
 foolishly sayth that I confound the state of this present life with the  
*11. Cor. iiii.* heavenly glozie, when I expounde by Paule the image of God to be  
*119.* holinesse and true righteousnesse. As though when any thing is de-  
 fined, we should not seke the whole fulnesse & periection of it. And yet  
 we denie not place for encreasees: but I saye that howe nere any man  
 appocheeth to the likenesse of God, so much the image of God shineth  
 in him. That the faithfull may atteyne hereunto, God assigneth them  
 the race of repentance wherin to runne all their life long.

10 The children of God therfore are so deliuered by regeneratio from  
 the bondage of sinne, not that hauing now obtained the ful possessio of  
 libertie, thei should fele no moze trouble by their fleshe, but y thei should  
 haue remainyng a continual matter of stryfe, wherwith they maye be  
 exercised, and not only be exercised, but also maye better learne their  
 owne weakenesse. And in this point all wyrters of sound iudgement  
 agre together, that ther remaineth in mā regenerate a feding of euell;  
 from whense continually spryng desires that allure and stirre him to  
 sinne. They cofesse also that the holy ones are still so holden entangled  
 with that disease of lusting, that they can not withstand but that some-  
 time they are tickled and stirred either to lust oz to couetousnesse, oz to  
 ambition oz to other vices. Neither is it needefull to labour muche in  
 searchyng what the old wyrters haue thought herein, for asinuche as  
 only Augustine may be sufficient for it, whiche hath faithfully & with  
 great diligence gathered al their iudgemētes. Therfore let y readers  
 gather out of him, such certaintie as they shall desire to learne of the  
 opinion of antiquitie. But there may seme to be this differēce betwene  
 him & vs, that he when he graunteth that the faithfull so long as they  
 dwell in a mortal body are so holden bound with lustes, that they can  
 not but lust, yet dareth not call that disease sinne: but beyng cōtent to  
 expresse it by the name of weakenesse, he teacheth that then only it be-  
 cometh sinne, when either worke oz consent is added to conceite oz re-  
 ceiuynge, that is, when will yeldeth to the first desire: but we accompt  
 the very same for sinne, that mā is tickled with any desire at al agaynst  
 the law of God: yea we affirme that the very cozruption that engen-  
 dzeth such desires in vs, is sinne. We teach therfore that there is alway  
 sinne

*Libro ad  
 Bonifa. 4.  
 Lib. 1. & 2.  
 contra Iu-  
 lianum.*



sinne in the holy ones, vntil they be vnclouthed of y<sup>e</sup> mortall body, by cause there remaineth in their fleſhe that peruersnelle of lusting that fighteth againſt vprightneſſe. And yet he doth not alway ſozbeare to vſe the name of Sinne, as when he ſayth: This Paule calleth by the name of sinne, from whence ſpyng all ſinnes vnto a fleſhly concupiſcence. This, aſmuch as perteyneth to the holy ones, loſeth the kingdome in earth, and periſheth in heauen. By which wordes he confeſſeth, that the faithfull are guilty of sinne, in ſo much as they are ſubiect to the luſtes of the fleſhe.

But this that it is ſayd, that God purgeth his church fro al sinne, that he promiſeth that grace of deliuerance by Baptiſme, & fulfilleth it in his elect, we referre rather to the guiltinneſſe of sinne, thā to the very matter of sinne. God truly perfozmeth this by regeneratynge them that be his, that in them the kingdome of sinne is aboliſhed (foz the holy ghoſt miniſtreth the ſtrength, whereby they get the vpper hand and are conquerors in the battell) but it ceſſeth only to reigne & not ſo to dwell in them. Therfoze we ſo ſay, that the olde man is crucified, & the law of sinne aboliſhed in the children of God, that yet there remaine ſome leauyngeſ, not to haue dominion in them, but to humble them by knowledge in conſcience of their owne weakenelle. And we confeſſe that the ſame are not imputed, as if they weare not: but we affirme that this cometh to paſſe by the mercie of God, that the holy ones are deliuered from this guiltinneſſe, whiche otherwiſe ſhould iuſtly be reckened ſinners and guilty befoze God. And this ſentence it ſhall not be hard ſoz vs to cofirme, ſoz aſmuch as there are euident testimonies of the ſcripture vpo their matter. Foz what wold we haue moze plaine, than that which Paul crieth out to the Romanes chap. vii. firſt both we haue in an other place ſhewed, and Auguſtine proueth by ſtrong reaſons, that Paule there ſpeaketh in the perſone of a mā regenerate. I ſpeake not of this, that he vſeth theſe wordes, Euell & Sinne, that thei which wil ſpeake againſt vs may not cauil againſt thoſe wordes: but whoz can denie, that a ſtriving againſt the lawe of God is euell: whoe can denie a withſtanding of Juſtice to be sinne: finally, whoe will not graunt y<sup>e</sup> there is a fault, where is a ſpiritual miſerie. But al theſe thinges are reported of this diſeaſe by Paule. Againe, we haue an aſſured demonſtration by the law, by whiche this whole queſtion may eaſily be diſcuſſed. Foz we are comāunded to loue God with all our heart, with al our ſoule, with al our powers. Sithe al the partes of our ſoule ought ſo to be occupied with y<sup>e</sup> loue of God, it is certaine, that they ſatiſſie not the comāndement that conceiue in their heart any deſire, be it neuer ſo litle, oz ſuffer any ſuch thought at all to entre into their minde, as maye withdraw them from the loue of God into vanitie. Foz what are not theſe the powers of y<sup>e</sup> ſoule, to be affected with ſodeine motions, to cōprehend with wit, to cōceyue with minde? Therfoze, when theſe do open a way ſoz vaine oz cozrupt thoughtes: to entre into them, do they not ſhew that they are euen ſo much voides of the loue of God: wherfoze, who ſo confeſſeth not that all the luſtes of the fleſh are ſinnes, and that the ſame diſeaſe of lusting, which they call a fedynge, is the well ſpyng of sinne, he muſte needes deſie that the tranſgreſſion of the lawe is sinne.

Serin. 6.  
uerbis A  
poſt.

21  
Ephel. 1  
roſt.

Ro. vi. 7

Ro. vii. 5



12

If any man thinke it an absurditie, that all the desires wherewith man is naturally moued in affection, are vniuersally condēned, whereas they be put into man by God the authoz of nature. We answer, that we doe not condemne those desires that God hath so engrauen into the minde of man at the firste creation, that they can not be rooted out without destroyeng the very nature of man, but only outragious and vnbridled motions that fight against the ordinance of God. But nowe sith by reason of the perversnesse of nature all her powers are infected and corrupted, that in all her doynges appereth a continuall disorder and intemperance, bicause the desires can not be seuered frō such intemperance: therefore we say that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to haue the whole summe in fewer wordes) we teache that all the desires of men are euell: and we accuse them to be guilty of sinne, not in that that they are naturall, but for that they are inordinate: and we call them inordinate, bycause no pure or cleane thyng can come out of a corrupte and vncleane nature. And Augustine dothe not so much varie from this doctrine as he appereth in hewe, while he somewhat to much feareth the enuie that the Pelagians labored to byng him into, he sometime forbēareth to vse the name of sinne: Yet where he writeth that the law of sinne still remaynyng in the holy ones, the onely guiltinesse is taken away, he plainly sheweth that he doth not so much disagree from our meanyng.

Id Bonifa.

13

We will alleage some other sentences, wherby shal better appere what he thought. In y<sup>e</sup> second boke against Julian: This law of sinne is both released by the spiritual regeneration, & abideth in the mortal flesh: released herein, bicause the guiltinesse is taken away in the sacrament whereby the faithfull are regenerate: and it abideth, bycause it worketh the desires agaynst whiche the faythfull doe fight. Agayne. Therefore the law of sinne (which was also in the membez of so great an Apostle) is released in baptisme, but not ended. Agayne. The lawe of sinne (of which yet remainyng the guiltinesse, is in baptisme discharged) Ambrose called wickednesse: bicause it is wickednesse for y<sup>e</sup> flesh to lust against the Spirit. Agayne. Sinne is dead in respect of that guiltinesse wherin it helde vs, and euen beyng dead, it still rebelleth til it be healed with perfection of burial. And yet playner in the v. boke. As the blindenesse of heart is bothe a sinne, whereby menne beleueth not in God: and also a punishment of sinne, whereby a proude heart is chastised with worthy correction: and the cause of sinne when any thyng is committed by the errour of a blinde heart: so the lust of flesh agaynst whiche a good spirit lusteth, is bothe sinne, bycause there is in it disobedience agaynst the gouernement of the minde: and also the punishment of sinne, bycause it is geuen for recompense to the deseruynges of the disobedient: and the cause of sinne in manne, when he consenteth by defection or in manne, when he is bozue: by infection. Here wythout anye doubtfull speache he calleth it sinne, bycause when errour was ones ouerthrowē, and the truth confirmed, he lesse feared sleaundersours reportes. As in the xij. Homelic vpo<sup>n</sup> John, where doubtlesse he speaketh according to y<sup>e</sup> true meaning of his mind, he sayth: If in y<sup>e</sup> flesh thou serue the law of sinne, do y<sup>e</sup> whiche the Apostle himself sayth: let not sinne reigne in your mortal bodie to obey the desires

Ro. vi. 13.



desires therof. He sayth not, let it not be, but let it not reigne. So long as thou liuest, sinne must needes be in thy mēbres: at least let Reigne be taken from it. Let not that be done whiche it commaundeth. They that defend that luste is no sinne, are wont to obiecte that sayeng of James: Lust, after that it hath conceiued, bryngeth forth sinne. But this is easily confuted. For vnesse we thinke that he speaketh of only ill woorkes oz actuall sinnes, euell will it self, shall not be accompted sinne. But where he calleth mischeuous deedes and wicked offenses the offspringes of sinne, and geueth vnto them the name of sinne, it doth not by and by folow thereof, but that to luste, is an euell thyng and damnable befoze God.

Iac. i. 14.

Certaine Anabaptistes in this age, deuise I wote not what phrē-  
 14  
 tike intemperance in stede of spirituall regeneration: sayeng that the children of God restored into the state of innocēcie, now ought no more to be carefull for bridlyng of the luste of the fleshe: that the Spirit is to be folowed for their guide, vnder whose guidyng they neuer goe out of the way. It were incredible that mans minde could fall to so great madnesse, vnlesse they did opēly and proudeyly babble abrode this doctrine. Cruely it is monstrous. But it is mete that suche should suffer the punishment of suche blasphemous boldnesse, that so haue persuaded their minde to turne the truth of God into a lie. Shal al the choise of honestie and dishonestie, righte and wronge, good and euell, vertue and vice, be taken awaye? Suche difference (saye they) cometh of the cursednesse of olde Adam, from whiche we are exempted by Christe. So nowe there shalbe no difference betwene fornication and chastitie, playne dealyng and sutteltie, truthe and lyeng, iustice and extortion. Take awaye bayne feare, saye they, the Spirit will commaund thee no euell thyng, so that thou boldly and without feare yelde thee to the guidyng thereof. Whoe can choose but be astonished at these monstrous things? yet it is a common learnyng amonge them, whiche blynded wyth madnesse of lustes, haue put of all common reason, but what Christ (I beseeche you) doe they frame vnto vs, and what spirite doe they belche out? For we reknowledge one Christ, and his only Spirit whome the Prophetes haue commended, whom the Gospell geuen vs doth preache, of whome we there heare no such thyng. That Spirit is no patrone of manslaughter, whoredom, dyckennesse, pride, cōtentiō, conetousnesse, & guile: but the authoz of loue, chastitie, sobzietie, modestie, peace, tēperāce & truth. It is not a giddy spirit and runneth hedlong without consideration thzough right and wrong, but is ful of wisdom & vnderstanding, that discerneth rightly betwene iust and vniust. It stirreth not vnto dissolute and vnbridled licentiousnesse, but maketh difference betwene lawefull and vnlawefull, and teacheth to kepe measure and temperance: but why doe we labour any longer in confuynge this beastly rage? To Christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome phantasie, whiche eyther themselues haue brought forth in a dreame, oz haue receyued beyng forged of other: but they reuerently seeke the knoweledge of him at the Scriptures, where these two thynges be taught of hym: first that he is geuen vs vnto sanctificatiō, that he might bryng vs into the obedience of Gods wil, beyng purged from vnclennesse & defilynges,



Of the manner how to receiue

Whiche obedience can not stand, vnlesse lustes be tamed and subdued, wherunto these men would geue the bzidle at libertie. Secondly we are taught that we are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are still besieged with many vices and much weakenesse, so longe as we are enclosed in the burden of our bodye: whereby it cometh to passe, that beyng farre distant from perfection, we haue neede alwaye to encrease somewhat, and beyng entagled in vices, we haue neede dayly to wraastle with them. Whereupon also soloweth, that Wakinge of slouth and carelesnesse, we muste watche with heedeful mindes, that we be not compassed vnware with the snares of our fleshe. Vnlesse peraduenture we thinke that we haue proceded further than the Apostle. which yet was wried of the Angel of Satan, that his strength might be made perfecte with weakenesse: and whiche did vnfaynedly represent in his fleshe that diuision of the fleshe and of the spirit.

4. Cor. xii.  
ro.

Ro. vii. vi.

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1. Cor. vii.  
xi.

But whereas the Apostle in describyng of repentance reckeneth seuen eyther causes or effectes or partes thereof, he doth that of a very good cause: and these they be: endeuour or carefulnesse, excusyng, indignation, feare, desire, zeale, punishment. Neyther ought it to seme any absurditie, that I dare not certainly determine whether they ought to be compted causes or effectes. For both may be defended in disputation. They maye bee also called affections ioynd wyth repentance: but bicause, leauynge out those questions, we maye vnderstande what Paule meaneth, we shalbe content with a simple declaration of them. He sayth theretofore, that of the heauinesse whiche is accordynge to God, ariseth carefulnesse. For he that is touched with an earnest felynge of displeasure bycause he hath sinned agaynst his God, is therewithall stirred vp to diligence and heedefulnesse, to winde himselfe clerely out of the snares of the Deuell, to take better heede of his snares, to fall no moze from the gouernance of the holy ghozt, not to be oppzessed wyth securitie. Nexte is Excusyng, whiche in this place signifieth not the defense, whereby a sinner to escape the iudgement of God, eyther dothe denye that he hath offended, or diminisheth the hainoulnesse of his faulte, but a purgation whiche standeth rather in crauyng of pardon, than in defense of his cause. Lyke as the childzen that are not reprobate when they acknowledge and confesse their faultes, doe yet vble entreatynge, and that it maye take place, they protest by all meanes that they can, that they haue not cast awaye the reuerence that they owe to their parentes. Finally they so excuse them, as they goe not about to proue themselues righteous and innocent, but only that they maye obteyne pardon. Then soloweth Indignation, wherby the sinner fretteth inwardly with hymselfe, quareleth with hymselfe, is angry with hymselfe, when he recordeth his owne peruerlnesse and his owne vnthankfulnesse to God. By the name of feare, he meaneth that tremblyng that is stryken into our mindes so ofte as we thynke bothe what we haue deserued, and howe horrible is the seueritie of Gods wraathe agaynst sinners. For we muste needes then be vexed wyth a maruellous vnquietnesse, whiche bothe instructeth vs to humilitie, and maketh vs moze ware agaynst the time to come. Nowe yf out of feare doe sprynge that carefulnesse, whereof he had spoken befoze, then we see with what lynkyng they hang



hange together. It seemeth to me that he hath blessed this worde Desire for diligence in our dutie and redy cherefulnesse to obeye, whereunto the acknowledgyng of our owne faultes ought chiefly to prouoke vs. And thereunto also belongeth zeale, which he ioyneth immediatly next vnto it. For it signifieth a feruentnesse, wherewith we be kindled when we be spurred forward with these pryckynge thoughtes: what haue I done: whether had I throughten my selfe hedlonge, yf the mercie of God did not help me: The last of all is punishment, for the more rigorous that we be to our selues, and the streightlier that we examine our owne sinnes, so much y more we ought to trust that God is fauorable and merciful vnto vs. And truely it is not possible, but that the soule beyng stricken with horzour of the iudgement of God, muste needes do some execution in the punishyng of it self. Truely the godly do fele what punishmētes are shame, confusion, mourning, lothyng of thēselues, & other affectiōs that spring out of earnest acknowleging of sinnes. But let vs remēber that there is a measure to be kepte, that sorow do not swallow vs vp, bicause nothing more redily happeneth to fearefull consciences than fallyng to despaire. And also by y crafty meane whom so euer Satā findeth ouerthrowē with dreade of God, he more and more drowneeth them in the gulfe of sorowe, that they maye neuer rise vp againe. Truely the feare can not be to great which endeth with humilitie, and departeth not from hope of pardon. But alwaye (as the Apostle teacheth) the sinner must beware, that while he moue himselfe to the lothyng of himselfe, he despeire not, oppressed with to great feare, for so doe we flee awaye from God whyche calleth vs to him by repentance, Upon whiche point this lesson of Bernarde is very profitable: Sorowe for sinnes is necessarie, yf it bee not continuall. I counsell you sometime to returne your faute from greuous and paynefull remembzance of your owne wayes, and to clymbe vp to the playne grounde of cherefull remembzance of benefites of God. Let vs mingle honye with wormewood, that the holosome bitternesse may bring vs health, when it shalbe dzonke tempered with swetenesse. And if ye thinke of your selues in humilitie, thinke also of the Lord in goodnesse.

Now it may be also perceiued what be the frutes of repentance, euen the duties of godlinesse toward God, and of charitie toward mē, and therewithall a holinesse and purenesse in all our life. Finally, the more earnestly that any man examineth his life by the rule of Gods law, so much the surer tokens he sheweth of his repētance. Therfore the holy ghost oftentimes, when he exhorteth vs to repentance, calleth vs sometime to all the commaundementes of the lawe, sometime to the duties of the second table. Albeit in other places after that he hath condemned vncleannesse in the very fountayne of the heart, he descendeth afterwarde to outward testimonies that doe set out true repentance: of whiche thyng I will hereafter set before the readers eyes a table in the description of a Christian lyfe. I will not gather testimonies out of the Prophetes, wherein they partely scorne at their follies that goe about to appease God with ceremonies, and do shewe that they be mere mockeries, and partely doe teache that outward vpryghnesse of lyfe is not the principall part of repentance,



bycause God loketh vpon the heart: who so euer is euen meanelly exercised in the scripture, shall perceiue of himself without any other mans putting in minde, that when we haue to do with God, we labour in vayne, vnlesse we beginne at the inward affectio of the heart. And the place of Joel shall not a litle helpe to the vnderstandinge of the reste, where he sayth: Teare your heartes and not your garnemts. Also both those pointes are expressed in these wordes of James: Ye wicked doers, cleaue your handes: ye double men, purge your heartes. Where in deede there is an additio ioynd to y first part, but after is shewed the very fountayne and beginning that they muste wipe awaye their secret filthynesse, that there may be an altar set vp to God in the very heart. Beside this there are also certaine outward exercises whiche we vse priuately as remedies to humble our selues or to tame our flesh, and publikely for the declaration of repentance. And they procede fro that punishment of whiche Paule speaketh, for these are the properties of an afflicted minde, to be in lothesomnesse, mournyng and weeping to, shie gorgeousnesse and al trimmyng, and to forsake al delites. Then he that feleth how great an euell is the rebellion of the flesh, seeketh al remedies to bridle it. Moreouer he that wel bethinketh him how greuous a thing it is to haue offended the iustice of God, can not rest vntill he haue in his owne humilitie geuen glorie to God. Such exercises the olde wryters do oftentimes rehearse, when they speake of the frutes of repentance. But albeit they doe not place the whole force of repētaunce in them, yet the readers shall pardon me, if I speake what I thinke: it semeth vnto me that they stand to much vpon them. And if any man will wisely weye it, I truste he will agree with me, that they haue two wayes gone beyond measure. For when they so muche enforced, and with inmesurable commendations aduanced that bodily discipline, this in deede they obteyned, that the people did the more earnestly embrace it, but they in a manner darkened that, whiche ought to haue ben of much greater importance. Secondely, in geuing punishmentes they were somewhat more rigorous than ecclesiasticall mildenesse maye beare, as we shall haue occasion to shew in an other place.

17  
 oct. 4. r. But because many when they heare wepyng, fastyng and aches spoken of, bothe often in other places and specially in Joel, they measure the chiefe part of repentance by fastyng and wepyng: therefore theyr error is to be taken awaye. That which is there spoken of the turnyng of the whole heart to the lord, of cutting their heartes and not their garnementes, is properly belonging to repētaunce: but wepyng and fastyng are not ioynd as continuall or necessary effectes therof, but are spoken of in respect of a speciall circumstance. Because he had prophesied, that there haged ouer the Jewes a most greuous destruction, therefore he counselleth them to preuent the wrath of God, not only in repenting, but also in bitteryng tokens of their sorrow. For as a man standyng to be arrayned, bleseth humbly to abace hymself with an ouergrownen bearde, vncombed heare and blacke apparel, to moue the iudge to pitie: so it behoued them when they stode accused before the iudgement seate of God, in piteous array to besech him not to extend his rigour. But although aches and sackcloth did peradventure  
 more



more fitly agree with those times. Yet it is certaine, that wepyng and fastyng should be to a very conuenient good vse amonge vs, so oft as the Lord semeth to threaten vs any plague or calamitie. For when he maketh any danger to appere, he doth after a certaine maner geue warning, that he is prepared or armed to reuenge. Therfore the prophet did wel, when he exhorted his contremen to wepyng & fasting, that is to the sorrowful manner of accused menne, whose offences he sayd a litle before, were had in examination. Euen as the Pastors of the Church should not doe ill at this daye, if when they see any ruine hangng ouer the neckes of their people, they woulde crye out vpon them to make hast to fasting & weping: so that they wold with greater and more inwarde care and diligence, alwaye enforce that whiche is the p̄ncipal point, that they must cut their heartes and not their garments. It is out of doubt, that fastyng is not alwaye ioyned with repentance, but is apointed peculiarly for times of miserable plagues: & therefore Christ ioyneth it with wayling, when he acquiteth the Apostles from neede thereof, vntill the time that beyng spoyled of his presence, they should be tormented with greefe. I speake of solene fasting. For the p̄riuate life of the godly ought to be tempered with honest sparyng and sobrietie, that in the whole course thereof there may appere a certaine kinde of fasting. But bicause all this matter shalbe to be declared againe in the place where we shall entreate of the discipline of the Church, therefore I doe now the more slenderly touche it. But this one thyng I will adde here by the waye: when the name of repentance is applied to this outward p̄fession, then it is vnpropely turned from the naturall meanyng whiche I haue aboue set forth of it: For it is not so muche a turnyng vnto God as a confession of fault, with a besechyng of God not to charge them with the peyne and giltynesse. So to do penance in ashes and sackcloth is nothing els, than to vtter a displeasidnesse when God is angry with vs for greuous offenses. And this is a publike kinne of confession, whereby we condemning our selues before the Angeles and the world, do p̄uent the iudgement of God. For Paule rebukyng their shouthfulnesse that tenderly beare with their own faultes, sayth: yf we did iudge our selues, we should not be iudged of God. But it is not alwaye necessarie to make men openly of counsell and witnesses of our repentance: but to confesse p̄riately to God is a part of true repentance whiche can not be omitted. For there is nothing more vnreasonable than to loke to haue God to pardon vs the sinnes in whiche we flatter our selues & do hide them by Hypocrisie, least he should byyng them to light. And it behoueth vs not only to confesse those sinnes whiche we dayely commit, but more greuous offenses ought to drawe vs further, and to cal agayne into our remembrance thynges that seme longe agoe buried. Whiche lesson Dauid geueth vs by his example. For beyng touched with shame of his newly committed fault, he examineth himself euen to the time when he was in his mothers wombe, and confesseth that euen then he was corrupted and infected with the filthinesse of the flesh. And this he doeth not to diminish the haynoulnesse of his fault, as many hide themselues in the multitude, and seke to escape punishment by wazpyng other with them. But Dauid doth far otherwise



Which With simple plainesse enforzeth his fault in sayeng, that beyng corrupt frō his first infancie, he hath not cessed to heape euels vpon euels. Also in an other place he likewise so examuneth his passed life, & he craueth the merrie of God for y<sup>e</sup> sinnes of his youth. And truely the only shal we proue our owne sinnesse to be shaken away frō vs, if growng vnder our burden and bewayling our euels, we aske reliefe of God. It is mozeouer to be noted, that the repentance which we are commaunded cōtinually to applie, differeth frō that repētance, that listeth vp as it were, from death them that either haue filthily fallen, or with vnbzidled licentiousnesse haue thzowen forth themselues to sinne, or after a certaine manner of rebellions reuoltyng, haue shaken of the yoke of God. For the Scripture oftētymes, when it exhorte to repētance, meaneth therby as it were a passage or rising againe frō death into life: & when it reherse that the people did penance, it meaneth that they were turned frō their idolatrie & other grosse offences. And in like maner Paul thzreateneth mourning vnto sinners that haue not done penance for their wantonnesse, fornication & vnchastitie. This differēce is to be diligently marked, least while we heare y<sup>e</sup> sicke called to penāce, a moze thā carelesse assurednesse shuld crepe vpon vs, as though the mortifieng of the fleshe did no moze belōg vnto vs, the care wherof, the corrupt desires y<sup>e</sup> alway tickle vs, & the vices that cōmonly budde vp in vs, do not suffer vs to release. Therfoze the speciall repentance which is required but of some, whō the Deuell hath violently carried away frō the feare of God, & fast bound with dānable snares, taketh not away the ordinary repētance which the corruptnesse of nature cōpelleth vs to applie thzoughout all y<sup>e</sup> whole course of our life.

19 Now if that be true, which is most evidently certaine, that all the summe of the gospel is contained in these two principall pointes, Repentance & forgiuenesse of sinnes: doe we not see, that the Lord doth therfoze freely iustifie them that be his, that he may also by the sanctification of his Spirit restore them into true righteousnesse: John the Angel sent befoze y<sup>e</sup> face of Christ to prepare his wayes, preached: Repent ye, for the kyngdome of heauen is come nere at hande. In calling them to repentance, he dyd put them in minde to acknowledge themselues sinners, and all that was theirs, to be damnable befoze the Lord, that they might with all their heartes to desire the mortifieng of their fleshe & a newe regeneration in the Spirit. In tellyng them of the kyngdome of God, he called them to faith. For by the kyngdome of God whiche he taught to be at hand, he meant forgiuenesse of sinnes, saluation, and life, and all that euer we get in Christ. Wherfoze in the other Euangelistes it is wozitten, John came preaching the Baptisme of repentāce vnto forgiuenesse of sinnes. And what is that els, but that they beyng oppzessed & wozied with the burden of sinnes, shold turne to the lord, & conceiue good hope of forgiuenesse & saluation: So Christ also beganne his preachynges: The kyngdome of God is come nere at hand: repent ye and beleue the Gospel. First he declareth that the treasures of Gods mercie are opened in him, and thē he requireth repentance, and last of all cōfidence in the promises of God. Therfoze when he meant briezly to cōprehēd the whole summe of the gospel, he sayd, that he must suffer & rise agayne from the dead, & that

repē-

l. xv. ij

Cor. xij.  
xi.

Mat. xij.  
Mat. xij. 9

Mat. i. iij  
Lu. iij. 19.

Mat. i. 10

Lu. xiiij.  
xvi.







trueth of the Scripture.

21 Nowe that Repentance is a singular gift of God, I thinke it be so wel knowne by the doctrine aboue taught, that I neede not to repete a long discourse to proue it agayne. Therfoze the church prayseth and hath in admiratiō the benefit of God, that he hath geuen the Gentiles repentance vnto saluation. And Paule commaundyng Timothee to be patiēt and milde toward the vnbeleuers, sayth: If at any time God geue them repentance that they maye repent from the snares of the Deuel. God in deede affirmeth that he willethe the conuersion of al mē, and directeth his exhortations generally to all men: but the effectual woꝝkyng therof hangeth vpon the Spirit of regeneration. Bicause it were moze easy to create vs men, than of our owne powder to put on a better nature. Therfoze in the whole course of regeneration we are not without cause called, the woꝝke of God created to good woꝝkes, which he hath pꝛepared that we should walke in them. Whom soeuer the lordes will is to deliuer from death, those he quickeneth with the Spirit of regeneration: not that repentance is properly the cause of saluation, but bycause it is alcedy seen that it is vnseparable frō sayth and from the mercie of God: lithe (as Esaye testifieth) there is a redeemer come to him, and to those that in Jacob are returned from their wickednesse. This truely standeth stedfastly determined, that where so euer liueth the feare of God, there the Spirit hath wrought vnto the saluation of man. Therfoze, in Esaye, when the faithful complaine and lament that they are forsaken of God, they reckon this as a token of beyng reprobates, that their heartes were hardened by God. The Apostle also meanyng to exclude apostataes from hope of saluation, apointeth this reason, that it is impossible for them to be renewed vnto repentance: bicause God in renewyng them whom he wil not haue perish, sheweth a tokē of his fatherly sauour, and in a māner draweth them vnto him with the beames of his cherefull and mery contenāce: on the other side with hardenyng them, he thundereth agaynst the reprobate, whose wickednesse is unpardonable. Whiche kinde of vengeance the Apostle threateneth to wilfull apostataes, whiche when they depart from the faith of the Gospell, do make a scoꝛne of God, reprochefully despise his grace, and desile & treade vnder feete the bloud of Christ, yea as much as in them is they crucifie him agayne. For he doth not (as some fondly rigoꝝous men would haue it) cut of hope of pardon from all wilfull sinnes: but teacheth that apostasie is vnwoꝝthy of all excuse: so that it is no maruell that God doth punish a contempt of himself so full of sacrilege, with vnappealable rigour. For he sayth ꝑ it is impossible, that they which haue ones ben enlightened, haue tasted of the heauenly gift, haue ben made partakers of the holy ghoꝛst, haue tasted of the good woꝝd of God & the powers of the woꝝld to come, yf they fall, shuld be renewed to repētance, crucifyng againe of newe, and makyng a scoꝛne of the sonne of God. Againe in an other place: If (sayth he) we willingly sinne after knowledge of the truth receyued, there remaineth no moze sacrifice for sinnes, but a certayne dreadfull expectation of iudgement, &c. These also be the places, out of the woꝝd vnderstandyng wherof, the Prouatiars in old time haue gathered matter to play the mad men: with whose rigoꝝousnesse cer-  
taine



raine good mē beyng offended, beleued this to be a counterfeit Epistle in the Apostles name, whiche yet in all partes doth truely sauour of an Apostolike spirite. But bycause we contend with none but with thē that allowe it, it is easy to shewe, how these sentences do nothing mainteine their errour. Firste it is necessarie that the Apostle agree with his maister, whiche affirmeth that all sinne and blasphemie shal be forgeuē, except the sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, which is not forgeuen neyther in this world, noz in the world to come. It is certaine (I saye) that the Apostle was contented with this exception, vnlesse we will make him an aduersarie to the grace of Christ. Whereupon foloweth, that pardon is denied to no special offenses, but only to one, whiche procedyng of a desperate rage, can not be ascribed to weaknesse, and openly sheweth that a man is possessed of the Deuell.

But to discusse this, it behoueth to enquire what is that same so horrible offense, that shal haue no forgeuenesse. Whereas Augustine in one place defineth it an obstinate stiffnesse euen vnto death, with despeire of pardon, that doth not well agree with the very wordes of Christ, that it shal not be forgeuen in this world. For eyther that is spoken in vaine, oz it maye be comitted in this life. But if Augustines definition be true, then it is not committed, vnlesse it continue euen vnto death. Whereas some other saye, that he sinneth agaynst the holy ghost, that enuieth the grace bestowed vpon his brother: I see not frō whence that is fetched. But let vs bring a true definitiō, which beyng ones proued with sure testimonies, shal easily by it selte ouerthrowe all the reste. I saye therefore, that they sinne agaynst the holy ghost, which of set purpose resist the truthe of God, with brightnesse wherof they are so daseled, that they can not pretend ignorance: whiche they do only to this ende to resist. For Christe meanynge to expounde that whiche he had sayd, immediatly addeth: He that speaketh a worde agaynst the sonne of man, it shal be forgeuē him: but he that blasphemeth agaynst the holy ghost, shal not be forgeuen. And Matthew, for the blasphemie agaynst the holy Spirit, putteth the spirit of blasphemie. But how can a mā speake a reproche agaynst the Sonne, but it is also spoken agaynst the holy ghost: They that stumble but are agaynst the truthe of God, not knowyng it, which do ignorantly speake euell of Christ, hauyng yet this minde, that they would not extinguishe the truth of God disclosed vnto them, oz ones with one worde offend him, whome they had knowen to be the lordes anoynted: these men sinne agaynst the father and the sonne. So there are many at this day, that do most hatefully detest the doctrine of the Gospell, whiche if they did know it to be the doctrine of the Gospell, they would be redy to worship with all their heart. But thei whose conscience is conuincd, that it is the worde of God whiche they forsake and fight agaynst, and yet cesse not to fight agaynst it, they are sayd to blaspheme the holy ghost: for as much as they wrestle agaynst the enlightening that is the work of the holy ghost. Such were many of the Jewes, whiche when they could not resist the Spirit that spake by Stephen, yet endeuored to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were carried vnto it with zeale of the lawe, but it appereth that there were some other that of malicious wickednesse dyd rage agaynst God himselfe, that is to saye,

22

Mat. 18.  
17.  
Ezarc. 14.  
11.  
Lu. 11. 1

Act. 11. 1

agaynst



agaynst the doctrine, whiche they were not ignoraunt to be of God. And such were those Pharisees, against whō the Lord inueryth, which to ouerthrow the power of y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost, defamed him with the name of Beelzebub. This therfore is the Spirit of blasphemie, when mans boldnesse of set purpose, leapeth forth to reproche of the name of God.

Which Paule signifieth whē he sayth, that he obtained mercie, because he had ignorātly comitted those thinges through vnbelefe, for whiche otherwise he had ben vnwoorthy of Gods fauour. If ignorance ioyned with vnbelefe was y<sup>e</sup> cause that he obtained pardō, therupō foloweth, y<sup>e</sup> there is no place for pardon, where knowlege is ioyned to vnbelefe.

33 But if thou marke it wel, thou shalt perceiue that the Apostle speaketh not of one oz other particular fal, but of the vniuersal departing whereby the reprobate do forsake saluation. And it is no maruel, that they whom John in his canonical epistle affirmeth not to haue ben of the elect, frō whom they went out, do fele God vnappeasable. For he directeth his speache against them, that imagined, that they might returne to the Christian religion, although they had ones departed frō it: and calling them from this false & pestilent opinion, he sayth that whiche is most true, that there is no way of returne open for them to the communion of Christ, that wittingly & willingly haue cast it away: But they cast it not away, that only in dissolute licentiousnesse of lyfe transgresse the word of the lord, but thei that of set purpose cast away his whole doctrine. Therfore the deceit is in these wordes of falling & sinning. Because the Nouatians expound falling to be, if a man being taught by the law of the Lord, y<sup>e</sup> he ought not to steale oz to comit fornication, abstaineth not from stealing oz fornication. But cōtrarywise I affirme, y<sup>e</sup> there is a secret comparison of contraries, wherein ought to be repeted althinges cōtrarie to that which was first spokē, so y<sup>e</sup> here is expressed not any particular fault, but the whole turning away frō God, and (as I may so cal it) the Apostasie of the whole mā.

Therfore when he sayth, they which haue fallen after that they haue ones ben enlightened, & haue tasted the heauēly gift, & ben made partakers of the holy ghost, & also tasted the good worde of God and the powers of the world to come: it is to be vnderstanded of them, y<sup>e</sup> with aduised vngodlinesse haue choked y<sup>e</sup> light of y<sup>e</sup> holy spirit, haue lpt out agayne the tast of the heauenly gift, haue enstrāged themselucs from the sanctificatiō of the holy ghost, haue troden vnder foote the word of God & the powers of the world to come. And the moze to expresse that aduised purpose of wickednesse, in an other place alterwarde he adbeth this worde by name, Willfully. For when he sayth, that there is left no sacrifice for them that sinne willingly after knowlege of the truthe receiued, he doth not denie, y<sup>e</sup> Christ is a continual sacrifice to purge the iniquities of the holy ones (which he expressely crieth out almost in y<sup>e</sup> whole epistle, where he declareth y<sup>e</sup> priesthode of Christ) but he sayth, that there remaineth no other whē that is ones forsaken: & it is forsaken, when the truth of the gospell is of set purpose renounced.

34 But whereas some do thinke it to harde and to far from the tender merciefulnesse of God, that any are put away that flee to beseching the lords mercie: that is easily answered. For he doth not say, that pardon is denied thē if they turne to the lord: but he vtterly denieth, that they



they can rise vnto repentance, because they are by the iuste iudgement of God stricken with eternall blindnesse for their vnhankfulnessse. And it maketh nothyng to the contrarie that afterward he applieth to this purpose the example of Esau, whiche in vaine attempted with howling and wepyng to recouer his right of the firste begotten. And no more doth that threatenyng of the Prophet, When they crie, I wil not heare. For in such phrascs of speache is meante neyther the true conuersion, nor callyng vpon God, but that carefulnesse of the wicked wherewith beyng hold, they are compelled in extremitie to loke vnto that which befoze they carelessly neglected, that there is no good thing for them but in the Lordes helpe. But this they doe not so muche call vpon, as they mourne that it is taken from them. Therefore the Prophet meaneth nothing els by Cryyng, and the Apostle nothing els by wepyng, but that horrible torment which by desperation scretteth and vereth the wicked. This it is good to marke diligently: for els God should disagree with himself, which crieth by the Prophet that he wil be merciefull so sone as the sinner turneth. And as I haue alreedy sayd, it is certayne that the minde of man is not turned to better, but by Gods grace pzenentyng it. Also his promise concernyng callynge vpon him, will neuer deceyue. But that blinde torment wherewith the reprobate are diuersly drawn, when they see that they muste needes seeke God, that they may finde remedie for their euels, and yet do flee from his presence, is vnproperly called Conuersion and prayer.

But a question is moued, whereas the Apostle denieth that God is appeased with fained repentance, how Achab obtayned pardon and turned awaye the punishment pronounced vpon him, whom yet it appereth by the reste of the course of his life to haue ben onely stricken amazed with sodeine feare. He did in deede put on sacke cloth, scattered ashes vpon him, laye vpon the ground, and (as it is testified of him) he was humbled befoze God: but it was not enough to cut his garmentes when his heart remayned thicke and swollen with malice. yet we see how God is turned to mercy. I answer that so somtimes hypocrites are spared for a time, but yet so that cuer the wrath of God lyeth vpon them, and that is done not so much for their sakes, as for common example. For whereas Achab had his punishment mitigate vnto him, what profit got he therby, but that he should not fele it a liue in earth? Therefore the curse of God, although it were hidden, yet had a faste abidyng place in his house, and he himself went into eternall destruction. This same is to be seene in Esau. For though he had a repulse, yet a temporall blessing was graunted him at his wepyng. But because the spiritual inheritance, by the oracle of God could not rest but with one of the brethren, when Jacob was chosen and Esau refused, that puttyng awaye did exclude the mercie of God: this comfort was left him as to a beastly man, that he should be fat with the fatte of the earth and the drow of heauen. And this is it that I sayd euen nowe, that it ought to be referred to the example of other, that we shoulde learne the moze cherefully to applie our mindes and endeuours to repentance, because it is not to be doubted that when we are truly and hartily turned, God will be ready to forgyue vs, whose mercifulnesse extendeth it selfe euen to the vnwoorthy. so longe as they shewe anye grete

Zach. viij.

Eze. xxxij.

25  
1. Reg. xxxiii.

Gen. xxxv.



greffe at al. And therewithal we be also taught, how terrible iudgement is prepared for all the obstinate, whiche now make it a sport with no lesse shamelesse face than it on heart to despise and set nought by the threatenings of God. After his manner he oftentimes reached out his hand to the childre of Israel, to releue their miseries, although their cries were counterfeit, & their heart double and false, as himself in the Psalm coplayneth, that they by & by returned to their nature, and so minded with so frendly gentle dealing to bring the to earnest conversion, or to make the vnercusable. yet in releasing punishments for a time, he doth not binde himself to a perpetual law therby, but rather riseth sometimes more rigorously against Hypocrites, & doubleth their peines, & therby may appere how much sayning displeaseth him. But (as I haue sayd) he sheweth some examples of his redinesse to geue pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amēdement of life, & their pride maye be the more greuouly condemned, that stubboznlly kick against the pricke.

The fourth Chapter.

That all that the Sophisters babble in their scholes of Penance, is far from the purenesse of the Gospell. Where is entreated of Confession and Satisfaction.



Nowe I come to discusse those thynges, which the Schole Sophisters haue taught of repētāce. Which I wil run ouer in as few wordes as may be, by cause I minde not to goe through all, least this boke, which I labour to draw into a short abridgment, should growe to a huge greatnesse. And the Sophisters haue entangled it in so many volumes, beyng a matter otherwise not very hard, that a mā shal hardly finde how to get out, if he ones fal into their Dregges. First, in defining it, they shewe & they neuer vnderstode what repentāce was. For thei take hold of certaine sayenges of the olde woziters, which do nothing at al expresse & nature of repentance, as that to repent is to wepe for sinnes passed, & not to commit sinnes to be wept for: Agayne, that it is to lament euels passed, and not to commit agayne other euels to be lamented. Agayne: that it is a certaine sorowful reuēge; puniſhing in himself that which he is sozry to haue committed. Againe: that it is a sorow of heart, and bitternesse of soule, for the euels that a man hath comitted or to which he hath consented. But, to graunt these thinges well sayde of the fathers, (which a contentious man might easily enough denie) yet they were not spoken to this entent to describe repentance, but only to exhort the to whom they wozote; that they should not fal againe into the same offenses, out of whiche they had ben drawen. But if we liste to turne all suche titles of commendation into definitions, then other maye also be adioyned as rightfully as they. As this of Chrysostome, Repentance is a medicine that destroyeth sinne; a gift geue from heauen, a maruellous vertue, a grace surmounting the force of the law. Yea and the doctrine which thei after ward teache, is somewhat worse than these definitions. For they sticke so earnestly in outward exercises, that a manne can gather nothyng els out of infinite volumes, but that repentance is a discipline and rigorousnesse that serueth partly to tame the fleshe, and partly to chastise and puniſh vices: but they

St. In. vii.  
xxvi.

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thei kepe marvellous silence of the inward reuewing of the minde that draweth with it correction of life. Ther is in deede muche talke among them of Contritio & Attritio, thei tormēt soules with many Doubtes, and do thruste into them muche trouble and carefulnesse: but when thei seeme to haue throughly wounded the heartes, thei heale þ bitternesse with a light sprinkling of ceremonies. And whē thei haue thus curiously defined repentance, thei diuide it into contrition of hearte, confession of mouth, & satisfaction of worke, no more logically than thei defined it, although thei wolde seeme to haue wasted all their age in framinge of syllogismes. But if a man will go about to proue by the definition (which kinde of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may wepe for his sinnes passed, and commit no more to be wept for, that he may bewaile his euels passed, and commit no more to be bewailed, and that he maye punishe himselfe for that which he was sorry to haue committed, &c. although he do not confesse with his mouth: howe will they maintaine their diuision: for if that true penitent man do not confesse, then repentance may be without confessio. But if thei answer, that this diuision is referred to repentance, in respect that it is a sacrament, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance, whiche thei comprehend not in their definitions, then is ther no cause to blame me, but let them lay the fault in themselves that make not a purer and plainer definition, I truely (according to my grossnesse) when any thing is disputed of, do referre all things to the very definition, which is the stay & grounde of the whole disputation. But admit that to be their masterlike licence. Now let vs particularly consider all the partes in ordre. Wheras I do negligently leape ouer as trifles those thynges that thei wyth greaue grauitie of countenance do publish for miseries, I do it not vniwittingly, neither were it very painefull for me to confute all that thei thinke them selues to haue depely and suttley disputed) but I woulde thinke it against conscience to wery the readers with such trifles without any profit. Cruely it is easy to know by the questions which thei moue and tolle, and wherewith thei miserably encomber themselves, that they prate of thinges that thei know not. As for example: whether the repentance of our sinne pleaseth God, whē obstinacie endureth in other. Again: whether the punishmentes laied vpon man by God, do auaille to satisfaction. Again: whether repentance maye be oftentimes reiterate for deadly sinnes: wher thei sowlly & wickedly define, that penance is dayly done but for ventall sinnes. Likewise thei very much torment themselves with a grosse erroiute, vpon the saieng of Hierome, that repentance is a second bourde after shipperack. Wherin thei shewe that thei neuer waked from their brutish dulnesse, to feele so much as a fart of the thousandth part of their faultes.

But I wold the readers shold note, that here is not a quarel about the shadow of an asse, but the most earnest mater of al other is entreated of, that is to saie, forgeuenesse of sinnes. For wheras thei require three thinges to repentance, contrition of heart, confession of mouth, & satisfaction of worke: thei do therewithal teache that those three thinges are necessarie to the obteining of forgeuenes of sinnes. But if it behoue vs to know any thing at all in all oure religion, this truely beho-  
ueth vs mooste of all, I meane to vnderstand and knowe well by what



## Of the manner howe to receiue

meane, with what lawe, vpon what condition, with what easinesse or hardnesse the forgiuenesse of sinnes is obtained. If this knowledge stande not plaine and certaine, the conscience can haue no rest at all, no peace with God, no confidence or assurednesse, but continually trembleth, wauereth, is troubled, is tormented, is vexed, horriblye dreadeth, hateth and fleeth the sight of God. But if the forgiuenesse of synnes hange vpon those conditions to whiche thei do binde it, then nothing is more miserable, nothinge in more lamentable case than we. They make Contrition the firste patte of obtaining pardon, and they require that to be a due contrition, that is to saie perfect and full: but in the meane time thei do not determine when a man may be afflicted, that he hath to the full measure perfectly perfourmed this contrition. Truly I graunt that euery man ought diligently and earnestly to enforce hymselfe, with bitterly weeping for his synnes, to whett hymselfe more and more to a lothing and hatred of them. for this is a sorow not to be repented, & breedeth repentance vnto saluation. But when there is suche a bitterness of sorow required as maye proportionally answer the greatnesse of the fault, and suche as maye in balauice counterpaise with the trust of pardon, here the pure consciences are maruelously tormented and troubled, when they see them selues chaunged with a due contrition of sinnes, and doe not so attaine the measure of that due, that they can determine with them selues, that they haue duely perfourmed so muche as they duely oughte. If they saie that we muste do as muche as Ipeeth in vs, then come we still to the same pointe that we were at before: for howe dare any manne assure himselfe that he hath employed all his force to bewaile his synnes? So when the consciences hauinge longe wrestled with them selues, and longe been exercised with battalles, doe at length finde no heauen to reste in, yet somewhat to ease them selues, thei enforce them selues to a sorow, and wyng out teares to make perfect their contrition.

3 But yf they saie that I flaunder them: Let them come forth and shewe any one man, that by suche doctrine of contrition hath not eyther ben driven to despeire, or hath not set for his defense a counterfeit of sorow in steede of true sorow, againste the iudgemente of God. We haue also oure selues saide in one place, that forgiuenesse of synnes neuer cometh without repentance, because none but the afflicted and wounded with conscience of synnes, can sincerely call vpon the mercie of God: but we haue therewithall further saide, that repentance is not the cause of the forgiuenesse of sinnes. As for those tormentes of soules, whiche they saie muste be perfourmed of duetie, we haue take them awaie: we haue taught the sinner not to loke vpon his owne contrition nor his owne teares, but to fasten bothe his eyes vpon the onely mercie of God. We haue onely putte him in minde that Christ called the laboring & loden, when he was sent to publish glad tidinges to the poore, to heale the contrite in heart, to preache remission to captiues, to deliuer prisoners, & to comforte them that mourne. from whiche shold be excluded both the Pharisees, that filled with their own righteousness, doe not acknowledge their owne povertie, and also the despisers that carelesse of Gods wrath do seke no remedy for their euils. For suche doe not labour, nor are loden, nor contrite in hearte, nor

bounde



bounde nor captiue. But there is greate difference betweene teaching a man to deserue for geuennesse of sinnes with due and full contrition; whiche the sinner can neuer persourne: and instructing him to hunger and thirste for the mercie of God, that by the acknowledging of hys owne miserie, by his owne vniquietnesse, wearinesse and captiuitie, it maie be shewed him, where he ought to seeke for releefe, rest and libertie: and finally, he maie be taught in the humbling of himselfe, to geue glorie to God.

Concerning Confession, ther hath been alwaie great strife betweene the Canonistes and Scholediuines: while the one sorte affyrme, that confession is commaunded by the special commaundement of God, and the other sorte denie it and saie, that it is commaunded onely by the Ecclesiasticall constitutions. But in this contention hath appeared the notable shamlesse of the diuines, that haue corrupted and violently wrasted as many places of Scripture, as thei alleaged for their purpose. And when thei sawe þ they coulde not so obtaine that which they requirred, thei which woulde be thought more suttle than the rest, escaped away with this wisse, that confession came from the lawe of God, in respect of the substance of it, butte afterwarde receiued frome of the lawe Positiue. Euen as the foolishhest sorte amonge the laweyers doe saie, that Citations came from the lawe of God, bicause it is said: Adam wher arte thou? And likewise Exceptions, bicause Adam aunswered as it were by waie of exception saieng: The wife that thou gauest me. &c. but that bothe citations and exceptions receiued forme genen them by the Ciuile lawe. But lette vs see by what argumentes thei proue thys confession, either formed or Unformed to be the commaundement of God. The Lorde (saie thei) sent the leprous men to the preestes. But what? Sente he them to confession: Whoe euer hearde it spoken, that the Leuiticall preestes were appointed to heare confessions: Therefore thei flee to Allegories, and saie: It was commaunded by the lawe of Moses, that the preestes shoulde discern betweene leprosie and leprosie: sinne is a spirituall leprosie: therefore it is the preestes office to pronounce vpon it. Before that I aunswer them, I aske this by the waie, If this place make the iudges of y spiritual leprosie, why do thei draw to them þ knoweledge of natural & fleshely leprosie? This forsoothe is not to mocke with the Scriptures. The lawe geueth to the Leuiticall preestes the knoweledge of Leprosie, therefore let vs take yt vpon vs. Sinne is a spirituall leprosie, therefore lette vs also bee examiners of sinne. Nowe I aunswere: sith the preestehood is removed, if is necessarie that the lawe be removed also. All presthodes are removed to Christe, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him onely al the right and honoure of preestehood is also removed. If thei loue so wel to folow Allegories, let them set Christ before them for the only preest, and heape vpon his iudgement seate the free iurisdiction of al things: this we can easily be content to suffer. Moreover their allegorie is very vnfit, that setteth among the ceremonies that lawe whiche is nearly politike. Why then did Christe send the leprous menne to the preestes? That the preestes shoulde not cauill that hee did breake the lawe that commaunded the man healed of the leprosie, to bee shewed before the preeste and purged with offering of sacrifice: therefore he commaun-

4

Gen. iii. 7.

Matt. viii. 1.

Luc. v. 17.

Deu. xvii. 1.

viii.

Heb. vii. 1.



ded the leprous men being cleansed, to do that which belonged to the law. Soe (saith he) and shewe your selues to the preeste, and offer the gifte that Moses hath commaunded in the lawe that it shoulde be for a witnesse vnto them. And cruelly this miracle shold haue ben a witnesse vnto them, for thei had pronounced them leprous, and nowe they pronounce them healed. Are thei not whether thei will or no compelled to become witnesses of Christes miracles? Christ leaueth to them his miracle to be examined, thei canne not denie it. But because thei still dallie with it, therefore this worke is for a witnesse vnto them. So in an other place: This Gospell shalbe preached in all the world, for a witnesse to al nations. Again: ye shalbe ledde before kinges and gouernours, for a witnesse to them. that is: that in the iudgemente of God thei maie be more strongly conuincd. But if thei had rather solow Chrysostome: he also teacheth that Christe did this for the Jewes sake, that he shoulde not be accompted a breaker of y<sup>e</sup> law. Albeit in so cleare a matter I am ashamed to alleage the wittnesse of any man: wheras Christ pronounceth that he leaueth the righte of the lawe whole to the preestes as to the professed enemies of the Gospell, which were alway bent to carpe against it, if their mouth had not ben stopped. Wherfore that the popish sacrificeng preestes maie still keepe this possession, let them openly take partes with them which must of necessitie be restrained by force, & they speake not ill against Christe. For this nothing belongeth to his trewe ministers.

5 Thei bring their second argument out of the same fountaine, that is, from an allegorie, as though allegories were of greate force to con- fyrm any doctrine. But lette them be of force, if I do not proue that I can make a fairer shewe of them for my syde, than thei can for theirs. Thei say, The Lorde commaunded his Disciples, that when Lazarus was raised vp, thei shold vnbinde an loose him from hys bondes. Here first the lie: for it is no wher reade that y<sup>e</sup> Lorde saide this to the Disci- ples: and it is muche more likely that he saide it to the Jewes y<sup>e</sup> stood by him, that y<sup>e</sup> miracle might be made the more eident without suspi- tion of fraud, & his power appeare y<sup>e</sup> greater, & without any touching, with his onely worde he raised vp deade men. For thus I expounde it: that the Lorde, to take awaie all wrongfull opinion from the Jewes, willed them to rolle awaie the stone, to feele the stinke, to beholde assu- red tokens of death, to see him rising by the onely power of his worde, and them first to feele him liuing. And this is the iudgement of Chry- sostome. But let vs graunt y<sup>e</sup> this was spoken to the Disciples: what wil thei get therby? That the Lord gaue his Apostles power to loose. But how much more fitly and more handesomely might these thinges be applied by waie of allegorie, to saie that by this signe y<sup>e</sup> lord meante to instruct his faithful, to loose them y<sup>e</sup> he had raised vp: that is, y<sup>e</sup> they sholde not cal into remembrance those sinnes y<sup>e</sup> he had forgotten: that thei shold not condemne them for sinners whom he had acquitted: that thei sholde not reproche men with those thinges that he had forgiven: that thei shoulde not be rigorous to punish, and lightly offended, wher he is mercifull and easily entreated to spare. Cruelly nothing ought to moue vs more to readinesse to forgeue, than the example of y<sup>e</sup> Judge that threatheth that he wyll be vnappeasable to them that be to rigou- rous

Nat. p. viii.

Tom. 12. de uliere hanan. 24.

Ihon. 11. viii.

Scr. contra Iudas, Gen- tiles & he retic.



rous and vngentle. Nowe let them goe and boaste of their allegories. 8

But nowe thei ioyne more nere hande with vs, when thei fight (as thei thinke) with open sentences. Thei that came to Ihons baptisme, did confesse their sinnes, & James willeth that we confesse oure sinnes one to an other. No maruell if they that wolde be baptised did confesse their sinnes, for it was saide befoze that Ihon preached the baptisme: of repentance, and baptised in water vnto repentance. Whom shold he then haue baptized, but them that had confessed themselues sinners: Baptisme is a token of the forgiuenesse of sinnes: and who shold be admitted to this token but sinners, and thei that acknowledg themselues to be such: Therefore thei confessed their sinnes, that thei might be baptised. And not without a cause doth James bidde vs confesse one to an other. But if thei did marke what foloweth nexte after, thei would vnderstande, that this also maketh little for them. Confesse (saith he) one to an other your sinnes, & praie one for an other. He ioyneith together mutuall confession and mutuall praier. If we must confesse to prestes onely, then muste wee also praie for prestes onely. yea, What and if it might folowe of the wordes of James that onely prestes mighte confesse: for when he willeth that we shold confesse one to an other, he speaketh onely to them that may heare the confessions of other: his worde is in greke Allelous, mutually, enterchangeably, by turnes, or (if thei so like best to terme it) by waye of reciprocation one to an other. But so enterchangeably none can confesse, but thei that are meete to heere confessions. Whiche prerogatiue syth thei vouchesaue to graunt only to prestes, we do also put ouer þ office of confessing to thē only. Therefore away with such trifelinges, & let vs take the very meaning of the Apostle which is simple & plaine: þ is, þ we holde laye our weakenesse one in an others bosome to receiue mutuall counsel, mutual compassiō and mutuall comfote one of an other: then that wee be naturally priuie to the weakenesses of our brethren, shold praie for them to þ Lord. Why do thei then alleage James against vs, which do so earnestly require þ confessiō of þ mercy of God: but no man can confesse Gods mercie, vnlesse he haue first confessed his owne miserie. Ye wee rather pronounce him accursed þ doth not befoze God, befoze his Angels, befoze the Church, yea and befoze all men confesse himselve a sinner. For the Lorde hath concluded al vnder sinnes þ al mouthes might be stopped, and all fleshe humbled befoze God, and he onely iustified and exalted.

But I maruell with what face thei dare affirme, that the confession wherof thei speake, is of the lawe of God: the vse wherof we graunt in dede to be very auncient, butte suche as we are able to proue in olde time to haue ben at libertie. Cruelly euen their owne cronacles declare, that there was no certaine lawe or constitution of it befoze the times of Innocent þ thirde. Surely if thei had had a more auncient lawe, they wolde rather haue taken holde thēreof, than haue been contented with the decree of þ counsell of Laterane, and so made them selues to be laughed at, euen of children. In other things thei sticke not to coine forged decrees, whiche thei fether vpon the most auncient Counsell, that thei maic with very reuerence of antiquitie dasell the eyes of the simple. In this point, it came not in their minde to thrust in such a false packe. Therefore by their owne witnesse, ther are not yet passed three



hundred yeares since Innocent the thirde laied that snare vpon men, & charged them with necessitie of Confession. But, to speake nothinge of the time: the very barbarousnesse of the woordes minisheth the credit of that lawe. For wher these good fathers commaunde every one of bothe kindes, male & female, ones every yeare to confesse all hys sinnes to his own preest, pleasant men do merily take exception, & in this commaundement are contented only Hermaphrodites, and saie that it belongeth not such a one as is either male or female only. Since & time, a more grosse beastenesse hath bewraied it selfe in their scholars, that can not expounde what is meant By his own preest. Whatsoever al the Popes hyred bablers do prate, we holde bothe that Christ was neuer the author of thys lawe that compelleth men to recken by their sinnes, and also that there passed a thousande and two hundred yeares from the resurrection of Christe before that any suche lawe was made. And so, that this tyrannie was then firste brought in, when all godlynesse & learning being destroyed, the visors of Pastors had without choise taken al licentiousnesse vpon them. Moreover there are euident testimonies bothe in hystories and other auncient writers, whiche teach that this confession was a politike discipline redeemed by the byshops, not a lawe made by Christe or his Apostles. I wil alleage but one out of many, whiche shall be a plaine prooffe thereof. Sozomenus reporteth that this constitution of byshops was diligently kepte in all the west Churches, but speciali at Rome. Wherby he sheweth that it was no vniuersall ordinance of all Churches. But he saith that there was one of the preestes peculiarly apointed to serue for this office. Whereby he dothe sufficiently confute that which these men do fallly saie of the keyes geuen for this vse vniuersally to the whole ordre of presthode. For it was not the common office of all preestes, but the special duetie of some one that was chosen therunto by & byshope. The same is he, whome at thys daie in all cathedrall Churches thei call Penitentiarie, the examiner of haynous offenses, and such wherof the punishment pertaineth to good example. Then he saith immediatly after, & this was also & manner at Constantinople, till a certaine woman faining that she came to confession, was founde so to haue colored vnder that pretence & vn honest companie that she was with a certaine Deacon. For this acte, Nectarius a man notable in holines & learning byshope of that Church, toke away & custome of confessing. Here, here let these asses lift by their cares. If auricular confession wer the lawe of God, how durst Nectarius repelle and destroye it? Wil thei accuse for an heretike & schismaticke Nectarius a holy man of God, allowed by the consenting voices of all the olde fathers? But by the same sentence thei muste condemne the Church of Constantinople, in whiche Sozomenus affyrmeth that the manner of confessing was not onely let slype for a time, but also discontinued euen till within time of his remembrance. yea let them condemne of apostasy not onely the Church of Constantinople, but also all the east Churches whiche haue neglected that lawe, whiche (if thei saie true) is inuiolable and commaunded to all Christians.

8 This abrogation Chylostone, which was also byshope of Constantinople, doth in so many places evidently testifie, that it is maruell that these dare mutter to the contrarie. Tell (saith he) thy sinnes that thou maiest



mayest do them away, if thou be ashamed to tel to any man the sinnes þ thou hast done, tell them daily in thy soule. I do not say, Confesse them to thy fellow seruant, that may reproche thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confesse thy sinnes vpo thy bed, þ there thy cōscience may daily recognise her euilles. Again. But nowe it is not necessary to confesse when witnesses be present: let the examinatio of thy sinnes be done with thy thought: let this iudgement be without witness: let only God se thee confessing. Again. I do not leade thee into a stage of thy fellow seruantes, I do not cōpell thee to disclose thy sinnes to men, rehearse & vtter thy conscience before God. Shewe thy woundes to the Lord the best surgeo, & aske salue of him. Shew to him that wil reproche thee with nothing, but wil moste gently heale thee. Again. Tel not man, least he reproche thee, for neither is it to be confessed to thy fellow seruaunt, that may vtter it abroad, but to the Lord. To the Lord shew thy woundes which hath care of thee, that is both gentle & a Physitian. Afterward he bringeth in God speaking thus. I cōpel thee not to come into þ mids of a stage, & cal many witnesses, tel thy sin to me alone priuately, that I may heale thy soze. Shal we say that Chrysostome did so rashly, when he wrote this & other like thinges, that he would deliuer mens consciences from these bondes wherwith they be bond by þ law of God: not so. But he dare not requite that as of necessitie, whiche he doth not vnderstand to be cōmaunded by the worde of God.

But that the matter may be made the plainer & easier, first we will faithfully rehearse, what kinde of confession is taught by the worde of God: & the we wil also declare their inuētions, but not al (for who could draw drie such an infinite sea:) but only those, wherin they cōprehend þ som of their secret confession. Here I am loth to rehearse how oft þ old translatour hath geuen in translation this worde Confesse in stede of Praise: whiche the grossest vnlearned men cōmonly knowe: saying that it is good to haue their presumptuousnesse bewrayed, þ doe geue away that whiche was written of the praises of God, to their owne tyrannical commaundement. To proue that cōfession auailleth to cheare þ mindes they thrust in that place of the Psalm: In the voice of reioising & confession. But if suche change may serue, then we shall haue what we list, proued by what we list. But seing they are so become past shame, let the godly reders remember that by the iust vengeance of God they haue ben cast into a reprobate minde, that their presumption should be the more detestable. But if we will rest in the simple doctrine of the Scripture, we shall not be in danger of any suche deceites to beguile vs. For therin is appointed one order of confessing, that for as much as it is the Lord þ forgiueth, forgetteth, & putteth away sinnes, therefore we should confesse our sinnes to him for to obtain pardon, he is þ Physitian, therefore let vs shew our diseases vnto him. It is he that is greued & offended, therefore let vs seke peace at his hand. He is the knower of heartes, and priuie to al thoughtes, therefore let vs make haste to poure out our hartes before him. finally it is he that calleth sinners, therefore let vs not delay to come to him. I haue (saith Dauid) made my sinne knowne vnto thee, & haue not hidden my vnrighteousnesse. I haue sayd, I wyll confesse against me my vnrighteousnesse to the Lord, & thou hast forgiuen the wickednesse of my heart. Such is the other confessio of Dauid.

Sernion  
Pœnitent  
confess.Homil.  
incōpre  
Dei nat  
contra  
mæos.  
Homil.  
de LazPfac. p  
b.

Pca. li.



Haue mercie vpon me O God, according to thy great mercie. And suche is the confession of Daniel: We haue sinned, Lorde we haue done puerly, we haue committed iniquities, and haue ben rebellious in swaruing from thy commaundements. And suche are other cofessions that are commonly found in the Scriptures, the rehearsall wherof woulde almost fill a great volume. If we confesse our sinnes (sayth John) the Lorde is faithfull to forgeue vs our sinnes. To whome should we confesse: euen to him: that is, if we fall down with a troubled and humbled heart before him, if heartely accusing and condemning our selues before him we pray to be acquitted by his goodnesse and mercie.

10 He that heartely and before God shall embrace this confession, shall vndoubtedly haue both a tongue redy to confesse, so oft as it shall be needfull for him to publishe the mercie of God before men, and not only to whysper the secret of his hearte to one man, & ones & in his care: but oft & openly, & in the hearing of all the worlde simply to rehearse bothe his owne shame & the magnificence and glorie of God. After this manner when Dauid was rebuked of Nathan, he was pricked with y<sup>e</sup> sting of conscience, and confessed his sinne before both God and man. I haue (sayth he) sinned to the Lorde. that is to say, now I allege nothing for my excuse, I vse no wittes, but that all men may iudge me a sinner, and that the same thing whiche I would haue had secret from the Lorde, may be also open to men. Therfore a willing confession before men alway floweth the secret cofession that is made to God, so oft as it is profitable for the glorie of God or for the humbling of our selues. For this reason the Lord in olde time ordeined in the people of Israel, that the preste should first speake the wordes, & the people saying after him should openly confesse their iniquitie in the churche. For he forsaue that this help was necessary for thē that every man might be the better brought to a iust reknewledging of him selfe. And mete it is that with the cofession of our owne miserie we should among our selues, and before all the worlde glorifie the goodnesse and mercie of our God.

11 And it is conuenient that this kinde of confession be both ordinarie in the churche, and also extraordinarily vsed in speciall maner, if it happen at any time the people to be gylty of any generall fault. Of this second kinde we haue an example in that solemne confession whiche all the people vsed by the meanes and guiding Eldras and of Nehemais. For where as that long banishment, the destructio of the Citie & Temple, the dissoluing of religion, was the punishment of the comon reuolting of them all: they could not acknowledge the benefite of deliuerace in suche sorte as was mete, vnlesse they did first cōdemne them selues. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole Congregation some few sometime be innocent. For sith they be the membres of a feble & diseased body, they ought not to boste of healthfulnesse. yea it is not possible but they must also them selues gather some infection, and beare part of the blame. Therfore so oft as we be afflicted, either with pestilence or war, or barrēnesse or any other plague: if it be our dutie to flie to mourning, to fasting and to other signes of giltinesse: then confession it selfe, wherupon all these thinges do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinarie confession, beside that it is cōmended by the Lordes own mouth, there is no wiseman that cōsidering the profit therof, dare disallowe it.



For where as in al holy assemblies we make our apparauce in þ sight of God & the Angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our reknewledging of vnworthinesse. But þ (some man wyll say) is done by euery praier. For so oft as we pray for pardon, we there by confesse our sinnes. I graunt. But if you consider howe great is our carelesnesse, or drowlinesse, or sluggishnesse, you will graunt me that it shold be a profitable ordinance, if by some solemne vse of confession, the Christian comon people shold be exercised to humbling the selues. For though the certimonie þ the Lorde comaunded the Israelites, was parcel of the nurture of the law, yet in some manner it also belögeth to vs. And truly we se þ this vse is in well ordered churches profitably obserued, þ euery Sondag the minister shold rehearse a forme of cöfession in the name of him selfe & of all þ people, wherin he accuseth all of wickednesse, & craueth pardon of the Lord. Finally with this keye the gate to praier is opened as wel priuately to euery man, as vniuersally to al mē.

Moreover the Scripture alloweth two formes of priuate cöfession, one þ is made for our owne sake, wherof that saying of James is spokē, that we shold confesse our sinnes one to an other, for his meaning is, þ disclosing our wickednesse one to an other, we shold one help an other with mutuall counsel & comfort. The other forme, that is to be vled for our neighbours sake, to appease him & reconcile him vnto vs, if he haue in any thing ben offended by vs. Now in the first kinde of confession, although James in this hath assigneth no man by name, into whose bosome we shold vnlode our selues, leaueth vs a free choise, to confesse to hym that shall seme metest vnto vs of all the flocke of the church: yet we oughte principally to choise the Pastors, because they are for the moste part in comparison of the other to be iudged merest. I saye that they are merest in comparison of the rest, because the Lorde appointeth them by the very callinge of their ministerie, at whose mouth we shold be instructed to subdue and correcte oute synnes, and also maye receyue comfort by trust of pardon. For as the office of mutuall admonishment and reprovung is committed to all men, yet it is speciallye enioyned to the ministers. So when as we all ought to comforte and confirme one an other in confidence of Gods mercie: yet we see that the ministers, to assure our consciences of the forgeuenesse of synnes, are ordeined as it were witnesses and pledges thereof, in so muche that they be sayde to forgeue synnes and loose soules. When thou hearest this to be ascribed vnto them, thynke that it is for thy profit. Therefore let euery one of the faythfull remember this to bee his dutie, if he bee priuately so vexed and troubled with the feelyng of synnes that he can not wynde out hym selfe without helpe of an other, not to neglecte the remedie that the Lorde hath offred hym: that is, for his relese to vse priuate confession to his owne Pastour: and for his comforte to craue the priuate helpe of hym, whose dutie it is bothe publicquely and priuatelye to comforte the people of God with the doctrine of the Gospell. But alwaye this moderation is to be vled, where God appoynteth no certaintie, not to bynde consciences with a certayne yoke. Hereupon followeth that suche Confession oughte to bee free: not to bee requyred of all men, but to bee commended to those onelye that shall vnderstande them selues to haue neede of it.

S. b.

Ther,

12

Jacob.  
xvi.

Mat. x

Mat. xv  
Joh. iii

xviii.



## Of the manner howe to receiue

Then, that euen they that vse it for their nede, should not be compelled by any commaundement, or trained by any deceite, to reckon vp all their sinnes, but so far as thei shall thinke it behouefull for them, & they may receiue sound frute of comfort. Faithfull Pastors ought not only to leaue this libertie to the churches, but also to mainteine it, & stoutly stand in defence of it, if they wil haue tyrannie absent from their ministerie, & superstition from the people.

13 Of the other sorte of confession Christ speaketh in Mathew. If thou offer thy gift at the altar, & there remembreth that thy brother hath any thing against thee, leaue thy gift there, & go, & first be reconciled to thy brother, & then come & offer thy gift. For so charitie that hath bene appaired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknowledging & crauing pardon of the offence that we haue committed. Under this kinde is contained their confession that haue sinned euen to the offending of the whole church. For if Christ maketh so great a matter of the priuate offence of one man, to forbid from holy misteries all them that haue sinned against their brother, till they be with iust amendes reconciled: howe muche greater reason is it, that he that hath offended the church with any euill example, should recouer the fauour of the church with acknowledging his fault. So was the Corinthian receiued again to the communion, when he had yelded him selfe obedient to correction. Also this forme of confession was vsed in the olde church, as Ciprian maketh mention. Thei do penance (sayth he) in due time, & then they come to confession, and by laying on of the handes of the byshop & the Clergie, they receiue leaue to come to the communion. Any other order or forme of confessing, the scripture vtterly knoweth not, & it is not our dutie to binde consciences with new bondes, whome Christ moste sharply forbiddeth vs to bring in bondage. In the meane time I do so muche not speake against it that the Shepe should present them selues to their Shepherd, when they meane to be partakers of y<sup>e</sup> holy supper, that I wold most gladly haue it euerie where obserued. For both they that haue an encombred conscience, may fro thence receiue singular profit, & they that are to be admonished do by that meane prepare place for admonishment, but so alwaye that tyrannie and superstition be away.

14 In these thre Kindes of confession, the power of the keyes hath place: that is, ether when the whole church with solempne reknowleging of their faultes craueth pardon: or when a priuate man, that by any notable fault hath bred comon offence, doth declare his repentence: or when he that for y<sup>e</sup> vnquietnesse of his conscience, doth nede help of y<sup>e</sup> minister discloseth his weakenesse vnto him. But there are diuerse wayes of taking away offense, because although therby also the peace of conscience is prouided for, yet y<sup>e</sup> principal end is, y<sup>e</sup> hatred sholde be taken away, & mens mindes knit together with a bond of peace. But this vse that I haue spokē of, is not to be despised, y<sup>e</sup> we may the more willingly confesse our sinnes. For when the whole church standeth as it were beioze the iudgement seate of God, confesseth it selfe guilty, & hath one only refuge vnto y<sup>e</sup> mercy of God: it is no selēder or light comfort to haue ther present Christes embassadour, hauing comādemēt of recōciliation, of whom it may heare absolution pronounced vnto it. Here the profitableness of the keyes is worthely commended, when this embassage is performed rightly,



rightly, & with suche order & religiousnesse as becometh it. Likewise when he that had in a manner estranged him selfe from the Church, receiveth pardon & is restored into brotherly unitie: howe great a benefite is it that he vnderstandeth him selfe to be forgiven by them, to whom Christ hath said: To whom so ever ye forgive sinnes in earth, they shall be forgiven in heauen. And of no lesse effectualnesse & profit is private absolution, when it is asked by them that haue nede of speciall remedy to releue their weakenesse. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he which heareth the generall promises that are directed to the whole congregation of the faithfull, remaineth neuerthelesse in some doubt, and hath still an vnquiet minde, as though he had not yet obtained pardon: and the same man, if he haue disclosed to his parson the secret sore of his minde, and heareth peculiarly directed to him selfe that saying of the Gospel, Thy sinnes are forgiven thee, be of good hope. stablisheth hys minde vnto assurednesse & is deliuered from that trembling, wherewith he was before tormented. But when we speake of the keyes, we muste take hede that we dreame not of a certaine power seuered fro the preaching of the Gospell. In an other place we shall haue occasion more fully to declare this matter againe, where we shall entreate of the gouernement of the church: & there shall we see that all the power to binde and to loose, whiche Christ hath geuen to his church, is bounde to the worde. But this is mozte true in the ministerie of the keyes, the whole force wherof standeth in this, that the grace of the Gospell be publikely and privately sealed vp in the heartes of the faithfull, by them whome the Lord hath ordeined: which can not be done but by only preaching.

But what say the Romishe diuines? They decree that euery one of either kinde, so soone as they come to the yeares of discretion, must rely ones at the least confesse all their sinnes to their owne prest: and that their sinne is not forgiven, onlesse they haue firmly conceined an entent to confesse it: whiche intent if they performe not when occasion is offered that they may do it, there is nowe no more entrie open for the into Paradise. And that the presse hath the power of the keyes, where with he may loose & binde a sinner: because the worde of Christ is not in vaine, What so ever ye binde, &c. About this power they stoutely fight among them selues. Some say that there is but one keye in substance, that is the power to binde & loose, and as for knowledge, that it is in dede requisite for a good vse, but that it is only as an accessary & is not essentially ioyned with the other. Some other, because they sawe this to be to much an vnbidled licence, haue reckened by two keyes, discretion, & power. Other againe, when they sawe y lewde boldnesse of prestes to be restrained by this moderation, haue forged other keyes, that is to say, authoritie of discerning which they should vse in geuing deterrminate sentence: and power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: & that knowledge standeth by as a counsellor. But they dare not simply expounde this binding & loosing to be to forgive and put away sinnes, because they heare the Lorde crying out in the Prophet: It is I, and none other but I: it is I, it is I that put away thy synnes, O Israel, But they saye it is the prestes office to pronounce whoe bee bounde or loosed, and to declare whose synnes are forgiven or reteined: and that he dothe declare it, either by confession when he

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Mat. 18.

Joh. 19.

Mat. 18.

15

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utriusq;  
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cap. 2.

Mat. 18

Ela. 11th

II. 3. 11



absolueth and reteined sinnes, or by sentence when he excommunicated and receiueh againe to partakynge of the Sacramentes. Finally, when they vnderstande that they be not yet out of this doubt, but that it shyll may be objected against them, that oftentimes their priestes doe bynde and loose men vnworthye, whiche are not therfore bounde or loosed in heauen: then (whiche is their laste refuge) they aunswere that the geuing of the keyes, muste bee construed with a limitation, that is to saye, that Chust hath promised, that befoze his iudgement seate suche sentence of the Preste shalbe allowed as hath bene iustly pronounced, according as the Deseruinges of hym that is bounde or loosed, did require. Moreover they saye, that these keyes are geuen by Churste to all Priestes, and are delynered to them by their Bysshopes, at the tyme of their promotinge to presthode: but the free vse of them, remaineth only with suche as doe exercise Ecclesiasticall offices: and that the excommunicate & suspended Prestes haue in deede the keyes, but rusty & bounde vp. And they that say these thynges may wel seme modest and sober in comparison of the rest, which vpon an newe annield haue forged newe keyes, with which they say the treasure of y<sup>e</sup> churche is locked vp. These keyes we shall hereafter trye in place fit for it.

16 Howe I wyll in fewe woordes aunswere to euerye one of these particularlye. But at this present I speake not by what ryght or what wrong they bynde the soules of the faithfull with their lawes, for as muche as we will consider that when place serueth. But wherē they charge men with a lawe of reckening vp all their sinnes: wherē they saye that sinne is not forgeuen but vpon condition, if there be an intent conceiued to confesse it: wherē they babble that there remaineth no entrie into Paradise, if occasion of confessing be neglected: this is in no wyse to be suffered. Must all sinnes be reckened vp? But Dauid, (Whoe as I thinke) had well studied vpon the confession of his sinnes, yet cried out: who shall vnderstande his errors? Lorde cleanse me from my secret sinnes. And in an other place. My iniquities haue passed aboue my head, and lyke a weightye burden haue wared heavy aboue my strengthe. Cruely, he vnderstode howe great was the bottomlesse depthe of our sinnes: howe many were the sortes of our mischieuous doings, how many heades this monster Hydra did beare, & how long a tayle she drew after her. Therfore he went not about to reckē vp a register of thē, but out of y<sup>e</sup> depth of euels, he cried vnto y<sup>e</sup> Lord: I am ouerwhelmed, I am buried & choked, the gates of helles haue copassed me, let thy hande drawe me out, whiche am drowned in the great pit, & am fainting and ready to die. Who nowe maye thinke vpon the nombryng of his sinnes, when he seeth that Dauid can make no nombre of his?

17 Wyth thys butcherye, the soules that haue beene touched with anye feelynge of God, haue beene more cruelye verced. First they called them selues to accompte: then they deuyned synnes into armes, into boowes, into braunches, and into twigges, according to these mens rules: then they weyed the qualities, quantities, & circumstances. And so the matter went a litle forwarde. But when they had proceeded a litle further, than was on eche syde skye, & on eche side sea, no haven, no safe roade: the mo that they had passed ouer, the greater heape alway did thrust it self into their sight, yea thei rose vp as hye mountaines

sta. p. r.  
iii.

st. xxxiii  
v.



mountaines, and ther appeared no hope, not so much as after long compassinges, any waie to escape. And so thei did sticke fast betwene the sacrifice and the stone, and at last was founde no other issue but desperation. Then these cruel butchers, to ease the woundes that themselves had made, laied certaine gentle plaisters, that euery man shoulde do as muche as he coulde. But new cares againe rose vp, Yea new tormētēs did sea & spilly soules, as to thinke: I haue not employed time enough, I haue not endeouored my selfe with suche diligence as I oughte, I haue passed ouer many thinges by negligence and the forgetfulnesse that cometh by negligence is not excusable. Then were there ministred other plaisters to asswage suche peines, as Repent thee of thy neglygence: if it bee not altogether carelesse, it shall bee pardoned. But al these thinges can not close vp the wounde, and are not so muche easmente of the euell, as poysons couered with honey, that thei shold not with their bitternesse offende the firste taste, but enter into the bowels before that thei be perceiued. Therefore this terrible saieng alway calleth vpon them and soundeth in their eares: Confesse al thy sinnes. And this horrour can not bee appeased but by assured comforte. Here let the readers consider, how possible it is to bring into accompt all the doinges of a whole yeare, & to gather together what sinnes thei haue done euery daie: for as muche as experience proueth to euery man, that when at euening he shall reckon vp the faultes but of one daie, his memorie is confounded therewith, so greate a multitude & diuersitie presenteth it selfe. For I speake now of grosse and blockish hypocrites that thinke thei haue done sufficiently, if they haue noted thre or fower of the greatest sinnes: but I speake of the true worshippers of God, which when thei see themselves oppressed with the examinatio that they haue made, do adde also this saieng of Ihon: If oure owne heart do accuse vs, God is greater than oure heart: and so thei quake for feare at the sight of that iudge, whose knowledge farre surmounteth oure vnderstandinge.

But whereas a greate parte of the Worlde tested them vpon suche flatteries, wherewith so deadely a popson was tempered, thys came not so to passe, bycause they beleued that God was satisfied, or bycause they them selues were fully satisfied: but that the anchor caste as yt were in the midde sea, shoulde reste a lytle from saylinge, or as a wayfaringe man weary and faintyng, shoulde lye downe in the waye. I laboure not muche in prouinge thys. For euery man maie be witnesse to hym selfe. I will in a shorte summe shew, what manner of law thys was. fyrst simply it is impossible, and therefore it can do nothinge but destroy, damne, confounde, and cast in ruine and desperation. And then when it hath ledde sinners from the true feeling of their sinnes, it maketh then hypocrites and ignoraunte of God and themselves. For whyle they are wholly busyed in rekenyng vppon of theyr synnes, in the meane tyme they forgette the secreete sinke of vyces, their hydden Iniquities, and inwarde spylthynesse, by knowledge wherof they shoulde chcefely haue weyed their myserie. But thys was a moste certaine rule of confession, to acknowledge and confesse the bottomlesse depth of our euell to be so great as passeth our vnderstandyng. After thys rule wee see that the Publicanes confession was made. *Lord*

be

i. Job. ii  
ff.

18

Luc. xlii  
iii.



Of the manner howe to receiue

be mercifull to me a synner: as if he shoulde saie: All that euer I am, I am altogether a sinner, and I can not attein with witte or expresse with tongue the greatnesse of my sinnes: let the bottomlesse depthe of thy mercie swallow vp the bottomlesse depth of my sinne. But then thou wilt saie, what are not all oure sinnes to be confessed: is no confession acceptable to God, but that whiche is knitte vp in these twoo woordes, I am a sinner: No, but rather we muste endeouore our selues as much as in vs lieth, to poure out oure heart before the Lorde, and not onely in one worde confesse oure selues sinners, but also truely and heartly acknowledge oure selues to be suche: and with al oure thought record, howe greate and diuerse is oure filth of sinnes, not onely that wee be vncleane, but what, howe great, and in howe many partes is oure vncleannesse: not onely that we be detters, but with howe greate dettes wee be loden, and howe manie waies charged: not onely that we be wounded, but also with howe manie & deadly strokes we be wounded.

With this reknowleging when the sinner hath wholly poured out hys selfe before God, lette him earnestly and syncerely thinke, that yet there remaine moe sinnes, & that the secret corners of their euels are so depe, that thei can not be througely disclosed. And he crieth out with Dauid: Whoe vnderstandeth his errours: Lorde cleanse me from my hidden sinnes. Now wher thei affirme, that sinnes are not forgoen but with an intent of confessing firmly conceiued, and that the gate of paradise is shutte against him that neglecteth occasion offered when he may be confessed, God forbidde that we shoulde graunt them that. For there is no other forgoenesse of sinnes, than alwaie hath ben. It is not reade that all thei haue confessed their sinnes in the eare of some preste, that wee reade to haue obtayned forgoenesse of sinnes at Chyestes hande. And truely, thei coulde not confesse, where there were neither any prestes confellores, nor any confessing at all. And in many ages after, thys confession was vnhearde of, at which time sinnes weare forgoen with out thys condition. But that we may not nede to dispute longer about this, as about a doubtfull matter, the worde of God is plaine, which abideth for euer: Whensoeuer the synner repenteth, I will no moze remembre all his iniquities. He that dare adde any thinge to thys worde, byndeth not sinnes, but the mercie of God. For whereas thei saie, that Iudgement canne not be geuen but when the cause is heard, we haue a solution in readinesse, that they doe presumptuously take that vpon them selues, which haue made themselues iudges. And it is a maruell, that thei do so boldly frame to themselues suche principles, as no man in his right wit wil graunt. Thei boaste that the office of Binding and Loosing is committed to them, as though it weare a certain iurisdiction ioyned with Inquisition. Moreover their whole doctrine crieth oute, & this authoritie was vnknewen to y Apostles. Neither doth it belong to the preste, but to him whiche desireth absolution, to knowe certainly whether the synner be loosed or no: for asynuche as he that heareth can neuer know whether y reckning be iust & perfect. So shold ther be no absolution but suche as is restrained to his words y is to be iudged. Moreover y whole ordze of loosing stādeth of faith & repētance, which twoo things are hidden from y knowledg of man, when sētence must be geuē vpo an other man. It foloweth therefore, y the assurāce of binding

Gal. iii.  
iii.

Eze. viii.  
ii.

and



and loosing is not subiect to the iudgment of an earthly iudge: because the minister of the worde, when he dothe his office, can not geue absolution but conditionally: but that this is spoken for the sinnes sake, whose sinnes ye forgeue. &c. that thei should not doubtte that the pardon whiche is promised by the commaundement and worde of God; shall be ratified in heauen.

Therefore it is no maruel, if we condemine and desire to haue utterly taken awaie this Auricular confession, a thinge so pestilent and so many waies hurtfull to the Chutche: but if it were a thinge by it selfe indifferent, yet for asmuche as it is to no vse nor profite, & hath geuen cause to so many wickednesses, sacrileges and errorres, whoe will not thinke that it ought to be presently abolished: Thei do in dedde reckon by some good vles, whiche thei boaste vpon as very profitable; butte these either false or of no balewe at all. One onely thei commend with a singular prerogatiue, that shame is a great punishment of him that confesseth, wherby the sinner both is for time to com made water, & preventeth the punishment of God in punishing himselfe. As thsughe we byd not humble a man with shamefastnesse enough, when we call him to his iudgement seate of heauen, I meane to the hearing of God. It is forsoothe very wel profited, if for shame of one mans knowldege we cesse to sinne, and bee not ashamed to haue God witnesse of oure euell conscience. Althoughe the very same is also moste false, for it is to be seen that by nothings groweth greater confidence or licentiousnesse to sinne, than when men hauing made confession to a preeste, thinke that they maie wipe their mouthe and saie, I did it not. And not onely they are made all the yeare longe the bolder to sinne: but all the rest of the yeare bearing themselucs bolde vpon confession, thei neuer sighe vnto God, thei neuer returne to themselves, but heape sinnes vpon sinnes, til they vomit bp al at ones as they thinke. And when they haue ones vomited them vppe, they thinke them selues discharged of their burden, and that thei haue taken awaie from God the iudgment that thei haue geuen to the preeste, and that they haue brought God in forgetfulnessse, when they haue made the preeste priue. Moreover whoe dotly meryly see the daie of confession at hande: Whoe goeth to confession with a cherefull hearthe, and commeth not to it rather against his wil, & as if were drawing backwarde, like as if he were taken by the necke and drawen to pryson: vnlesse peraduenture it be the very prestes, that vse ioyfully to delite themselves with mutuall rehelsals of their doinges, as weare with mery tales: I wil not defile much paper with monstrous abominations wherof auricular confession swaructh full. Onely this I saie, If that holy man did not bitwisely, that for one rumor of fornication toke awaie confession out of his Chutche, pea, out of his remembrance of his flocke: then we be therby putt in minde what ys nedefull to be done at this daie vpon infinite whoredomes, adulteries, incestes and bawderies.

Where the Confessionats allege for thys purpose the power of the keyes, and doe therebpon sette the peupe and more of their kynge dome, as the prouerbe is: it is to be seen howe muche they oughte to auayle. Then (saye they) are the keyes geuen wythoute cause.

As yt sayde wythoute cause: Whatsoeuer you loose vpon eathe,

shalbe

Mat. xviij  
viii.



shall be also loosed in heauen? Do we then make the worde of Christe void? I answer there was a weighty cause why the keyes should be geuen, as bothe I haue euen now already declared, and shall more plainly shew againe when I come to entreat of Excommunication. But what if I do with one swerde cutt of the holde of al that thei require, that ys with saieng, that sacryficeng preestes are not the vicars nor successors of the Apostles? But this shall also be to be entreated of in an other place: but nowe thei raise vp an engine whereby thei wolde most of all defende themselues, and therby may all their buildinges be ouerthrowen: for Christe did not geue his Apostles the power to binde & loose, before that he gaue them the holy ghoſte. Therefore I saie, that none haue the power of the keyes that haue not first receiued the holy ghoſt. I Denie that any man can vse the keyes, but hauing the holy ghoſte going before & teaching him & informing him what is to bee done. They triflinge saie, that thei haue the holy ghoſte: but in dede thei denie it, vnlesse paradventure thei saine (as thei do saine in dede) y<sup>e</sup> holy ghoſte to be a vaine thing and a thing of nothing, but therin thei shall not be beleued. And by this engine thei are vtterly ouerthrowē, that of what soeuer doze thei boast y<sup>e</sup> thei haue the keye, a man may alway aske the whether thei haue the holy ghoſte whiche is the iudge and gouernour of the keyes. If thei answer that thei haue, then thei maie be asked againe, whether the holy ghoſte may erre. This thei wil not be glade to speake expressly, althoughe thei crokedly vtter the same by their doctrine. It is therefore to be gathered, that no preestes haue power of y<sup>e</sup> keyes whiche do commonly without consideration loose those thinges that the Lorde wold haue to be bounde, and binde those thinges that the Lorde commaunded to be loosed.

21 Wheras thei see themselues conuincid by most clere experimentes, that thei do without choise loose and binde the worthy and vnworthy, thei vsurpe a power without knowledge. And although they dare not denie that knoweledge is requisit for a good vse, yet thei write that y<sup>e</sup> very power is geuen to euel disposers of it. But this is y<sup>e</sup> power, what soeuer thou bindest or loosest in earthe, shall be bounde or loosed in heauen. Either the promise of Christ must lie, or thei that haue this power do well binde and loose. Neither may thei dallye and saie, that the saieng of Christe is limited according to the deseruings of him y<sup>e</sup> is bound or loosed. And we also confesse, that none can be bounde or loosed, but thei y<sup>e</sup> are worthy to be bound or loosed. But y<sup>e</sup> messengers of the Gospell and the Church haue the woorde, by whiche thei measure this worthinesse, in thys woorde the messengers of the Gospell, maye promise to all men forgeuenesse of sinnes in Christe by faythe, thei maye proclaime damnation into all and vpon all that embrace not Christ. In this word the Church pronounceth that fornicatours, adulterers, theues, mansleiers, couetous men, vniust men, haue no parte in the kingdom of God, and bindeth such with most sure bondes. With the same worde the Church looseth them whome y<sup>t</sup> comforteth being repentant. But what power shall this be, not to knowe what is to be bounde or loosed, and not to be able to binde or loose without knoweledge? Why then do thei saie that thei loose by authoritie geuen vnto them, whē y<sup>e</sup> loosing is vncertain? What haue we to do with this imagine



ginatiue power, yf there be no vse of it: But I haue it already proued that eyther there is no vse of it, or so vncertaine an vse as maye be accounted for none at all. For whereas they cōfesse that there is a great parte of prestes that do not rightly vse the keyes, and that the power without lawefull vse is of no effect. Whoe shall assure me that he of whom I am loosed is a good vser of the keyes: if he be an euell vser of it, what hath he els but such a voyde disposyng of them, as to say, what is to be found or loosed in thee I know not, for asmuch as I lack the right vse of y keyes, but yf thou deserue I loose thee. But so much might do, I wil not say a laye man (for they could not beare that with patient eares) but a Turke, or a Deuill. For it is asmuche as to saye, I haue not the worde of God the sure rule of loosyng, but there is power geuen me to loose thee, yf thy deseruynges be so. We see therefore what they meant, when they defined the keyes to be the authoritie of discernyng, and power of executyng: and that knowledge is adtoynded for a counsellor, and like a counsellor serueth for a good vse: vndoubtedly euen they desired to reygne at theyr owne will, licentiouly, without God and his worde.

If any man take exception and saye, that the lawfull ministers of Christ shall be no lesse doubtfull in their office, bycause the absolution that hangeth vpon sayth shall alwaye remayne doubtfull: and then that sinners shall haue eyther none or a cold comforte, bycause the minister himselve whiche is no competent iudge of their sayth, can not be assured of their absolution: we haue answer thereunto in redinesse. For they saye that no sinnes are forgeuen by the preste, but such wherof himselve hath ben the hearer: so by their opinion, the forgeuenesse hangeth vpon the iudgement of the preste, and yf he do not wisely discern whoe be worthy of pardon, the whole doyng is voyde and of no effect. Finally the power wherof they speake, is a iurisdiction adtoynded to examination, wherunto pardon and absolutiō is restrained. In this point is found no sure ground, but rather it is a bottomlesse depth. For where the confession is not found, the hope of pardon is also lame, and then the preste himselve muste needes sticke in suspense while he can not tell, whether the sinner doe faithfully reckon vpon all his euell deedes. Finally (suche is the ignorance and rudenesse of prestes) the mooste parte are no fitter to doe this office, than a Shoemaker is to plowe the ground, and the rest in a manner all ought worthily to suspect themselues. Hereupon therefore riseth the perplexitie and doubtfullnesse of the Popes absolution, bycause they will haue it grounded vpon the person of the preste, and not only that, but also vpon knowledge, that he may iudge only of thinges informed, examined and proued. Nowe if a man should aske of these good docters, whether a sinner be reconciled to God, when some sinnes are forgeuen: I see not what they haue to answer, but that they shall be compelled to confesse that all is vnprofitable, that the preste pronounceth of the forgeuenesse of those sinnes y he hath heard rehearsed, so long as the other sinnes are not deliuered from condemnation. On the behalf of him that confesseth how hurtfull carefulnesse holdeth his conscience bound, appereth hereby, that when he resteth vpon the prestes discretion, as they call it, he can determine nothing certainly by the worde



of God. The doctrine that we teache is free and cleare fro al these absurdities. For the absolution is conditionall, that the sinner should trust y<sup>e</sup> God is mercifull vnto him, so that he sincerely seeke the cleansing of his sinnes in y<sup>e</sup> sacrifice of Christ, & obeye the grace offered him. So he can not erre, which according to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth y<sup>e</sup> which is geue him in instructiōs by the word of God. And the sinner may embrace a sure & cleare absolution, when that simple cōditiō is annexed of the embracing the grace of Christ, according to that generall doctrine of the maister himself, Be it done to thee according to thy sayth. Which hath ben wickedly despised in the Paparie.

23

How foolishly thei confound those things y<sup>e</sup> the Scripture teacheth of the power of keyes, I haue promised that I wil speake in an other place, and there shalbe a more conuenient place for it, when I come to entreate of the gouernement of the church. But let the readers remember that those things are wrongfully wrested to Auricular and secret confession, whiche are spoken by Christ partly of the preaching of the gospel, & partly of excommunication. Wherefore when they object that the power of loosing is geue to the Apostles, which prestes may vse in forgiuing sinnes acknowledged vnto them, it is playne y<sup>e</sup> they take a false & fond principle: bicause the absolution that serueth sayth, is nothing els but a witness of pardō takē out of y<sup>e</sup> free promise of the gospel. As for the other confession, that hangeth vpo the discipline of the Church, it pertaineth nothing to secret sinnes, but rather to example, that cōmon offense of the church may be takē away. But wheras they scrape together here and there testimonies, to proue that it sufficeth not to confesse sinnes either to God only or to laie mē, vlesse a prest be the hearer of them, their trauaile therein is but lewde; and such as they may be ashamed of. For whē the auncient fathers counsel sinners to vnburden theselues to their owne pastour, it can not be expounded of particular rehearsal which thē was not in vse. Then, Lumbard & such like (such was their sinister dealing) seme of set purpose to haue geue theselues to fayned bokes, by pretense wherof they might deceiue the simple. They do in deede truely confesse, that bicause absolutiō alway accompanieth repentance, therefore there propzely remaineth no bond when a mā is touched with repentance, although he haue not yet confessed, & therioze y<sup>e</sup> then y<sup>e</sup> prest doth not so much forgiue sinnes as pronouice & declare thē forgiuen. Albeit in y<sup>e</sup> word of declaring thei stily brig in a grosse errour, thrusting a ceremonie in stede of doctrine. But wheras thei patche vnto it, y<sup>e</sup> he is absolued in the face of the church y<sup>e</sup> had alredy obtained pardō befoze God: they do incoueniently draw to the peculiar vse of euery particular mā, y<sup>e</sup> which we haue already sayd to be appointed for cōmon discipline, where the offense of a haynous & notozious fault is to be takē away. But by & by after, they depraue & corrupt moderatiō, addyng an other māner of forgiuyng, with an enioyning of penaltie & satisfaction, wherin thei presumptuously claime to theyz own sacrifices a power to part y<sup>e</sup> in halfes, which God hath in all places promised vs whole together. For when he simply requireth repentance and faith, this partition or exceptiō is a very robberie of God. For it is in effect asmuche as yf the prest takyng vpon the person of a Tribune, should become intercessour to God, and would not suffer



suffer God of his mere liberalitie to receyue him into fauour, that hath lyen prostrate befoze the Tribunes seates, and there hath ben punished.

The whole summe cometh to this point, that yf they wil make God the authour of this counterfeit confession, ther ein is their falshod condemned, as I haue proued them false forgers in the fewe places that they allege. But sicke it is euident that it is a law made by men, I say that it is bothe tyrannicall and made iniuriously agaynst God, whose bindyng mens consciences to his word, will haue them free from the bondage of men. Nowe when for the obteynng of pardon, there is a necessitie prescribed of that thyng whiche the Lord wold to be free, I say that this is a sacrilege not to be suffred, bycause there is nothing moze properly belongyng to God, than to forgeue sinnes, wherein consisteth saluation for vs. Moreouer I haue shewed that this tyrannie was first brought in, when the world was oppressed with filthy barbarousnesse. I haue also taught that it is a pestilent lawe, that eyther throweth downe hedlong into desperation the poore soules in whoni so euer abideth a feare of God: or where there reigneth carelesnesse, delitech them with bayue flatteries, & so maketh them duller. Last of all I haue declared, that what so euer mitigatiōs they bypng, tend to no other ende, but to entangle, darken and depraue pure doctrine, & hide vngodlineses with deceitfull colozs.

The third place in Repentance they assigne to satisfaction, wherof all that euer they babble may be ouerthrowen with one worde. They say that it is not enough for him that repenteth, to absteyne from his former euels, and chaunge his behauioz into better, vnlesse he make satisfaction to God for those things that he hath done: And that there be many helpes by whiche we maye redeme sinnes, as wepinges, fastinges, oblatiōs & the workes of charitie. With these we must winne the Lord to be fauorable, with these we muste paye our dettes to the righteousnesse of God, with these we must make amendes for our defaultes, w these we must deserue pardō. For although by the largesse of his mercie he hath forgeuen our faulte, yet by the discipline of his iustice he reteineth the peine: & that this is the peyne that must be redemed with satisfactions. But in effect al that they say cometh to this point, that we do in Deede obtaine pardō of our sinnes at the mercifulnesse of God, but by meanes of y deseruing of our workes, by whiche the offense of our sinnes may be recōpensed, that due satisfaction may be fully made to Gods righteousnesse. Against such lies, I set the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, than whiche there is nothing moze euidently spokē of in y Scripture. First, what is forgeuenesse, but a gift of mere liberalitie? For the creditour is not sayd to forgeue, y acknowlegeth by acquitance y the monye is payed, but he that without any paymēt willingly of his owne liberalitie canelleth the detters bond. Secōdly, why is this word, freely added, but to take away al opinion of satisfaction: with what cōfidence therfoze do they yet set bp their satisfactiōs, y are stricke downe with so mighty a thūderbolt? But what? when y lord crieth out by Elsie, It is I, it is I, that do put away iniuities for mine owne sake, and will not be inindfull of thy sinnes: Dothe he not openly declare, that he fetcheth the cause and fundation

24

25

Lib. 4. Sēt.  
Dist. 10. c.  
4. c. Non  
sufficit. de  
pont. cap.  
med. cadens  
dist. c. nuda  
lus. cadens  
dist.

1. Cor. 13. 13.  
Ro. 8. 1. 1.  
Coloss. 2.  
11. 1.  
Tit. 2. 1. 1.

1. Cor. 13. 13.  
10.



Act. 7. 14

of forgeueneſſe only from his owne goodneſſe: Howeouer whereas the whole Scripture beareth this witneſſe of Chriſte, that forgeueneſſe of finnes is to be receyued by his name, doth it not thereby exclude all other names: Howe then do they teache that it is receyued by the name of ſatiſſactions: Neyther can they denie that they geue this to ſatiſſactions, although they ſaye that the ſame bee bleſed as helpes by waye of meanes. For whereas the Scripture ſayth By the name of Chriſt, it meaneth that we byyng nothyng, we allege nothyng of our owne, but reſte vpon the only commendation of Chriſt. As Paule, where he affirmeth that God is reconcilyng the world to him ſelfe in Chriſt, for his ſake not imputyng to men their finnes, he immediatly ſheweth the meane and manner how: bycauſe he that was without ſinne, was made ſinne for vs.

ii. Cor. 5. 21.

26

Lib. 3. Sent. diſt. 9.

But (ſuche is their peruerſneſſe) they ſaye that bothe forgeueneſſe of finnes and reconciliation are perſormed bothe at one time, when we are in Baptiſme receyued into the fauour of God by Chriſt: that after baptiſme we muſte riſe agayne by ſatiſſactions: and that the bloud of Chriſt profiteth nothyng, but ſo far as it is diſtributed by the keyes of the Church. Neither doe I ſpeake of a doubtfull matter, for aſmuche as they haue in moſte euident wrytinges bewrayed their owne filthynneſſe, and not one or two of them, but all the Scholmen vniuerſally. For their Maſter, after that he had confeſſed that Chriſt had payed the penaltie of finnes vpon the tree, accorſdyng to the doctrine of Peter, immediatly correſteth his ſayeng with adding this exception, that in baptiſme all tempoꝛall penalties of finnes are releaſed, but after baptiſme they are miniſhed by the help of penance, that ſo the croſſe of Chriſte and our penance maye worke together.

i. Pet. 4. 11.

ii. Tim. 1. 14.

i. Th. 4. 11. 24.

But John ſayth far otherwiſe, yf any ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Jeſus Chriſt, whiche is the propitiation for our finnes. I wryte vnto you childzen, bycauſe your finnes are forgeuen you for his names ſake. Cruely he ſpeaketh to the faythfull, to whome when he ſetteth foꝛth Chriſte to bee the propitiation of finnes, he ſheweth that there is no other ſatiſſaction by whiche God, beyng diſpleaſed, maye bee made fauozable and appeaſed. He doth not ſaye: God was ones reconciled vnto you by Chriſte, nowe ſeeke you other meanes: but he maketh hym a perpetuall aduocate, alwaye to reſtoꝛe vs by his interceſſion into the fauour of his father: a perpetuall propitiation, by whiche our finnes maye be cleaned awaye. For this is euer true that the other John ſayd: Beholde, the Lambe of God, beholde him that taketh awaye the finnes of the worlde. He taketh them awaye (ſayth he) hymſelf and none other, that is to ſay: for aſmuche as he alone is the Lambe of God, he alone alſo is the oblation for finnes, he alone the propitiation ſacrifice, he alone the ſatiſſactio. For whereas the right & power to forgeue belongeth properly to the father, in the reſpect that he is diſtinguiſhed from the ſonne, as we haue already ſene: Chriſt is here ſet in an other degree, that taking vpon himſelf the peine due vnto vs, he hath taken awaye our guiltinneſſe before yugemet of God. Wherupon ſoloweth, yf we ſhal no otherwiſe be partakers of the ſatiſſaction made by Chriſt, vnleſſe yf ſame honour remaine

Ib. 1. 11.



remayne whole with him, whiche they doe wrongfully take to themselves that goe about to appeale God with their owne recompensings.

And here it is good to consider two thinges: that Christ may haue his due honour kepte vnto hym whole and vnminished: and that the consciences beyng assured of the forgeuenesse of sinne, maye haue peace with God. Elsie sayth, that the father hath layed the iniquities of vs all vpon his sonne, that we should be healed by his stripes. which thing Peter rehearsing in other wordes sayth: that Christ did in his body beare our sinnes vpon the tree. Paule wryteth that sinne was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sinne for vs. That is to saye, that the force and curse of sinne was slayne in his flesh, when he was genen to bee a sacrifice, vpon whiche the whole heape of our sinnes, with all their malediction and curse, with the dzedfull iudgement of God, and condemnation of death should be caste. Here those triflynges are in no case to be heard, that after the firste purgynge, euery one of vs doth none otherwise fele the effectualnesse of the passion of Christ, than after the measure of satisfactorie repentance: but so oft as we fall, we be called backe to the onely satisfactio of Christ. Nowe set before thee their pestilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the firste forgeuenesse of sinnes: that yf we afterwarde fall, to the obteynnyng of a seconde forgeuenesse our workes doe worke with it. If these thynges maye haue place, do these thynges that are here before assigned to Christ remayne safe vnto him? It is a marvellous greate difference, betwene this that our iniquities are layed vpon Christ, that they should bee cleansed in him, and this that they are cleansed by our owne workes: betwene this that Christ is the procurynge of mercie, and this that God muste be made mercifull by workes. But yf we speake of pacifieng the conscience: what pacification shal this be for a mans conscience, to heare that his sinnes are redemed by satisfactions? When shal he certainly knowe the measure of his satisfaction? Therefore he shall alway doubt whether he haue God mercifull or no, he shall alwaye be vexed, and alwaye quake for feare. For they that rest vpon light petty satisfactions, doe to contemptuously esteeme the iudgement of God, and doe litle consider how great is the greuousnesse of sinne, as we shall declare in an other place. But although we graunt them to redeme some sinnes with iust satisfaction; yet what will they doe when they are oppressed with so many sinnes, for satisfaction wherof a hundred liues although they were wholly applied therunto can not suffice? Beside þ, all the places wherin the forgeuenesse of sinnes is affirmed, do not belong to yonglinges, but to the already regenerate childre of God, & them that haue ben long nourished in the bosome of the church. That embassage which Paul so honorably extollet, I beseeche you in the name of God, be ye reconciled vnto God. is not directed to strangers, but to them that had ben already regenerate. But he, biddinge satisfactions farewell, sendeth them to the crosse of Christ. So when he wryteth to the Colossians, that Christ by the blood of the crosse hath pacified all thynges in heauen or in earth, he restrayneth not this to the only moment wherein we are receiued into the church, but

27

Esa. llii.  
iii.  
i. Pet. ii.  
xxiii.  
Ro. viii. iii.  
Gala. iii.  
viii.

ii. Cor. v.  
ii.

Col. i. ii.



extendeth it to our whole course. Whiche easily appereth by the pro-  
 cesse of the text, where he sayth, that the faithfull haue a redemption  
 by the blond of Christ, that is forgeuenesse of sinnes. Albeit it is su-  
 perfluous to heape together moe places, that redily offer themselues  
 to be founde.

8 Here they flie to the sanctuarie of the foolish distinction, that some  
 sinnes are veniall, and some deadly: that for deadly sinnes is greate  
 satisfaction due, that veniall sinnes are purged with moze easy reme-  
 dies, as with sayeng of the Lordes prayer, with sprinklyng of holy  
 water, with absolution at the masse. So they mocke and trifle with  
 God. But whereas they alwaye haue in their mouthe veniall and  
 deadly sinne, yet they coulde neuer discern the one from the other,  
 sayng that they make vngodlinesse and vncleannesse of heart, a ve-  
 niall sinne. But we (as the Scripture the rule of right and wrong  
 teacheth vs) doe pronounce, that the rewarde of sinne is death, and  
 that the soule that sinneth is woorthy of death. But that the sinnes  
 of the saythfull are veniall, not for that they doe not deserue death,  
 but bycause by the mercie of God there is no condemnation to them  
 that are in Christ Iesus, bicause they are not imputed, bycause they  
 are taken awaye by pardon. I know howe vniustly they sclaunder  
 this our doctrine. For they saye, that it is the Stoikes strange con-  
 clusion, concernyng the equalitie of sinnes. But they shall easily be  
 conuincid by their owne mouth. For I Demaunde of them, whither  
 among the very same sinnes that they confesse to be deadly, they doe  
 not acknowlege one to be greater than an other. It doth not therfore  
 immediatly follow, that sinnes are egall, bicause they are al together  
 deadly. When the Scripture definitiuely sayth, y the rewarde of sinne  
 is death, that the obediēce of the law is the way of life, & that the trās-  
 gressiō of the law is death, they can not escape this sentence. What end  
 of satisfieng then will they finde in so great a heape of sinnes? If the  
 satisfaction of one daye be the satisfaction of one sinne, while they are  
 about that one satisfaction, they wrape themselues in many sinnes,  
 si the iustest man passeth no one day wherein he falleth not many  
 times. Now when thei shall prepare themselues to make satisfaction  
 for these sinnes, they shall heape by great numbers, yea rather innu-  
 merable. Then the hope of satisfieng beyng cut of, what do they stape  
 vpon: how dare they still thinke of satisfieng?

29 They goe about to winde out theselues: but (as the prouerbe is)  
 the water stil cleaueth vpon them. They forge a distinction of fault &  
 penaltie. Thei cōfesse that the fault is forgeuen by the mercie of God,  
 but that when the fault is forgeuen, the penaltie remaineth which the  
 righteousnesse of God requireth to be payed: & that satisfactions doe  
 properly belong to the release of the penaltie. Good God, what a skip-  
 pyng lightnesse is this: now they confesse that the forgeuenesse of the  
 fault lieth freely open for men, which sometime they teache men to de-  
 serue with prayers & wepinges, and al other kindes of preparations.  
 But yet still al that is taught vs in the scripture cōcerning the forge-  
 uenesse of sinnes, doth directly fight against this distinction. Whiche  
 although I think that I haue alredy moze than sufficiētly cōfirmed,  
 yet I wil adde some other testimonies wherwith these winding snakes  
 maye

Rom. vi.  
 7th.  
 Eze. xliii.  
 11.  
 Ro. viij. 1.

Pro. xxiij.  
 11.



may be holden so faste, that they shall not be able ones to folde in the toppe of their taile. This is the new Testament whiche the lord hath couenanted with vs in his Christ, that he will not remember our iniquities. What he meant by these wordes, we learne by an other Prophet where y<sup>e</sup> lord sayth: If the righteous turne away fro his righteousness, I wil not remeber al his righteousnesses. If the wicked depart fro his wickednesse, I wil not remeber al his iniquities. Wheras he sayth that he wil not remeber their righteousnesse, this is asmuch to say, that he wil haue no regard of them in respect to reward them. Therfore not to remember sinnes, is asmuch as not to cal them to punishment. The same thing is called in an other place, to cast it behinde his backe, to wype it away like a cloude, to drowne it in the bottome of the sea, not to impute it & to hide it. By such manners of speche the holy ghost doth plainely expresse his meanyng vnto vs, if we would apply vnto him willinge eares to learne. Cruely if God doe punish sinnes, he imputeth thē: if he taketh vengeance, he remebereth thē: if he cal them to iudgemēt, he doth not hide them: if he examine thē, he doth not cast them behinde his backe: if he loke vpon them, he hath not wiped them away like a cloude: if he list them, he hath not cast them into the bottome of the sea. And in this manner doth Augustine expound it in plaine wordes. If God haue couered sinnes, then he wold not loke vpo them: if he wold not loke vpo them, then he wold not marke them: if he wold not marke thē, then he wold not punish them: he wold not know them, he had rather pardon them. Why therfore did he say that sinnes were couered, that they should not be seen: what was meant by this that God did see sinnes, but that he did punish them? But let vs heare also out of an other place of the Prophet, vpon what conditions the lord forgueth sinnes. If (sayth he) your sinnes be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow: if they be red like crimosin, they shall be as woll. And in Ieremie we rede thus: In that day the iniquitie of Iacob shall be sought for, and shall not be founde: the sinne of Iudah, and it shall not be. Bicause I will be fauorable to the remnantes that I shall preferue. Wilt thou briezely vnderstand what is the meaning of those wordes: Weye on y<sup>e</sup> other side what is meant by these speeches: that the Lord doth binde vp iniquities in a sacke, doth gather them into a buadell and laye them vp, and doth graue them with an iron pointell in an Adamant stone. If they signifie (as it is out of doubt) that vengeance shall be geuen for recompense, then is it also not to be doubted, but that by contrarie sentences the Lord affirmeth, that he remitteth all recompensyng of vengeance. Here I muste beseeche the readers not to harken to my gloses, but only that they will suffer the word of God to take some place.

What, I praye you, had Christ done for vs, if we should still be compelled to suffer peine for sinnes: for when we saye that he dyd beare all our sinnes in his bodye vpon the tree, we meane nothing els thereby but that he suffred all the peyne and punishment that was due to our sinnes. And the same hath Esaye moze liuely declared where he sayth: y<sup>e</sup> chastisemēt (or correctiō) of our peace, was vpo him. What is the correctiō of our peace but y<sup>e</sup> peine due to sinnes: & which we wold haue suffred befoze that we could be recōciled to God, vnlesse y<sup>e</sup> he had

Iere. xxxi.  
viii.Eze. xviij.  
viii.  
Ez. xxxviii.  
vii.Esa. xliiii.  
vii.  
Mich. viij.  
vii.Isla. xxxij.  
vii.

Pl. iii. g.

Esa. i. xviii.

Ier. l. ii.

Job. xliij.  
vii.

Dicc. xiiij.

Ier. lxxij. i.

3.0

i. Pet. ij.  
viii.

Esa. liij. b.



Of the manner how to receiue

entred into our stede: Loe, thou seest plainely, that Christ suffered the peynes of sinnes, to deliuer them that be his from them. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of the redemption perfozmed by Christ, he vs-  
 seth to cal it in Greke Apolutrosin, whereby he meaneth not only re-  
 demption, as it is comonly taken, but the very pzeice and satisfaction of  
 redemption. After whiche manner he wyrteth, that Christ gaue him  
 self Antilutron, a pzeice of raunsome for vs. What pzopitiatio is there  
 with the Lord (sayth Augustine) but sacrifice? And what sacrifice is  
 there, but that which is offered for vs in the death of Christ? But that  
 whiche is apointed in the law of Moses for cleansing the offenses of  
 sinnes, ministrerh vs a strong battel rāme. For the lord doth not there  
 apoint this or that manner of satisfieng, but requireth the whole re-  
 compense in sacrifices. Whereas yet in other thinges, he doth moste  
 diligently and in most exact order set out all the ceremonies of expia-  
 tion. How commeth it to passe, that he commaundeth to recompense  
 faultes comitted, with no wozkcs at all, but requireth only sacrifices  
 for satisfaction: but bicause his will is so to declare, that there is only  
 one kinde of satisfaction, wherby his iudgement is appeased: For the  
 sacrifices that the Israelites did then offer, were not weyed by the  
 wozke of men, but were esteemed by their truthc, that is to say, by the  
 only sacrifice of Christ. But what manner of recompense the Lord  
 receyueth of vs, Osee hath very well expzessed in fewe woordes. Thou  
 shalt (sayth he) take away iniquitie, O God. Loe, here is forgeuenesse  
 of sinnes. And we shal paye thee calues of our lippes: Loe, here is sa-  
 tisfaction. I knowe that they yet do suttelly slippe awaye, when they  
 make distinction betworne euerlastyng peyne, and tempozall peines.  
 But when they teache that tempozall peyne is any kinde of punish-  
 ment that God taketh as well of the body as of the soule, except only  
 euerlastyng death, this restraynyng of it doth little help them. For the  
 places that we haue aboue recited, do expzessly meane this, that God  
 receyueth vs into fauour with this condition, that in pardonyng the  
 fault, he pardoneth al the peyne what so euer we had thereby deser-  
 ued. And so oft as Dauid or the other Pzophetes do craue pardon of  
 sinnes, they do also there withal pray to be released of the peyne. yea,  
 the very selyng of Gods iudgement doth dryue thē therunto. Againe,  
 when they promise mercie at the Lordes hand, they do in manner al-  
 waye of purpose preache of the peynes and the forgeuenesse thereof.  
 Truly when the lord in Ezechiell pronounceth that he will make an  
 ende of the exile in Babylon, and that for his owne sake, not for the  
 Jewes sake, he doth sufficiently shewe that bothe are of free gift. Fi-  
 nally, if we be deliuered by Christ from giltinesse of fault, the peines  
 that come therof, must needes cesse.

31 But for asmuch as they do also arme themselues with testimonies  
 of Scripture, let vs see what manner of argumentes those bee that  
 they allege. Dauid (say they) beyng rebuked by Nathan the Pzophet  
 of adulterie and manslaughter, receiued pardon of his sinne, and yet  
 he was afterward punished by the death of his sonne that he had got-  
 ten by that adulterie. We are taught to redeme with satisfactions  
 such peynes as were to be extended after forgeuenesse of the faulte.  
 For Daniel aduised Nebuchadnezer to redeme his sinnes w almes.

And

Rom. iii.  
 p. viij.  
 i. Cor. i. xix  
 Eph. i. viij  
 Col. i. p. iij  
 i. Tim. ij.  
 vi.

Osee. p. iij.  
 iij.

Eze. p. iij.  
 iij. & p. iij

ii. Sa. xij.  
 iij.

Dan. iij.  
 iij.



And Salomon writeth that for equitie and godlinesse, iniquities are forgiven. And in an other place, that with charitie the multitude of sinnes is covered. Which sentence Peter also confirmeth. Agayne, in Luke the Lord sayth of the woman that was a sinner, that many sinnes are forgiven her, because she hath loved much. How peruerfly and wrongfully they euer weye the doynges of God. But if they had marked (as they should not haue ouerpasse it) that there are two kindes of Gods iudgement, they would haue seen in this rebuking of Dauid, a far other manner of punishment, than suche as might be thought to tende to reuengement. But bycause it not a litle behoueth vs al to vnderstand wherunto the chastisements haue respect, wherewith God correcteth vs for our sinnes, and howe much they differ from those examples wherewith he pursueth the wicked and reprobate with indignation: therefore I thinke it shall be not byside the purpose to comprehend it shortly in a summe. For the order of playne teachyng, let vs cal the one kinde of iudgement, the iudgement of Reuenge, the other of Chastisemēt. It is to be vnderstanded, that God so punisheth his enemies with the iudgement of reuenge, that he bleseth his wrath against them, confoundeth them, destroyeth them, and byngeth them to nought. Therfore let vs take that to be properly the vengeance of God, when his punishyng is ioyned with his indignation: with the iudgement of Chastisement he dealeth not so cruclly: as to be angry: nor punisheth to destroye, nor sendeth downe his lightenyng to kill. Therefore it is not properly punishment or vengeance, but correctiō and admonishment. The one is the doyng of a iudge, the other of a father. For the iudge when he punisheth an euell doer, he hath regard to the offense, and punisheth the very fault: when the father somewhat rigorously correcteth his childe, he doeth it not to be reuēged on him, or to punish him, but rather to teache him & make him wiser in time to come. Chrysostome in a certayne place bleseth a similitude somewhat differyng from this, but yet it commeth to the same point. The sonne (sayth he) is beaten, and the seruant also is beaten: but the one is punished as a bondseruant, bycause he hath offended, and the other is chastised as a freeman and as a sonne, nedynge correction. To the one his correction serueth for pzoise and amendement, to the other for a scourge and punishment.

But that we maye haue the whole matter shortly and in a redy summe, let this be the first of two distinctions. Whereloener punishment is to reuenge, there sheweth it self the curse and wrath of God, whiche he alwaye withholdeth from the saythfull. Contrarywise Chastisement bothe is a blessing of God, and beareth a testimonie of his loue, as the Scripture teacheth. This difference is commonly euery where sufficiently expzessed in the worde of God. For what so euer afflictions the wicked suffer in this present life, therein is painted out vnto vs as it were a certayne entrie of hell, from whence they doe already see a far of their eternall damnation: and they are so far from beyng amended or takyng any pzoise thereby, that rather by such beginnynges they are prepared to the most cruell hell that at length abideth for them. But the lord chastisynge chastiseth his seruantes, but he doth not put them to death. Therfore they confesse that to be beatē

pro. 1.  
vi. & p.  
i. p. ct.  
viii.  
Luc. v.  
xlviii.

32

Job. ii.  
xvii.  
Pro. iii.  
Heb. xii.

pl. e. p.  
xviii.  
psa. cx.  
xvii.



hearseth how peynes were layed vpon Dauid and other godly men, and sayth that the same tended to this end, that their godlinesse should by such humbling of them, be exercised and proued. And where Elsie sayth, that the Jewishe people had their iniquitie forgiven them, by cause they had receyued full chastisement at the Lordes hande: this proueth not that the pardon of sinnes hangeth vpon the full paymēt of y peyne: but it is in effect as much as if he had sayd: By cause ye haue already suffred peynes enough; and by the greuoulnesse and multitude thereof haue ben nowe pyned awaye with long mournyng & sorow, therefore it is nowe time that receyuing the tidynges of full mercie, your heartes should reioyce and fele me to be your father. For there God did take vpon him the person of a father, whiche repenteth him euen of his iuste seueritie, when he was compelled sharply to correct his sonne.

34 With these thoughtes it is necessarie that the faithfull be furnished in bitterness of afflictions. It is time that the iudgement beganne at the house of the Lord, in which his name is called vpon. What should the children of God do, if they did beleue the seueritie of God that they fele to be his vengeance: For he that beyng stryken with the hand of God, imagineth God a punishing iudge, can not conceyue him but angry and enemie vnto him, & detest the very scourge of God as a curse and damnation. Finally he can neuer be perswaded that God loueth him, y shall thinke him so minded toward him, that he is still minded to punish him. But he only profiteth vnder the rod of God, that thinketh him to bee angry with his sinnes, but merciefull and lounge to himself. For otherwise that muste needes happen, whiche the Prophet complayneth that he felt, where he sayth. Thy wrathes, O God haue passed ouer me: thy terroz haue oppressed me. Also that which Moses writeth, by cause we haue faynted in thy wraath: and we haue ben troubled in thy indignatiō, thou hast set our iniquities in thy sight, and our secretes in the light of thy countenance: because all our dayes are gone awaye in thy wraath: our yeres are consumed as the worde that is passed out of a mouth. On the other side Dauid sayth thus of his fatherly chastisements, to teache that the saythfull are rather holpen than oppressed thereby: Blessed is the man whome thou haste corrected O Lord, & hast instructed in thy law, to geue him quiet fro euell dayes, while a pit is digged for the sinner. Cruely it is a hard tentation, when God sparyng the vbeleuers and winkyng at their faultes, semeth moze rigorous agaynst them that be his. Therefore he gaue them a cause of comfort, the admonishment of the law, whereby they should learne, that it is done to prouide for their saluation when they are called agayne into the waye, and the wicked are caried hedlong into their errours, whose ende is the pit. And it is no difference whether the peyne be euerlastyng or duryng for a time. For as well warre, famine, pestilence, and sickenesse as the iudgemēt of eternal death are the curses of God, when they are layed vpon menne to this ende, to be instrumentes of the Lordes wraath and vengeance agaynst the reprobate.

35 Nowe (as I thinke) all men doe perceyue whereunto tended that chastisement of the Lord vpon Dauid: euen to be an instruction that God



God is greuously displeas'd with manslaughter & adulterie; agaynst which he had shewed so great an indignation in his beloued & faithful seruant: that Dauid should be taught to be no more so bolde to do the like deede: and not to be a payne wherby he shuld make a certaine recompense to God. And so is to be iudged of the other kinde of correction, wherby the Lord punished his people with a soze pestilence, for Dauids disobedience whereinto he was fallen in nombryng the people. For he did in deede freely forgeue to Dauid the guiltinesse of his sinne: but bicause it pertained bothe to the publike example of all ages, and also to the humbling of Dauid, that such a haynous offense should not remayne vnpunished: therfore he moste sharply chastised him with his rodde. whiche marke also we ought to haue befoze our eyes in the vniuersal curse of mankinde. For whereas after pardon obtayned, we do all yet suffer the miseries that weare layed vpon our first parent for payne of sinne: we perceyue our selues by suche exercises to be admonished, how greuously God is displeas'd w<sup>th</sup> the transgression of his law: that beyng thzowen downe & hūbled with knowlledge in conscience of our owne miserable estate, we may the more feruently aspire to true blessednesse. But he shalbe most foolish that shal thinke, that the calamities of this present life are layed vpon vs for the guiltinesse of sinne. And that I thinke was the meanyng of Chrysostome when he wzote thus. If God do therfore laye peines vpo vs, that he should cal vs, persevering in euels to repentance, then when repentance is ones shewed, the paine shalbe superfluous. Therfore, as he knoweth it to be expedient for euery mans nature, so he handlet one man more roughly, and an other with more louynge tendernesse. Therfore where he mindeth to teache that he is not immeasurable in takynge punishmentes, he reprocheth to the hard hearted & obstinate people that beyng stricken yet they make not an ende of sinning. In this meaning he complaineth, that Ephraim was as a cake scorched on the one side, and rawe on the other, bycause the corrections did not pearce into their mindes, that the people hauynge their bices boyled out, might be made mete to receyue pardon. Cruelly he that so speaketh, sheweth, that so sone as a man hath repented, he wil by and by become appeasable: and that by our stiffness he is enforced to that rigour in chastisyng of faultes, which should haue ben preuented with willyng amendement. yet for as much as we all are of suche hardnesse and rudenesse, as vniuersally needeth chastisemēt: it semed good to him beyng a most wise father, to exercise al without exception with a cōmon scourge al their life long. But it is maruelous why they so cast their eyes vpon the only example of Dauid, and are not moued with so many examples, in which they might haue beholden free forgeuenesse of sinnes. It is read that the Publicane wēt out of the temple iustified. Their folowed no payne. Peter obtayned pardon of his offence, his teares we reade (sayth Ambrose) his satisfactiō we reade not. And the man sicke of the Palsey heard it spoken to him: Rise, thy sinnes are forgeuen thee. There was no payne layed vpon him. All the absolutions that are rehearsed in the Scripture, are set out as geuen freely. Out of this great number of examples, a rule shoulde rather haue ben gathered than of that only example that conteyneth in it a certain

ij. Sa  
p. 11Homil.  
de pro  
ad Stan  
rium.Ier. b.  
Dcc. 1  
bit.Lu. fo  
cxi.  
Luc. 11  
li.  
Mat. 1



certaine speciall matter.

36 Daniel in his exhortation wherin he counselleth Nabuchadnezer  
 to redeme his sinnes with righteousnesse, and his iniquities with pi-  
 tieng of the pooze: his meanyng was not to saye, that righteousnesse &  
 mercie are satisfactorie appeasementes of God, & redemption of peines  
 (for God forbiddeth that there were euer any redemption sauinge only  
 the blood of Christ) but to referre this word Redeming rather to men  
 than to God, as if he had sayd: O King, thou hast bled an vnrigh-  
 teous and violent gouernement, thou hast oppressed the humble, thou haste  
 spoyled the pooze, thou haste hardly and vniustly handled thy people:  
 for thy vniust exactions, for thy violence and oppression, nowe render  
 to them mercie and righteousnesse. Likewise Salomon sayth, that  
 with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered: not befoze God, but  
 among men theselues. for thus is the whole verse: Hatred raiseth by  
 contentions: but charitie couereth all iniquities. In whiche verse, as  
 his manner is, he doth by waye of comparison of contraries, compare  
 the euels that growe of hatreds, with the frutes of charitie: in this  
 meanyng, they that hate together do one byte, barke at, reproche and  
 rayle at an other, and turne all thinges to the worst: but they that  
 loue together, doe dissemble many thynges amonge themselues, doe  
 wyneke at many thinges, and pardon many thinges one to the other:  
 not that the one alloweth the others faultes, but beareth with them,  
 and helpeth them with admonishyng, rather than galleth them with  
 reprochyng them. And it is not to bee doubted that Peter allegeth  
 this place in the same sense, vnlesse we will accuse him of depzaunyng  
 and wrongfully wrestyng the Scripture. But whereas he teacheth  
 that sinne is purged with mercifulnesse and liberalitie, he doth not  
 meane that recompense is therewith made for sinne befoze the face of  
 the Lord, so that God beyng appeased by suche satisfaction dothe re-  
 lease the peyne that otherwise he would haue layed vpon them, but  
 after the accustomed manner of the Scripture he declareth that they  
 shall finde him merciefull vnto them that leauyng their former vices  
 & iniquities, do turne to him by godlinesse and truthe: as if he should  
 say, that the wyath of God doth cesse and his iudgement rest, when we  
 cesse from our euell doynges. Neither doth he there describe the cause  
 of pardon, but rather the manner of true conuersion. As many tynes  
 the Prophetes doe declare that Hypocrites doe in bayne pster God  
 with forged ceremonious vsages in steede of repentance, whereas it is  
 vprightnesse of life with the duties of charitie þ deliteth him. As also  
 the authoz of the epistle to the Hebrewes comending liberalitie & gen-  
 tlenesse, teacheth þ such sacrifices please God. And when Christ, tau-  
 ting the Pharisees that geuing hede only to cleansyng of dishes, they  
 neglected the cleanness of the heart, comaunded them to geue almes  
 that all might be cleane: he dyd not thereby exhorte them to make sa-  
 tisfaction: but only teacheth what manner of cleanness pleaseth God.  
 Of whiche kinde of speach we haue entreated in an other place.

37 As touching the place of Luke, no mā that hath with sound iudge-  
 ment read the parable that the Lord did there recite, will make vs a-  
 ny controuersie therupon. The Pharisee thought with himselte, that  
 the lord did not know the woman, which he had so easily receiued into  
 his



his presence. For he thought that Christ would not haue receiued her, if he had knowen her such a sinner as she was. And thereby he gathered, that Christ was not a Prophet that might in suche sorte be deceyued. The lord, to shewe that she was no sinner to whom her sinnes were alredy forgeuen, dyd put out this parable. There were two dettours to one creditour vpo vsurie: the one ought fifty, the other ought fyue hundred, bothe had theyr dettes forgeuen them. Whether oweth moze thanke? the Pharisee answered: he to whome mozte is forgeuen. The Lorde replyed: learne hereby that this womans sinnes are forgeuen her, bycause she hath loued muche. In whiche wordes (as you see) he maketh not her loue the cause, but the profe of the forgeuenesse of her sinnes. For they are deriued vpo a similitude of that dettour, to whome fyue hundred was forgeuen, to whome he dyd not saye that therefore it was forgeuen, bycause he had loued muche: but therefore loued muche, bycause it was forgeuen. And hereunto muste that similitude bee applyed in this sorte. Thou thynkest this woman to be a sinner: but thou oughtest to knowe that she is none suche, for asmuch as her sinnes be forgeuen her. And that her sinnes be forgeuen her, her loue ought to proue vnto thee, whereby she rendereth thanke for his benefite. It is an argument gathered of the following effect, whereby any thinge is proued by signes ensuyng. By what meane she obteyned forgeuenesse of sinnes, the Lorde openly testifieth: Thy sayth, sayth he, hath saued thee. Therefore we obteyne forgeuenesse by sayth: By charitie we geue thankes, and testifie the bountifulnesse of the Lorde.

As for those thinges that are commonly founde in the bookes of olde wyrters concerning satisfactiō, they litle moue me. I see in deede that many of the, (I wil speake plainely) in a manner al whose bookes remayne, haue eyther erred in this point, or spoken to crabbedly and hardely: but I will not graunt that they were so rude and vnskilfull as to haue wyrtten those thynges in that sense that the newe Satisfactionars do reade the. Chrysostome in one place writeth thus: where mercie is required, examination celsseth: where mercie is asked, iudgement is not rigozous: where mercie is craued, there is no place for peine: where is mercie, there is no inquisition. where is mercie, the answer is pardoned. whiche wordes howsoener they be wrested, yet thei cā neuer be made to agree with the Scholemens doctrines. In y boke of Ecclesiastical doctrines, whiche is fathered vpo Augustine, is red thus: Satisfactiō of repentance is, to cut of the causes of sinnes, & not to graunt an entrie to their suggestions. whereby appereth that the doctrine of satisfaction that was sayd to be geuen in recompense for sinnes committed, was euen in those times laughed to scozne: for asmuch as they referre all satisfactiō to a heedefulnesse in absteyning from sinnes in time to come. I will not allege that whiche the same Chrysostome sayth, that he requireth of vs no moze, but that we wold confesse our sinnes vnto him with teares: lithe suche sentences are many times founde in his wyrtinges and others. Augustine in deede in some places calleth y workes of mercie, remedies to obtayne forgeuenesse of sinnes: but bicause no mā wuld stūble at that litle word, he himselfe pzeuenteth it in an other place. The flesh of Christ (sayth he)

38

Hom. 2. in  
Psal. 50.Hom. 10. in  
Gen.  
Enchirid.  
ad Laurentia  
tium.  
Matt. 26.  
24.

the



the true & only sacrifice for sinnes, not only these sinnes y<sup>e</sup> are wholly put away in baptisme, but also these that afterward crepe in by weaknesse: for whiche the whole church crieth out at this day, forgeue vs our trespases. And they are forgeuen by that singular sacrifice.

39 They haue for the most part called satisfaction, not a recompense to be rendred to God, but an open declaratiō wherby they that had ben excomūicate when they would be receiued agayne to the cōmunion, did asserayne the church of their repentance. For there weare enioyned vnto them when they did repēt certayne fastings & other things, whereby they might perswade men that they weare truely & hartily wery of their former life, or rather blot out the remembrance of their former doynge: & so they were sayd to make satisfaction not to God, but to y<sup>e</sup> Church. which is also expressed of Augustine in these wordes in his Enchiridion to Laurence: Out of that auncient custome the cōfessions and satisfactions that are at this day v<sup>s</sup>led, toke their beginning. Cruely very viperous birthes, by whiche is brought to passe, y<sup>e</sup> there remayneth not so much as a shadowe of y<sup>e</sup> better forme. I know that the old wryters doe sometime speake somewhat hardly, and as I sayd euen now, I do not denie that peradventure they erred herein. But those things that weare besprinkled with a few spots, when they are ones handled with these mens vnwashed handes, are altogether defiled. And if we must contend with authoritie of old wryters: good God, what olde wryters do they thrust vnto vs: A good part of those wherewith Peter Lombard their chāpion hath botched by his patched Sentēces, is gathered out of y<sup>e</sup> vn<sup>s</sup>auozie dotages of certaine mōkes that are caried about vnder y<sup>e</sup> name of Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, and Chrysostome. As about this present questiō he taketh in a manner all out of Augustines boke of Repentāce, which is foolishly botched of good and bad by some scraper together. It beareth in deede the name of Augustine, but such a boke as no man beyng but meanely learned, would bouchesaue to acknowledge for his. But wheras I do not so narrowly examine their follies, let the readers pardon me whom I wold ease of that tediousnesse. For to me it shuld not be very laboursome, & yet very plausible to betray to their great shame those thinges that they haue heretofore boasted vpon as miscries, but by cause my purpose is to teache frutesfully, therefore I passe them ouer.

Cap. 65.  
and is re-  
herced in y<sup>e</sup>  
Decretes  
cap. in acti-  
onibus. de  
pœnit. & di-  
stin. 1.

## The fiftē Chapter.

Of the suppliynges whiche they adde to satisfactions, as pardons and purgatory.



Of this doctrine of satisfactions do flowe indulgēces or pardons. For they say that that which our power wā- teth to make satisfaction, is supplied by these pardōs. And they runne so far forth into madnessse, that they define thē to be the distributiō of the merites of Christ & of the martirs, which y<sup>e</sup> Pope dealeth abrode by his bulles. But although they haue moze neede of Helleborus to purge their frētike braine, thā argumētēs to answer thē, so y<sup>e</sup> it is not much worthy y<sup>e</sup> trauaile to stand v<sup>s</sup> confuting such trisyng errors, which are already shakē w<sup>th</sup> many battell



hasselrammes, and of them selues growe into decaied age, and bende toward falling: yet because a short confutation of them shalbe profitable for some that be ignoraunt, I will not altogether omitte it. As for this that pardons haue so long stand safe, and haue so long ben vnputtished, hauing ben vsed with so outragious and furious licentiousnesse: this may serue to teache vs in how darke a night of errors, men in certaine ages past haue ben drowned. They saue them selues to be openly & vncoloredly scorned of the Pope and his Bulbearers, gainful markettes to be made of the saluation of their soules, the price of saluation to be valued at a few pence, and nothing set out to be frely geuen: that by this colour they be wyped of offringes to be filthely spent vpon brothels, bawdes and bankettinges: that the greatest blowers abroad of pardons are the greatest despisers of them: that this mostre doth daily more and more with greater licentiousnesse ouerrunne the worlde, & grow into outrage, and y<sup>e</sup> there is no ende, newe lead dailye brought, and newe mony gotten. Yet with hye reuerence they receiued, they worshipped and bought pardons, and suche as among the rest saue some what farther, yet though the to be godly deceptes, wherby me might be beguiled with some profit. At y<sup>e</sup> length, sing the world suffred it selve to be somwhat wiser, pardons ware colde, and by litle and litle become frosen, till they vtterly banishe awaye.

But for as muche as many that se the filthy gamings, y<sup>e</sup> deceptes, theftes and robberies, wherwith the pardoners haue heretofore mocked and begiled vs, yet se not the very fountaine of ungodlynesse from whence they spring: it is good to shewe not only of what sort pardons be, but also what they be, when they are wyped from all spottes. They call the treasure of the church, the merites of Christe and of the holye Apostles and Martyrs. The principal custodie of this barne (as I haue already touched) thei fame to be deliuered to the byshop of Rome, that he should haue the distribution of so great gistes, that he might bothe geue them by him selve, and also graunte iurisdiction to other to geue them. Hereupon procede fro the Pope sometime plenarie pardons, some pardons for certain yeares: from the Cardinalles, pardons for a hundred dayes: from Byshoppes, pardons for forty daies. But they be (as I may naturally describe them) the profaning of the bloude of Christe, Sathans mockerie, to leade awaye the christian people from the grace of God, from the life that is in Christ, and to turne them from the true waye of saluation. For howe could the bloude of Christ be more filthely prophaned, than when it is denied to suffice to the remission of sinnes, to reconciliation and satisfaction, vnlesse the want therof as being withered and wasted, shoulde be otherwyse supplied and profitted? The lawe and all the Prophetes (saith Peter) beare witness of Christ, that by him forgiveness of sinne is to be receiued: Pardons geue remission of sinnes by Peter, Paul, and the Martyrs. The bloude of Christ (sayth John) clenseth vs from sinne: Pardons do make the bloude of Martyrs the washing awaye of sinnes. Christ (sayth Paul) whiche knewe not sinne, was made sinne for vs, that is, the satisfaction of sinne, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him: Pardons do set the satisfaction of sinnes in the bloude of Martyrs. Paul cried out and testified to the Corinthians, that only Christ was crucified and died for the:



Of the manner howe to receiue

the pardons pronounce that Paul and other died for vs. In an other place he sayth that Christ purchaced þ church with his blood: the pardons appointe an other price of purchase in the bloude of Martyrs. The Apostle sayth, that Christ with one oblation made perfect for euer them that weare sanctified: the pardons crye out to the contrary and say, that sanctification is made perfect by the Martyrs, whiche otherwise were not sufficient. John saith y al þ saintes washed their gowngs in the blood of þ lambe: the pardons teache mē to washe their gowngs in the blood of saintes.

3  
Leo Bpshop of Rome, writeth notably wel to þ Palestines against these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of many saintes hath bene precious in the sight of the Lorde, yet the killing of no innocent hath ben the perpetuation for the world. The righteous receiued, but gaue not crownes: and out of the valiauntnesse of the faithfull are grauen examples of patience, not gistes of righteousness. For their deathes weare euery one singular to them selues, & none of them did by his end pay the det of an other, for as muche there is one Lord Christ, in whom all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised by againe. Whiche sentence (as it was worthy to remembred) he repeted in an other place: There can nothing be required more plaine to destroy this wicked doctrine. Yet Augustine speaketh no lesse fitly to the same effect. Though (saith he) we die brethren for brethren, yet the bloude of no Martyrs is shed for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Whiche thing Christ hath done for vs, neither hath he therein done that for vs, that we should folowe him, but hath geuen vs a thing to reioyse vpon. Again in an other place, As only the sonne of God was made þ sonne of man, to make vs with him the sonnes of God: so he alone for vs hath taken vpon him punishment without euill deseruinges, that we by him might without good deseruinges obtaine grace not due vnto vs. Cruely where as all their doctrine is patched together of horrible sacrileges and blasphemies, yet this is a more monstrous blasphemie than all the other. Let the remember them selues, whether these be not their decrees: that þ Martyrs haue by their death done more to God, and deserved more, than was nedefull for themselues: and that they had remaining so great a plentie of deseruinges, as did also ouerflowe vnto other: and that their fore, least so great goodnesse should be superfluous, their blood is mingled with the blood of Christ, & of both these bloudes is made the treasure of the church, for the remission and satisfaction of sinnes. And þ so is the saying of Paul to be taken: I supply in my body those things that want of the sufferinges of Christ for his body, which is þ church. What is this els but to leaue Christ only his name, otherwise to make him but a common petty saint, that may scarcely among the multitude be knowen from the rest. He only, only should haue bene preached, he only set fourth, he only named, he only ben looked vnto, when the obtaining of forgiuenesse of sinnes, satisfaction, and sanctification are entreated of. But let vs heare their curtalled argumentes. Least the blood of the Martyrs should be shed in vaine, therefore lette it be employed to the common benefit of the Church. Is it so: was it no profit to glorifie God by their death: to subscribe to his truthe with theyr blood: by despising this present lyfe, to testifie that they sought for a better

Actu. rr.  
viii.

Heb. r.  
iiij.

Ecce. vij.  
iiij.

Epist. 81.  
Gal. c. xvi  
v.

ad Gal. 3<sup>me</sup>

Epist. 95.  
Tract. in  
Iohn. 84.

Lib. 4. ad  
Bonifac.  
cap. 4.

Colo. i.  
xiii.



better life-by their stedfastnesse to strengthen the faith of the churche, and ouercome the stubbornes of the enemies: But this is the matter in dede: they acknowledge no profit of the Martyrs death, if Christ only be the propitiator, if he only died for our sinnes, if he only was offered by for our redemptio. So (say they) Peter and Paul might neuertheless haue obtained the crowne of victory, if they had died in their bedes. And where as they haue fought euen to the shedding of their bloude, it would not agree with the iustice of God to leaue the same barren and frutelesse. As though God could not tell how to encrease in his seruantes their glorie, according to the measure of his giftes. But the churche receiveth in commune together profit enough, when it is by their triumphes encouraged to a zelous desire to fight.

But how maliciously doe they wrest that place of Paul where he saith, that he supplieth in his body those thinges that wanted of  $\text{h}$  suffringes of Christ: for he referreth not  $\text{h}$  default or supplying, to  $\text{h}$  work of redemption, satisfactio, & expiation: but to those afflictions wherby all the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithfull must be exercised, so long as they shall be in this fleshe. He saith therefore, that this remaineth of the sufferings of Christ, that he daily suffreth in his members the same that he ones suffred in him selfe. Christ vouchsafeth to do vs so great honour, to reckon and accompt our afflictions his owne. Where as Paul added these wordes, for the churche. he meaneth not for the redemption, for the reconciliatio, for the satisfaction of  $\text{h}$  church, but for the edifying and profit of the churche. As in an other place he sayth, that he suffreth all thinges for the electes sakes, that they may obtaine the saluation which is in Christ Iesu. And he wrote to the Corinthians, that he suffred all the troubles that he suffred, for their comfort and saluation. And immediatly in the same place he expoundeth him selfe, when he sayeth further, that he was made a minister of the churche, not for redemption, but according to the dispensatio that was committed vnto him, to preache the Gospel of Christ. If they yet require an other expositor, let the heare Augustine. The sufferings of Christ (sayth he) are in Christ only as in the head: and both in Christ and the churche, as in the whole body. Wherby Paul being one member saith, I supplie in my body that whiche wanteth in the sufferings of Christe. Therefore if thou, whatsoeuer thou be that hearest this, art one of the members of Christ, what so euer thou suffrest of them that are not the members of Christ, that same wanted in the sufferings of Christ. But whereunto the sufferings of the Apostles taken for  $\text{h}$  churche of Christ do tend, he expoundeth in an other place where he sayeth: Christ is to me the gate vnto you: because ye are the shepe of Christ bought with his blood: acknowledging your price, whiche is not geuen of me, but preached by me. Then he addeth. As he hath geuen his soule, so ought we to geue our soules for our brethren, to edifie peace, and to confirme faith. These are Augustines wordes. But God forbidde, that Paul should haue thought that any thing wanted in the sufferings of Christ as concerning all fulnesse of righteousnesse, saluatio and life: or that he meant to adde any thing therunto, whiche so plainely and honorably preacheth, that the abundance of grace was so largely poured out by Christ, that it far surmounted all the force of sinne. By it onely all the

4  
Coloss. 1.  
viii.

4. Tim. ii.  
F.  
1. Cor. 1. v.

In Psal. 16.

Tract. in  
Iohn. 47.

Rom. v.  
v.



Act. xv. xi. **saintes haue bene saued, and not by the merit of theyr owne lyfe or death, as Peter expressely testified: so that he should be sclanderous against God and Christ, that should repose the worthinesse of any saint any where els than in the onely mercie of God. But why doe I tarrye hereupon any longer, as vpon a matter yet doubtful, sithe the very bewraying of suche monstrous errours is a sufficient confutation of the**  
 5 **Now (to passe ouer suche abominations) who taught the Pope to enclose in lead and parchement the grace of Iesus Christ, whiche the Lorde wylled to be distributed by the word of the Gospell. Cruely either the Gospell of God muste be false, or their pardons false. For, that Christ is offered vs in the Gospell, with all abundance of heauenly benefites, with all his merites, with all his righteousnesse, wysdome and grace, without any acception, Paul witnesseth where he sayth, that the worde of reconciliation was deliuered to the ministers, whereby they myght vse this foine of message, as it were Christ geuing exhortation by them: we beseeche you, be ye so reconciled to God. He hath made him that knew no sinne, to be made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. And the faithfull know of what value is that comune partaking of Christ, whiche (as the same Apostle witnesseth, is offered vs to be enioyed in the Gospell. Contrariwise the pardons do bring out of the storehouse of the Pope, a certaine pittance of grace, and fasten it to lead, parchement, yea and to a certaine place, and seuer it from the worde of God. If a man should aske whence this abuse toke beginning: it semeth to haue proceded hereof, that when in time past penitentes were charged with more rigorous satisfactions than all could beare, they whiche felt them selues aboue measure oppressed with penance enioyned them, required of the churche a release. The mitigation that was graunted to suche, was called an Indulgence or pardon. But when they turned Satisfactions from the Church to God, and sayde that they were recompenses whereby menne may redeme them selues from the iudgement of God, then they therewithall dyd also drawe these indulgences or pardons to be propitiatorie remedies, to deliuer vs from deserued punyshmentes. As for these blasphemers that we haue recited, they haue forged them so shamelesly, that they can haue no colour at all.**

i. Cor. i. **Now let them no more trouble vs with their purgation, because it is with this are already broken, hewed downe, and ouerthrowen from the very foundations. For I do not agree to some men, that thinke best to dissemble in this point, and make no mention at all of Purgatorie, whereupon (as they say) great contentions do arise, but small edification is gotten. Cruely I my selfe would also thynke suche trifles worthy to be negligently passed ouer, if they did not accompt them earnest matters. But for as muche as purgatorie is bulded of manye blasphemies, and is daily bpholden with new blasphemies, and raiseth by manny and greuous offences, truely it is not to be winked at. This peradventure might after a sort haue ben dissembled for a tyme, that it was inuented by curious and bolde rashnesse without the worde of God: that men beleued of it by, I wote not what reuelations, fained by the craft of Sathan: that for the confirmation of it, certayne places of Scrypture were fondlye wrested. All bee it the Lorde geueth not**



not leaue to mans presumptuousnesse so to breake into the secreete places of his iudgementes, and hath seuerely forbydden men to enquire for truthe at dead men, neglecting his worde, and permitteyth not hys worde to be so vnrreverently defyled. But let vs graunte, that all those thynges myght for a whyle haue bene borne with, as thynges of no great importaunce. But when the cleansyng of synnes is soughte els where then in the bloude of Christe, when satisfaction is geuen awaye to anye other thyng, then it is moste perillous not to speake of it. Therfore we must crye out not onlye with vehement stretchyng of our voyce, but also of our throte and sydes: that Purgatorie is the dampnable deuys of Sathan, that it maketh voyde the Crosse of Christ, that it layeth an intolerable sclauder vpon the mercede of God, that it febleth and ouerthroweth our saythe. For what els is Purgatorie amonge them, but the satisfaction that the soules of men departed doe paye after their death: So that ouerthrowyng the opiniõ of satisfaction, Purgatorie is immediatlye ouerthrowen by the verye rootes. But if in our former discourse it is more than euident that the bloud of Christe is the onely satisfaction, propitiatorie sacrifice & cleansyng for the synnes of the saythfull: what remayneth but that Purgatorie is a mere and horrible blasphemie against Christe: I passe ouer the robberies of God wherewith it is dayly defended, the offenses that it bredeth in religion, and other thynges innumerable, whiche we se to haue come out of the same spryng of vngodlinesse.

But it is good to wryng out of their handes suche places as they haue falsely & wrongfully taken out of the Scripture. When (say they) the Lorde affirmeth that the synne against the holy Ghost shold not be forgeuen in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come, thereby he sheweth that there is a forgeuenesse of some synnes in the worlde to come. But who seeth not that the Lord there speaketh of the fault of sinne: Now if it be so, what is that to their Purgatorie, for as muche as by their opinion the peine is there suffred of those synnes, wherof they denie not the fault to be forgeuen in this present life: But that they may no more carpe against vs, they shall haue yet a plainer solution. When the Lord meant to cut of all hope of Pardon from so haynous wickednesse, he thought it not enough to saye that it shold neuer be forgeuen: but the more to amplifie it, he vsed a diuision, wherein he comprehended bothe the iudgement that euery mans conscience feleth in this life, and the last iudgement that shalbe openly pronounced at the resurrection: as though he shold haue sayd: Beware ye of malicious rebellio, as of moste present dampnation. For he that of set purpose shall endeouir to quenche the light of the holy Ghost, shall not obtaine pardon, neither in this life, whiche is geuen to sinners for their conuersion, nor in the last daye when the lambes shalbe seuered by the angels of God frõ the goates; and the kingdome of heauen shalbe cleansed from all offenses. Then they bryng fourth that parable out of Mathewe: Agree with thine aduersarie, least he deliuer thee to y Judge, & the iudge to the Sargeant, and the Sargeant to the pylson, from whence thou shalt not get out, vntil thou hast payed the vttermoste farthing. If in this place the Judge do signifie God, and the aduersarie plentife the Deuil, the Sargeant the Angell, and the pylson Purgatorie, I wyll gladlye yelde

Deut. xvii  
vii.7  
Mat. xii.  
lii.  
Mar. iij.  
xxvii.  
Luk. xij. p.Mat. v.  
xv.



vnfo them. But if it be euident to all men, that Chyriste meant there to shoue into howe many daungers and mischeues they taste them selues, that had rather obstinately pursue the extremitie of the lawe, than deale according to equitie and good ryght, to the ende to exhorte hys disciples the more earnestly to agreement with equitie: where then I praye you shall Purgatorie be founde:

They fetche an argument out of the saying of Paul, where he affirmeth that the knees of thynges in heauen, earthe and helles, shall bowe to Chyrist. For they take it as confessed, that helles can not there be meant of those that are adiudged to eternal damnation. Therefore it remaineth that it must be the soules lying in peine in Purgatorie. They did not reason very euill, if the Apostle did by knelynge meane the true Godly worshipping. But sith he teacheth only, that there is a dominion geuen to Chyrist, wherby all creatures are to bee subdued, what profite is there to the contrary, but that we may by helles vnderstande the Denels, that shalbe brought before the iudgement of God, to acknowledge hym their iudge with feare and trembling. Lyke as Paul hym selfe expoundereth the same prophecie in an other place. All (sayeth he) shalbe brought before the iudgement seate of Chyrist. For it is wyrtten: So truly as I lyue, euery knee shal bowe to me. &c. But we maye not so expounde that whiche is in the Reuelation: I haue heard all creatures, bothe these thynges that are in heauen, and those that are vpon the earth, and these that are vnder the earth, and those that are in the sea, and all those that are in them, I haue hearde them all saye to hym that sitteth on the Throne and to the Lambe, Blessinge and honoz, and glozie, and power, for euer and euer. That I doe in deede easely graunte, but what creatures doe they thynke to be heare rehearsed: for it is mooste certaine, that there are contained creatures both without reason and without sense. Whereby is affirmed nothing els, but that all the partes of the world, from the hiest toppe of the heauens, to the very mydle point of the earth, doe in their manner declare the glozie of their creator. As for that whiche they alledge out of the historie of the Machabees, I will not vouchesaue to answer it, least I should seme to recken that worke in the nombre of the holye bookes. But Augustine receyued it for Canonically. But first, of what sure credit did he receiue it? The Jewes (sayeth he) esteeme not the wyrtting of the Machabees as they doe the lawe, the Prophetes and the Psalmes, of whiche the Lorde hym selfe hath witnessed as of his witness, saying: It was necessary, that all thynges should be fulfilled that are wyrtten in the lawe, and the Psalmes, and Prophetes, concerning me. But it hath bene receiued of the Churche not vnprofitably, if it be soberly red or heard. And Hierome teacheth without any doubtinge, that the authoritie therof is of no force to prouing of doctrines. And it euidently appeareth by that olde booke, whiche is entituled vnder the name of Cypriane, concerning the exposition of the Crede, that it had no place at all in the olde Churche. But why doe I here stryue without cause? As though the author hym selfe doeth not sufficiently shew, howe muche he is to be credited, when in the ende he craueth pardon, if he haue spoken any thyng not well. Truly he that confesseth his wyrtynge to neede pardon, sayeth plainly that they are not the oracles of the

8

Abil. ii. f.

Rom. viii.

Reuel. v.

v.

y. Mach.

vi. liiii.

Cōtra gal.

dent. epist.

2. cap. 23.

Luk. xxiii.

ii. Macha.

vi. xxvi.



the holy Ghost. Besyde that, the godlynesse of Judas is prayced for none other cause, but for that he had an assured hope of the last resurrection, when he sent an offrynge for the dead to Hierusalem. Neither dothe the wyter of that historie referre that whiche Judas did to be a pryce of redemption, but that they myght be partakers of the eternall lyfe with the other faithfull, that had died for their countrie and religiō. This doying was in dede not without superstition and preposterous zeale, but they are more than foles, that drawe a sacrifice of the lawe so farre as vnto vs: for as muche as we knowe that thynges doe cesse by the comying of Christ, that then were in vse.

But they haue an inuincible bulwarke in Paul, whiche can not so easely be battered. If any man (saith he) buylde vpon this foundatton, gold, syluer, precious stones, tynber, heye, stubble, the Lorde shal theme euery mans worke what it is: because it shall be reueled in fier, and the fier shall trie euery mans worke what it is. If any mans woorke doe burne, it shall suffer losse, but he shalbe safe, but as throught the fier. What fier (saye they) can that be, but the fier of Purgatorie: by which the filthinesse of synne are cleansed away, that we may enter pure in to the kyngdome of God. But the mooste parte of the olde wyters thought it to be an other fier, that is to saye, Trouble or the crosse, by whiche the Lorde tryeth them that be his, that they should not rest in the filthinesse of the fleshe: and that is muche more probable, than in fainyng Purgatorie. All be it I doe neyther agree with these men, because I thynke I haue attained a certaine and muche plainer vnderstandyng of þ place. But before that I vtter it, I wold haue them aunsweare me, whether the Apostles and all the sainctes must haue gone through this fier of Purgatorie: I knowe they wyll saye, nay. For it were to muche inconuenient that they must haue neded to be putged, whose merites they dreame to ouerflowe aboue measure to all the members of the churche. But the Apostle affirmeth it. for he dothe not saye that the worke of some shalbe proued, but the worke of all. Neither is this my argument, but Augustines, which so confuteth that expositiō. And (whiche is more absurditie) he dothe not saye, that they shal passe through the fire for all workes: but if they haue faithfully buylded the churche, they shall receiue reward whan their worke is examined with fier. first we see that the Apostle vsed a Metaphore, when he called the doctrines inuented by mans braines, wood, heye, and stubble. And the Metaphore hath an apparant rescue: that as wood so sone as it is put in the fier, consumeth and wasteth, so can not those doctrines continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignoraunt that suche tryall cometh of the holy Ghost. Therefore to folowe the true cause of his metaphore, and match the partes together with iust relatiō, he called the triall of the holy Ghost, fier. for euen as the nerer that gold and siluer are put to the fier, so muche the surer profe they haue of their goodnesse and finenesse: so the Lordes truthe, the more exactlye it is weyed with spirituall examination, so muche the greater confirmation of credit it receiueth. As heye, wood, & stubble put to the fier, are brought to sudein consuming, so the inuentions of men uot stablyshed by the worde of God, can not beare the triall of the holy Ghost, but they by & by fall away and perithe. finally, if forged doctrines be compared to

9  
1. Cor. iii.Chryston  
August.  
& other.  
purgatEnchir. ad  
Laurent.  
68.



Of the manner howe to receiue

wood, hey, & stubble, because like wood, hey, and stubble. they are burned with fire and destroyed: but they are not destroyed or diuened awaye but by the spirite of the Lorde: it foloweth that the holy Ghoste is the fier wherewith they shalbe proued, whose profe Paul, according to the common vse of the Scripture, calleth The day of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde. for it is called the day of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, whensoever he doth any way shew his presence to men. But then his face principally shineth, when his truth shineth vpon vs. Now haue we proued, that Paul meaneth no other fier, but the triall of the holy Ghost. But how are they saued by that fier, that suffer losse of their worke? That shall not be hard to vnderstande, if we consider of what kinde of men he speaketh. for he toucheth those builders of the churche, that keeping the true fundation, doe builde disagreeing matter vpon it, that is to say, they that not swaruing from y<sup>e</sup> chiefe and necessarie articles of faith, do erre in pointes that be smaler & lesse perillous, mingling their owne deuises with the worde of God. Suche I say, must suffer losse of their worke, hauing their deuises destroyed. But them selues are saued, but as by the fier: that is to saye, not that their ignorance and errour is allowable before the Lorde, but because they are cleansed from it by the grace and power of the holy Ghoste. Therfore whosoener haue defiled the golden sinnesse of Gods worde with this dong of purgatorie, they must nedes suffer losse of their work.

10 But they wyl say, it hath ben an auncient vsage of y<sup>e</sup> churche. Paul answered this objection when hee comprehendeth his owne tyme in that sentence, where he saith, that all they must suffer losse of their worke, that in the building of the churche, do lay any thing vpon y<sup>e</sup> fundation that ageeth not with it. Therfore when the aduersaries object against me, that it hath bene vsed aboue a thousand and thre hundred yeres, to haue prayes made for the dead: I aske them againe, by what word of God, by what Reuelatio, by what example it was done. For here they do not only want testimonies of Scripture, but also all the examples of holy men y<sup>e</sup> ther are red, do shew no such thing. Of the mourning and order of funeralles there are somtimes founde manye & long tales: but of prayes you can not see one tittle. But of the greater weight that the matter is, the more it ought to haue ben expressly spoken. But the very old fathers them selues that prayed for the dead, did see that herein they wanted both comaundement of God, and lawfull example. Why then durst thei so do? In this I say, thei did suffer some what as men: and therefore I affirme that, that whiche they did, ought not to be drawen into example. for where as the faithfull ought to enuerypise the doing of nothing, but vpon assured conscience, as Paul teacheth: this assurednesse is principally required in prayer. But it is likely that they were led by some reason vnto it: they sought some comfort to releue their sorrowe: & it semed vnnatural not to shew before God some testimonie of their loue toward the dead. How mans wit is enclined to this affection, all mē know by experience. Also y<sup>e</sup> receiued custome was like a burning brand to set many mens mindes on fier. We know that with all nations & in all ages there were funeralles done for y<sup>e</sup> dead, & their soules yearely purged. for though Satan beguiled foolish men with these deceites: yet he toke occasion so to beguile by a true principle: that death is not a destruction, but a passage out of this life into an other.



other. And it is no dout, but y<sup>e</sup> euen very superstition condemneth y<sup>e</sup> Ge-  
 tiles before the iudgement seate of God, for neglecting the care of the  
 life to come, whiche they professed them selues to beleue. Nowe Chri-  
 stians, because they would not be worse than Heathen men, were asha-  
 med to do nothing for the dead, as though they were viterly destroyed.  
 Hereupon came that ill aduised diligence: because if they were nowe in  
 looking to the funeralles, in banquettings & offeringes, they thoughte  
 that they had put them selues in daunger of a great reproche. And that  
 whiche first proceeded from a wrongfull folowynge of the Heathens ex-  
 ample, was so multiplied by often newe encrease, that now it is the prin-  
 cipall holinesse of Papistrie, to helpe the dead in distresse. But the Scri-  
 pture ministreth an other muche better and perfecter comfort, when it te-  
 stifieth, that the dead are blessed that die in the Lorde. And it addeth a  
 reason: because from thenceforth they rest from their labours. And we  
 ought not so muche tenderly to folow our own affection of loue, to set  
 by a wrongfull manner of praying in the churche. Truly he that hath  
 but meane wysdome, dothe sone perceiue that all that is red hereof in  
 the olde wyters, was done to beare with the common vsage, and the  
 ignorance of the people. They them selues also, I graunte, were caried  
 away into errour: euen as vnaduised lightnesse of belefe is wont to rob  
 mens wittes of iudgement. But in the meane tyme the very redynge of  
 them doth shew, howe doubtyngly they comende prayers for the dead.  
 Augustine in his booke of cofessions, reporteth that Monica his mother  
 did earnestly desire, that she might be remembred in celebrating the mi-  
 steries at the Altar. An old wyues request, whiche the sonne neuer exa-  
 mined by the rule of the Scripture, but according to his affectio of na-  
 ture, wold haue it allowed of other. As for the booke that he made of  
 care for the dead, containeth so many doubtinges, that of right it ought  
 with the coldnesse thereof to quenche the heate of a foolyshe zeale: if any  
 man desyre to be a proctor for dead men, truly with colde lykelyhodes  
 it wyll byng them out of care that were before careful. For this is one  
 piller of it, that this doynge is not to be despised, because it is a custome  
 growen in vse, that the dead should be prayed for. But though I graunt  
 to the olde wyters of the church, that it is a charitable vse to help the  
 dead: yet we must styll holde one rule whiche can not deceiue: that it is  
 not lawefull for vs in our prayers to vse any thyng of our owne, but  
 our requestes must be made subiect to the worde of God: because it is  
 in his wyll to apoynte what he wyll haue to be asked. Nowe where as  
 the whole lawe and the Gospel do not so muche as in one syllable geue  
 libertie to praye for the dead, it is a prophane abuse of the inuocation  
 of God to attempt more than he commaundeth vs. But that our aduer-  
 saries maye not boaste that they haue the auncient churche companion  
 of their errour: I say there is great difference betweene they & it. They  
 vsed a memoriall of the dead, least they should seme to haue cast away  
 all care of them: but they did therewithall confesse that they doubted of  
 their state. As for purgatory, they so affirmed nothing, that they held it  
 for a thing vncertaine. These men require to haue y<sup>e</sup> whiche they haue  
 dreamed of purgatorie, to be holden wout questiō for an article of faith.  
 They slenderly and only to passe it lightly ouer, did in the communion  
 of the holy supper commende their dead to God: These do continually

Recu. p. 111,  
 ruy.

the word

do in p.

2 or 3

of p. 111

their Cal.

and -



call vpon the care of the dead, & with importunate praying it, do make it to be preferred aboue all dutiefulk woorkes of charitie. yea & it were not harde for vs to bynge forth some testimonies of the olde wyters, that doe manifestly ouerthrowe all those prayers for the dead, whiche then weare vsed. As this of Augustine, when he teacheth that all men loke for the resurrection of the fleshe and the eternall glorie and that euery man then receiueth the rest & foloweth after death, if he be worthy when he dieth. And therefore he testifieth, that all the Godly doe immediatly after death enioye the blessed rest as well as the Prophetes, Apostles and martyrs. If their estate be suche, what I beseeche you, that our prayers auaille them: I passe over the grosser superstitions, wherewith they haue bewitched the mindes of the simple: whiche yet are so innumerable and the most part so monstruous, that they can haue no honest collour to excuse them. Also I let passe those moste filthy byings and sellinges that they haue vsed, while & worlde was in suche grosse senselesse ignorance. For both I should neuer make an ende, and also the readers that without any rehearal of them, haue here sufficient, wherupon they may stablishe their consciences.

### The sixt Chapter.

Of the life of a Christian man: And first by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs therunto.



I haue already sayd, that the marke whereunto regeneration tendeth, is that in the life of the faithful thereshold appeare an agreement and consent betwene the righteousnesse of God and their obedience: and that so they shoulde confirme the adoption, whereby they are receiued to bee children. But although his laboure cōtaine in it selfe that newnesse, whereby the image of God is restored in vs, yet because our dulnesse hath the nede both of many prickings forward & helpes, therefore it shalbe profitable to gather out of diuerse places of the Scripture an order of framing of life, that they that haue a desirous mynde of amendemēt, may not wander out of the way in their endeuour. Now when I take vpon me the framing of a Christian mans life, I am not ignorant that I entre into a manifold and plentuous argument, & suche as may with the greatnesse therof fill a long volume, if I wold absolutely entreate of it in all pointes. For we se into what great lēgth are stretched the exhortatorie orations of olde wyters, made only euery one of one seueral vertue. And y<sup>e</sup> is not done w<sup>th</sup> to muche idle babbling. For what so euer vertue a man purpose to set out in oration, the stile runeth of it self into such largenes with plentie of matter, y<sup>e</sup> a man can not seme to haue discoursed well of it, vnlesse he haue spoken muche. But my mind is not to stretch so far the institution of life, which I promise to teache, as peculiarly to go through enery speciall vertue, & wander abroad into exhortations. Let suche thinges be fetched out of other mens writings, & specially out of the Homelies of the olde fathers. It shalbe enough for me to shewe an orderly trade, whereby a godly man may be guided to a right marke of framing his life, and shortly to apoint out a certain vniuersall rule, by whiche he may well trie what be his duties. There shal paraduventure at some other season be a fit tyme to make declamatiōs,



or: I wyll leaue that to other, whiche I my selfe am not mete to doe. I doe naturally loue shortnesse, and peraduenture if I woulde speake more at large, it woulde not frame well with me. And if a longer manner of teaching wer neuer so muche pleasyng, yet I woulde scarce haue mynde to put it in prose. But the course of this present worke requy-  
reth to knyt by a simple doctrine with as great shortnesse as I maye. As the Phylosophers haue their certaine endes of right and honestie, from whiche they deriue particular duties and al the companie of vertues: so the Scripture is not without her order in this matter: but holdeth a moste goodly well ordred disposition, and muche more certaine than all the Phylosophers orders. This onely is the difference; that they (as they were vaine glorious men) haue diligentely ende-  
noured to attaine an exquisite plainesse of order, to shewe fourth the ready aptnesse of theyr wytt. But the Spirite of God, because he taught without curious affectation, hath not so exactly nor continu-  
ally kept an orderly trade: whiche yet when hee sometyme vseth, he doth sufficiently declare, that it is not to be neglected of vs.

This instruction that the Scripture teacheth, whereof we now speake, standeth chiefly vpon two partes. The first, that there be pou-  
red and brought into our myndes a loue of ryghteousnesse, to whiche otherwyse we are of nature nothyng inclyned. The seconde, that there be a rule sette oute vnto vs, that maye not suffer vs to goe out of the waye in folowynge ryghteousnesse. In commendation of righteous-  
nesse it hath bothe very manye and very good reasons: of whiche we haue herebefore in diuerse places spoken of some, and other some we shall in this place brievely touche. At what foundation maye it better  
beginne, than when it putteth vs in mynde y<sup>e</sup> we must be holy, becau-  
se our God is holye: for when we were scattered abrode lyke straying shepe, and disperfed abrode in the maze of the worlde, he gathered vs  
together agayne, to ioyné vs in one flocke with hym selfe. When we heare mention made of our ioynynge with God, lette vs remember that holynesse must be the bond therof. Not that by the merite of holynesse  
we come into common with hym: (where as rather we must first cleaue vnto hym, that beyng endued with his holynesse, we may folowe wher  
ther he calleth) but because it greatly pertaineth to his glorie, that he haue no felowship with wickednesse and vncleannesse. Therefore also it  
teacheth, that this is the ende of our callyng, whiche we ought alwaye to haue respect vnto, if wee wyll answer God that calleth vs. For to  
what purpose was it, that we should be drawn out of the wickednesse and filthenesse of the worlde, if we geue our selues leaue all our lyfe  
long to wallowe in them styll. Moreouer it also admonyeth vs, that to the ende we maye be reckened among the people of God, we must  
dwell in the holy cite Hierusalem. Whiche as he hath halowed to him selfe, so is it vnlawefull that it be unholyly profaned by the vnclean-  
nesse of the inhabitantes. From hence came these sayinges, that they shall haue a place in the tabernacle of God that walke without spot,  
and studie to folowe ryghteousnesse, &c. Because it is not meete that the Sanctuarie wheron he dwelleth, should be lyke a stable full of fil-  
thynesse.



And the better to awake vs, it sheweth that God the father, as he hath ioyned vs to him self in his Christ, so hath printed an image for vs in him, after whiche he would haue vs to be fashioned. Nowe let them finde me a better order among the Phylosophers, that thinke that the phylosophie concerning manners, is in the only orderly framed. They when they wyll excellently well exhorte vs to vertue, bring nothyng els but that we should liue agreeably to nature. But the Scripture bringeth her exhortation from the true wellspring, whē it not only teacheth vs to referre our life to God, the authour of it, to whome it is bond: but also when she hath taught that we are swarued out of kynde from the true originall and state of our creation, she immediatly addeth, that Christ by whome we come againe into fauour with God, is set before vs for an example, that we should expresse the forme therof in our life. What may a man require more effectual then this one thing: ye what maye a manne require more than thys ouelye thyng? For if the Lorde hath by adoption made vs chyldren with this condition, that our lyfe shoulde resemble Christe the bond of our adoptio: if we do not geue & auowc our selues to righteousnesse, we do not only with moste wicked breach of allegiaunce depart from our creatour, but also we forsweare him to be our sauour. Then the Scripture taketh matter of exhortation out of all the benefites of God, whiche she reherceth vnto vs, and all the partes of our saluation. And sheweth that sithe God hath shewed himselfe a father vnto vs, we are worthy to be condemned of extreeme vnthankfulnesse, if we do not likewise in oure behalfe shewe oure selues chyldren vnto him. Sithe Christe hath cleansed vs with the washing of his blood, & hath made vs partakers of this cleansing by baptisme, it is not semely that we should be spotted with newe filthinesse. Sithe he hath graffed vs into his body, we must carefullye take hede that we sprinckle not any spot or blott vpon vs that are hys members. Sithe he him self that is our head, is ascended into heauen; it behoueth vs that laying awaye earthly affection, we doe with all our heart aspire to heauenward: Sithe the holy Ghost hath dedicated vs temples to God, we must endeuour that Gods glorie may be honorably set out by vs, and muste not doe any thyng whereby we may bee prophaned with filthynesse of synne: Sithe both our soule and our body are ordeyned to heauenly incorruption and an vnperishing crowne, we must diligently trauayll, that the same may be kept pure and vncoꝝrupted vnto the day of the Lord. These (I say) be the best layed foundations to bylde a mans lyfe, and suche as the lyke are not to be found among the Phylosophers, whiche in commendation of vertue doe neuer climbe aboue the naturall dignitie of man.

4 And heare is a fit place to speake vnto them, that hatyng nothyng but the tittle and badge of Christ, yet would be named Christians. But with what face doe they bolste of his holy name: sithe none haue any felowship with Christ, but they that haue receiued a true knowledge of hym out of the worde of the Gospell. But the Apostle sayeth, that all they haue not ryghtly learned Christ, that are not taught that they must cast alway the old man which is corrupted according to the desire of errour, and haue not put on Christ. Therefore it is proued that they falsly, yea and wrongfully pretende the knowledge of Christ, although they

Gal. i. vi

1pe. v. i  
1ho. iii.

1pe. xv.

1eb. v.  
1oz. vi.

1oz. vi.  
1et. i. xv  
1ho. xv. iij  
1pe. v.  
1olof. iij.  
1oz. iij.  
1oz. vi.  
1heff. v

1pe. iij.



they can eloquently and roundely talke of the Gospell. For it is not a doctrine of tong, but of life: & is not conceiued as other learnings be, w<sup>ch</sup> only vnderstanding & memorie, but is then only receiued when it possesseth the whole soule, & findeth a seate & place to hold it in the moste inward affection of the heart. Therfore either let the crosse, to the slander of God, to bolste of y<sup>e</sup> which they ar. not, or let the shew the selues not vnworthy scholars for Christ their maister. We haue geuen y<sup>e</sup> first place to the doctrine wherin our religion is cōteined, because our saluatiō be- ginneth at it: but the same must be poured into our hearte, & passe into our māners, yea & transforme vs into it, that it be not vnfrutefull vnto vs. If y<sup>e</sup> Philosophers do iustly chafe against the, & do with shamefull reproche driue the from their cōpanie, y<sup>e</sup> professing an art y<sup>e</sup> ought to be the scholemaistres of life, do turne it into a Sophistical babbling: with how much better reason shal we detest these trifling Sophisters, y<sup>e</sup> are cōtented to role the Gospel vpon y<sup>e</sup> top of their tonges, y<sup>e</sup> effectual working wherof ought to pearce into the innermost affectiōs of the heart, to rest in the soul, & to alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the cold exhortations of Philosophers.

Yet do I not require, that the manners of a Christiā man sauour of nothing but the absolute Gospel: which neuerthelesse both were to be wished, & we must endeuour vs toward it. But I do not so seuerely require a gospellike perfection, y<sup>e</sup> I wold not acknowledge him for a Christian y<sup>e</sup> hath not yet attained vnto it. For so should al mē be excluded frō the churche, sith there is no man found y<sup>e</sup> is not by a great space distant from it, & māny haue hetherto but a litle way proceded toward it, who yet should be vniustly cast away. What then? let y<sup>e</sup> be set for the marke before our eyes, to whiche alone all our endeuour may be directed. Let that be apointed the gole for vs to runne & trauaile vnto. For it is not lawfull for thee so to make partitiō with God, to take vpō thee part of these thinges y<sup>e</sup> are cōmaūded thee in his word, & to leaue part at thine owne choise. For first of all he euery where cōmendeth integritie as the chiefe parte of worshippinge him: by which word he meaneth a pure simplicitie of mynde y<sup>e</sup> is without all deceitfull colour & faining: against whiche a double heart is set as contrarie: as if it shold be sayd, y<sup>e</sup> the beginning of liuing vprihtly is spiritual, when y<sup>e</sup> inward affection of the mind is without faining dedicate to God to obserue holinesse & righteousness. But because no man in this earthly prison of y<sup>e</sup> body hath the so great strength to haste with suche freshnesse of running, as he perfectly ought to do, & the greater number are so feble, y<sup>e</sup> with staggering & halting, yea & creeping vpon the ground; they auaunces but slowly forward: let vs euery one go according to y<sup>e</sup> measure of his litle power, & procede on our iourney begon. No man shal go so vntowardly, but he shal euery day get some ground, thoug it be but litle. Therefore let vs not cesse to traual so, y<sup>e</sup> we may cōtinually procede somewhat in y<sup>e</sup> way of y<sup>e</sup> lord. And let vs not despeire vpon y<sup>e</sup> slendernesse of our going forward, for howsoeuer y<sup>e</sup> successe answer not oure desire, yet wee haue not lost our labour when this day passeth yesterday: so y<sup>e</sup> with pure simplicitie we loke vnto our mark, & long toward the end of our course, not soothingly flattering our selues, nor tenderly bearing w<sup>ch</sup> our own euyls, but with continuall endeuour traouailing to this, y<sup>e</sup> we may sul become better thā  
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our selues, till we atteine to goodnesse it selfe: whiche in deede we seeke for and followe all our lyfe long: but we shall then only atteine it, when being vncloued of the weakenesse of the fleshe, we shall be receiued into the full fellowship therof.

### The seuenth Chapter.

The summe of a Christian lyfe: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.



Albeit that the lawe of the Lorde haue a moste aply well disposed order to frame a mans life, yet it seemed good to the heauenly scholemaster to instruct me yet with a more exact trade to the same rule that he had set fourth in his lawe. And the beginning of that trade, is this: that it is the dutie of the faithfull to yelde their bodie to God a liuing, holy and acceptable sacrifice vnto him: and that therein standeth the true worshipping of him. Hereupon is gathered occasion to exhorte men, that they do not applie them selues to the fashio of this world, but be transformed in renewinge of their mynde, that they may proue what the wyll of God is. Now this is a great thyng, that we be consecrate and dedicate to God: that we shoulde from thencefourth thynke, speake, imagine, or do nothing but to his glorie. For the thyng that is consecrate, can not be applied to vnholly vles, without great wrong done vnto hym. If we be not our own, but the Lordes, it appeareth what error is to be auoyded, and whereunto all the doynge of our life are to be directed. We are not our owne: therefore let neither our owne reason nor our owne wyll beare rule in our counsellcs and doynge. We are not our owne: therefore let vs not make this the end for vs to tend vnto, to seeke that whiche may be expediēt for vs according to the flesh. We are not our owne: therefore so muche as we may, let vs forget our selues and all thynges that are our owne. On the other side, we are Gods: therefore let vs lyue and dye to hym. We are Gods: therefore lette his wisdom and wyll gouerne all our doynge. We are Gods: therefore lette all the partes of our life tende towarde him as their only lawfull end. Oh howe muche hath he profited, that hauinge learned that hymselfe is not his owne, hath taken from hym selfe the rule and gouernement of him selfe to geue it to God. For as this is y moste strong working pestilence to destroy men, that they obey themselues: so it is the only haue of safetie, neither to knowe nor wyll any thing by hym selfe, but only to folow God going before him. Let this therefore be the first steppe, that man departe from him selfe, that he may apply all the force of his wit to y obeying of the Lord. Obeying I cal not onely that whiche standeth in obedience of the worde, but that wherby the mynde of man, boide from his owne sensualitie of flesh, bendeth it selfe wholly to the will of Gods spirite. Of this transformation (whiche Paul calleth renewing of the minde) where as it is the first entrie into life, al y Philosophers were ignoraunt. For they make only Reason the gouernesse of man: they thinke she only ought to be heard: finally to her only they geue and assigne the rule of manners. But the Christian Philosophie biddeth her to geue place, & to yeld & be subiect to the holy ghost: so y man now mai not liue himself, but beare Christ liuing & reignig in him.

Hereupon followeth also this other point, that we seeke not the

thinges

Rom. vii.

Ro. viii.

Eph. iii.

Gal. i. ff.



things that be our owne, but those things that be accordinge to the will of the Lorde, and that make to the aduancement of his glory. This is also a profe of great profiting, that in a manner forgetting our selues, & altogether leauing þ regard of our selues, we traual to employ our study to God & his comaundemētes. For when the Scripture biddeth vs to leaue priuate regarde of our selues, it doth not only raze out of our mindes the couetousnesse of hauing, the greedy seeking for power & fauour of men: but also roteth out ambition & al desire of worldly glorie, and other more secrete pestilences. Truly a Christiā man must be so fashioned & disposed, to thinke throughout al his life, that he hath to do with God. In this sort, as he shal examine al his doings by Gods will & iudgement: so he shal reuerently direct vnto him all the earnestly bent diligence of his minde. For he that hath learned to loke vpo God in all thinges that he hath to do, is therewithall turned away from all vaine thoughtes. This is that forsaking of our selues, whiche Christe euen from their first beginning of instructiō so earnestly gaue in charge to his Disciples: whiche when it ones hath gotten possession in þ heart leaueth no place at all, first neither for pride, nor disdainfulnesse, nor vaine glorious boasting, then neither for couetise, nor filthy lust, nor rycousnesse, nor deintinesse, nor for other euils that are engendryed of the loue of our selues. Contrariwise whersoer it reigneth not, there either moste filthy vices do range wthout shame, or if ther be any spice of vertue, it is corrupted with peruerse desire of glory. For shew me a man, if thou canst, that vnlesse he haue forsaken him selfe according to the comaundement of the Lorde, will of his owne free will vse goodnesse among men. For all they that haue not ben possessed wth this seling, if they haue folowed vertue, they haue done it at þ least for praises sake. And all the Philosophers that euer moste of all affirmed that vertue was to be desired for it selfes sake, were puffed vp with so great pride, that it appeared that they desired vertue for no other thinge, but that they might haue matter to be proude vpon. But God is so nothing at all delited, neither with those gapers for the peoples breath, nor with these swelling beastes, that he pronoucereth þ they haue already receiued their rewarde in the world, & maketh harlottes and Publicanes nerer to the kingdome of heauen, than them. And yet we haue not thoroughly declared with how many and how great Goppes mā is hindreth from that whiche is right, so long as he hath not forsaken him selfe. For it was truely sayde in tyme past, that there is a world of vices hidden in the soule of man. And thou canst finde no other remedies, but denying thy selfe, and leauing regarde of thy selfe, to bende thy mynde to seeke those thinges that the Lorde requireth of thee, and to seke them therfore only because they please him.

In an other place the same Paul doth more plainly, although shortly, goe throughe all the partes of a well ordred life, saying: The grace of God that byngeth saluation vnto all men, hath appeared and teacheth vs, that we should denie all vngodlynesse, and worldly lustes, & that we should lyue sobre mynded, ryghteously and Godly in this present world, loking for the blessed hope & glorious appearing of þ mighty God, and of our sauour Jesus Christ, whiche gaue him selfe for vs to redeme vs from all vnt ryghteousnesse, and to purge vs a peculiar people



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people vnto him selfe feruently geue vnto good workes. for after that he hath set forth the grace of God to encourage them, to make redy the waye for vs to worshyppe God, he taketh awaye twoo stepes that doe mosste hynder vs, that is to saye, Ungodlinesse, wherunto we are naturally to muche enclined, and worldly desires, whiche extende further. And vnder the name of vngodlinesse, he not only meaneth superstitions, but also comprhendeth all that disagreeeth with the earnest feare of God. And worldly lustes are in effect as muche as the affections of the fleche. Therfore he commaundeth vs in respect of both the tables of y<sup>e</sup> lawe, to put of our owne wit, & to forsake all that our owne reason and wyll informeth vs. And all the doinges of our lyfe he bringeth into thre partes, sobrietie, righteoulnesse, and godlinesse: of the whiche sobrietie without doubt signifieth as well chastitie and temperaunce, as a pure and measurably sparing vse of temporall thinges, and a patient sufferance of pouertie. Righteoulnesse conteineth al the duties of equitie, to geue eucry man his owne. The thirde is Godlinesse, that seuereth vs from the defilinges of the worlde, and with true holinesse ioyneth vs to God. These thinges, when they be knyt together with an vnseparable knot, make a full perfection. But for as muche as nothing is more hard, than forsaking the reason of the fleche, yea subduing and renouncing her desires, to geue our selues to God and our brethren, & to studie for an angelike life in the filthy state of this earth: therefore Paul, to loose our myndes from all snares, calleth vs back to the hope of blessed immortalicie, admonishing vs not to stryue in vaine: because as Christ hath ones appered the redemer, so at his last coming, he shall shewe the frute of the saluation that he hath purchaced. And thus he driueth awaye the enticementes that blynde vs, and make vs not to aspire as we ought to the heavenly glorie: yea and he teacheth that we must trauaill as men being from home in this worlde, that the heavenly inheritaunce be not lost or fall away from vs.

4  
Rom. xii.  
r.  
Phi. ii. iii.

Above in these wordes we perceiue, that the forsaking of our selues hath partly respect to men, and partly, yea chiefly to God. for where as the scripture biddeth vs so to behaue our selues with men, that we preferre them before vs in honour, that we faithfully employ our selues wholly to procure their commodities: therfore it greueth such commaundementes as our mynde is not able to receiue, but first beinge made boide of naturall sense. for (with suche blyndnesse we runne all into loue of our selues) euery man thinketh him self to haue a iust cause to aduaunce him selfe, and to despise all other in comparison of him self. If God haue geuen vs any good gift, by & by bearing our selues bolde therof we lift vp our courage, and not only swell, but in a maner burst with pryde. The vices wherwith we abound, we do both diligently hyde from other, and to our selues we flatteringly faine them light and sclēder, and sometime embrace them for vertues. And if the same good giffes, whiche we prayse in our selues, or better doe appere in other, least we should be compelled to geue place to them, we do with our enuiousnesse deface them and fynde fault with them. If there be any faultes in them, we are not contented seuerely and sharpely to marke it, but we also odiously amplifie it. Hereupō groweth that insolence, that euery one of vs, as though he were priuiledged from the commō estate,

*In my becoming god he my good would*



would be hier than the rest, and carelesly & proudeley set light by euery mā, or despise thē as inferiours. The pooze yeld to y rich, base people to gentlemen, seruantes to their maisters, vnlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doth not nourish within himself some opiniō of excellencie. So euery man in flatterynge himself, beareth a certaine kingdome in his brest. For presumptuously takynge vpon them somewhat whereby to please themselues, they iudge vpon the wittes and mannērs of other menne. But yf they come to contention, there bursteth out their popson. For many doe make a shewe of great mekenesse, so longe as they finde all thinges gentle and louely: but howe many a one is there that kepeth that continuall course of modestie, whē he is prickcd and stirred to auger: And there is no remedie hereof, but that the moste hurtfull pestilence of loue, of soueraigntie and selfe loue be rooted out of the bottome of their heartes, as it is rooted out by the doctrine of the Scripture. For there we are so taught, that we muste remember that the good gistes that God hath geuen vs, are not our owne good thynges, but the free gistes of God, wherof yf any be proude, they bewraye their owne vnthākefulnesse. Whoe maketh thee to excell: Paule sayth, yf thou haste receyued al thinges, why doest thou boste as yf they were not geuen thee: Then, that we muste with continuall reknowledgyng of our faultes, call our selues back to humilitie. So shall there remayne in vs nothyng to be proude vpon; but there shall be much matter to abace our selues. Agayne, we are commaunded, whatsoeuer gistes of God we see in other men, so to reuerence and esteeme those gistes, that we also honour those menne in whom they be. For it were a great lewdnesse for vs, to take from thē that honoz, y God hath vouchesaued to geue thē. As for their faults, we are taught to winke at them, not to cherishe them with flattering, but that we should not by reason of those faultes triumphe agaynst them, to whome we ought to beare good will and honour. So shall it come to passe, that wyth what man so euer we haue to doe, we shall behaue our selues not only temperatly and modestly, but also gently and frendly. As a man shall neuer come any other way to true mekenesse, but yf he haue a heart endued with abacyng of hymselfe, and reuerencyng of other.

Now howe hard is it, for thee to do thy dutie in sekynge the profit of thy neyghbour: Thou shalt herin labour in vayne, vnlesse thou depart from regard of thy selfe, and in a manner put of thy selfe. For howe canst thou performe these thynges that Paule teacheth to be the woorkes of charitie, vnlesse thou forsake thy self, to geue thy self wholly to other? Charitie (sayth he) is patient and gentle, not proude, not disdaynefull, enuieth not, swelleth not, seketh not her owne, is not angry, &c. If this one thyng be required, that we seke not the things that are our owne, we shall doe no small violence to nature, whiche so bendeth vs to the only loue of our selues, that it doth not easily suffer vs negligently to passe ouer our selues and our owne thynges, to watch for other mens comodities, yea to depart with our owne right to resigne it to an other. But the Scripture, to leade vs thether as it were by the hand, warneth vs that what so euer gracious gistes we obteyne of the Lord, they are comitted vnto vs vpo this conditiō, that



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they shold be bestowed to the cōmon benefit of the church: & that therfore the true vse of al Gods graces is a liberal & bonntiful cōmunicating of them to other. There can be no certaine rule, nor moze forceable exhortation could be deuised for the keeping of the same, thā when we be thought that all the good gistes that we haue, are thynges of God deliuered, cōmitted to our trust bpō this cōdition, that they shuld be disposed to the benefit of our neighbours. But y<sup>e</sup> Scripture goeth yet further, when it cōpareth them to the powers wherewith the members of mans body are endued. No mēber hath his power for himself, nor applieth it to his priuate vse: but poureth it abzode into the other membzes of the same body, & taketh no pzoofit therof, but such as pzoceedeth from the cōmon cōmoditie of the whole body. So whatsoeuer a godly man is able to do, he ought to be able to do it for his bzethzē, in pzouiding none otherwise priuately for himself, but so that his minde be bent to the cōmon edificatiō of the church. Let this therfore be our order for kindnesse and doyng good: that whatsoeuer God hath bestowed bpō vs, wherby we may help our neighbour, we are y<sup>e</sup> Laylies therof, & bound to render accompt of the disposyng of it. And that the only right disposing is that which is tried by y<sup>e</sup> rule of loue. So thal it come to passe, that we shal alway not only ioyne the trauail for other mens cōmoditie with the care of our owne pzoofit, but also set it befoze the care of our owne. And that we should not happen to bee ignozant that this is the true lawe of disposyng all the gistes that we receyue of God, he hath in the olde time set the same lawe euen in the smalest gistes of his liberalitie. For he commaunded the first frutes of corne to be offred vnto him, by whiche the people might testifie that it was vnlawfull for them to take any frute of the goods that were not first consecrate to him. If the gistes of God be so onely then sanctified vnto vs, when we haue with our owne hande dedicate them to the author thereof, it is euident that it is an vntrue abuse thereof that doth not sauour of suche dedication. But it shalbe bayne for thee to goe about to enriche the Lord with communicatyng to him of thy things. Therfore lithe thy liberalitie can not extende vnto him, as the Prophet saith, thou must vse it toward his saintes that are in earth. Therfore almes are compared to holy oblations, that they maye nowe be corzrespondent to these of the lawe.

6

But, that we shuld not be wery with doyng good (which otherwise must needes come quickly to passe) that other thing must be adioyned which y<sup>e</sup> Apostle speaketh of, that charitie is patiēt & not moued to anger. The Lord cōmaūdeth to do good to al vniuersally, of whō a great part are most vnwozthy, if thei be cōsidered by their owne deseruing. But here y<sup>e</sup> Scripture helpeth w a very good meane, whē it teacheth that we must not haue respect what mē deserue of theselues, but that the inage of God is to be considered in all men, to which we owe all honour and loue. But the same is most diligently to be marked in the of the householde of sayth, in so muche as it is in them renewed and restored by the Spirit of Christ. Therfore whatsoeuer mā thou light vpon, that needeth thy helpe, thou hast no cause to withdraue thy selfe frō doyng him good. If thou say that he is a stranger: but y<sup>e</sup> lord hath geuē him a marke, y<sup>e</sup> ought to be familiar vnto thee, by the reason that

Exo. xxiij.  
xxij. & xxijij  
xl.

ps. lxxi. liij.  
Heb. xij.  
xli.

1 Cor. xij.

Gal. vi.



he forbiddeth thee to despise thine owne flesh. If thou say þ he is base & nought worth: but the lord sheweth him to be such a one, to whom he hath vouchsafed to geue the beautie of his image. If thou saye that thou owest him nothing for any thing that he hath done for thee: but God hath set him as it were in his place, in respect of whome, thou knowest so many & so great benefites wherwith he hath bound thee vnto him. If thou say þ he is vnworthy that thou shouldest labour any thing at al for his sake: but the image of God wherby he is comended to thee, is worthy that thou shouldest geue thy selfe and all that thou hast vnto it. But yf he haue not only deserued no good at thy hande, but also prouoked thee with wronges and euell doynges: euen this is no iuste cause why thou shouldest cesse both to loue him & to do for him the dutifull woorkes of loue. Thou wilt saye, he hath far otherwise deserued of me. But what hath þ Lord deserued? which when he commaundeth thee to forgeue all wherein he hath offended thee, truely he willethe the same to be imputed to himself. Truely, this is þ only way to come to that which is betterly agaynst the nature of mā, much more is it hard for man. I meane, to loue them that hate vs; to recompense euil with doyng good, to render blessinges for reproches: if we remember that we muste not consider the malice of men, but loke vpon the image of God in thē, whiche defacing & blotting out their faults, doeth with the beautie and dignitie of it self allure vs to embrace it.

Therfore this mortification shal then only take place in vs, when we perforce the dueties of charitie. But it is not he that perforce them, that only doeth all the dutifull woorkes of charitie, although he leaue none of them vndone, but he that doth them of a sincere affection of loue. For it maye happen, that a man maye sully perforce to all menne all that he oweth, so muche as concerneth outward duties: and yet he maye be far from the true perforce of it. For you maye see some that would seeme very liberall, whiche yet doe geue nothing but eyther with pryde of loke, or with choylishnesse of wordes they vpbzayde it. And we become to suche wretchednesse in this vnhappy worlde, that almoste no almes are geuen of any menne, or at least of the moste parte of men, without reprochyng. Whiche peruersnesse shoulde not haue ben tolerable among the very heathen. For of Christians is somewhat more required than to shew a cherefulnesse in countenance, and make their doynges louely with gentlenesse of wordes: first they must take vpon them the personage of him whome they see to neede their helpe, and then so pitie their case, as yf themselues dyd fele and suffer it: so that they maye bee caried with feyng of mercie and gentlenesse euen as they would be to helpe themselues. He that shal come so minded to helpe his bzethzen, will not only not defile his doynges with any arrogante or vpbzaydyng, but also neyther will despise his bzother to whome he doeth good as one needyng his helpe, nor treade hym vnder foote as one bounde vnto him: no more than we ble to reproche a sicke member, for eatyng wherof the whole body labozeth, or to thynke it specially bounde to the other members, bycause it hath drawn more helpe vnto it than it hath recompensed. For it is thought that the common enterpartenyng of duties betwene members of one body, hath no free kynde of gifte, but rather

Eia. viii  
vii.Matt. vi  
xviii. and  
xviij. xxxv.Luc. xviij.  
in.Matt. v.  
xliij.



that it is a payement of that whiche beyng due by the lawe of nature it were monstrous to denie. And by this reason it shall follow, that he may not thinke himself discharged that hath performed one kinde of dutie, as it is commonly vsed, that when a riche manne hath geuen any thing of his owne, he leaueth other charges to other men, as not belongyng to him. But rather euery manne shall thinke thus with himselfe, that he is altogether better to his neyghbours, and that he must determine none other ende of vsyng his liberalitie, but when a bilitie fayleth, which how large so euer it be, must be measured by the rule of charitie.

8 Some let vs moze fully declare the principall parte of forsakynge our selues, whiche we sayd to haue respecte to God. We haue sayd muche of it already, whiche it were superfluous to rehearse agayne: it shall be sufficient to entreate of it so far as it frameth vs to quietnesse of minde and sufferance. First therefore in sekynge the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life, the Scripture calleth vs herunto, that resignyng vs and our thinges to the Lordes wil, we should yeld vnto him the affections of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To couet wealth and honours, to compasse authoritie, to heape vp riches, to gather together al such follies as serue for roialtie & pōpe, our lust is outragious, and our gredinesse infinite. On the other side of pouertie, ignobilitie, & base estate, we haue a maruellous feare and maruellous hatred, that moue vs to trauaile by al meanes to eschue the. Herby a man may see, how vnquiet a minde they haue, how many mistes they attempt, with what studies they wery their life, that frame their life after their owne deuise: to attayne those thinges that their affection of ambitio or couetousnesse requireth, and on the other side to escape pouertie & basenesse. Therefore the godly must kepe this waye, that they be not entangled with such snares. First let them not either desire, or hope for, or thinke vpon any other meane of prospering, than by the blessing of the Lord: & therefore let them safely & boldly rest theselues vpon it. For how so euer the fleshy thinke it self sufficient of her self, whē she eyther trauaileth by her owne diligence, or endeuoreth with her owne studie, or is holpen by the fauour of men, to the atteyning of honour and wealth: yet it is certayne, that all these thinges are nothing, & that we shall nothyng preuaile with wit or trauaile, but in so much as the Lord shall prosper bothe. But on the other side his only blessing findeth a waye through al stoppes, to make all thinges procede with vs to a ioyfull and lucky end. Then how soeuer we maye moste of all obteyne any glozie or wealth without it (as we dayly see the wycked to get heapes of greate honours and riches) yet for as much as they vpon whome resteth the curse, do fele no parcell of felicitie, we can obtayne nothing without his blessing that shall not turne vs to euell. And it is not at all to be coueted, that maketh men moze miserable.

9 Therefore yf we beleue that all the meane of prosperous successe and such as is to be wished, consisteth in the only blessing of God, which beyng absent, all kindes of miserie and calamitie muste happen vnto vs: this remaineth also, that we do not gredyly endeuour to wealth and honours standing vpon our owne smelle of wit or diligence, nor  
leauing



leaving to the fauour of men, noz trustyng vpon a bayne imagination of fortune, but that we alwaye looke vnto the Lord, to be led by his guidyng to what so euer lot he hath prouided. So first it shall come to passe, that we shall not violently rush to the catchyng of riches and inuadyng of honours, by wronge, by guile and euell crafty meanes, or extortion with doyng iniurie to our neighbours, but shall onely followe those fortunes that maye not leade vs from innocence: For whome maye hope for the helpe of Gods blessing among fraudes, extortions, and other suttile meanes of wickednesse: For as Gods blessing followeth no man but him that thinketh purely, & doeth rightly, so it calleth back all them of whom it is desired, fro croked thoughtes, and corrupt doynges. The, we shall be bridled that we burne not with inmeasurable desire of growyng riche, noz ambitiously gape for honours. For with what face may a man trust to be holpen of God, to obtaine those thynges that he desireth agaynst his woorde: For God forbiddeth that God should geue the helpe of his blessing to that whiche he curseth with his own mouth. Last of all, if it succede not accordyng to our wish and hope, yet we shall be restrayned from impatience, and from cursyng our estate what soeuer it be: bycause we know that that is to murmur agaynst God, at whose will riches and pouertie, basenesse and honours are disposed. Brefely, he that resteth hymselfe in suche sorte as is aforesayd vpon the blessing of God, neyther will by euell suttelties hunt for those thinges that menne are wont outragiously to couet, by whiche crafty meanes he thinketh that he shall nothyng preuaile: noz yf any thyng happen prosperously will impute it to hymselfe, and to his owne diligence endeuour or to fortune, but will assigne it to God the authour. But yf while other mens estates doe flourish, he goe but slenderly forward, yea or slide backward, yet he will beare his ill fortune with greater quietnesse and moderation of mynde, than a prophane manne wil beare a meanely good successe, whiche is not altogether so good as he desired: bycause he hath a comfort wherein he maye moze quietly rest, than vpon the hiest toppe of wealth and authoritie: bycause he accompteth that his thinges are ordered by God as is available for his saluation. So we see that Dauid was minded, and yeldeth hymselfe to be ruled by God, he declarcth hymselfe to be like to a weyned childe, and that he walketh not in hye thinges or maruellous aboue hymself.

And the godly mindes ought to haue that quietnesse and sufferance not only consistyng in this behalf: but also it muste extend to all chaunces wherunto our present life is subiect. Therfoze no man hath rightly forsaken hymselfe, but he hath so resigned hymselfe vpon wholly to the Lord, that he suffreth all the partes of his lyfe to be gouerned by his will. He that is so framed in minde, what soeuer happen, will neyther thinke hymselfe miserable, noz will with enuiousnesse agaynst God complayne of his fortune. Howe necessarrie this affection is, shall hereby appere, yf you consider to howe many chaunces we be subiect. Diuerse kyndes of diseases doe trouble vs, sometime the pestilence cruelly reigneth, sometime we are sharply vexed with calamities of warre, sometime frost or haile deuouring y hope of the yere bringeth barrenne. Ie, y driueth vs to dearth: sometime our wife, parentes,



children or kinssolkes are taken awaye by death, our house is confu-  
med with fier: these be the thinges, at chauncyng whereof men curse  
their life, detest the day of their birth, haue heaue and light in execra-  
tion, mutmure against God, and (as thei be eloquent in blasphemys)  
accuse him of vniustice and crueltie. But a saythfull manne muste  
euen in these chaunces beholde the mercyfull kindenesse and father-  
ly tenderesse of God. Therefore whether he see his house destroyed,  
his kinsefolke slayne, yet he will not therfoze cesse to prayse God, but  
rather will turne himselfe to this thought: yet the Grace of the Lord  
that dwelleth in my house, will not leaue it desolate. Or yf when his  
corne is blasted or bitten, or consumed with frostes, or beaten downe  
with hayle, he see famine at hand, yet he will not despayr, nor speake  
hatefully of God, but will remayne in this confidence, we are yet in  
the Lordes protection, and shepe brought vp in his pastures: he ther-  
foze will finde vs foode euen in extremest barrenesse. Or if he bee  
troubled with sicknesse, euē then he will not be discouraged with bit-  
ternesse of sorrow, so burst out into impatience and quarrell thus with  
God: but consideryng the righteousnesse & lenitie in gods correctiō, he  
will call himselfe back to patience. Finally, what so ever shall happen,  
bicause he knoweth it ordeined by the hand of God, he will take it with  
a well pleased and thankfull minde, least he should stubboznlly resist  
his authoritie, into whose power he hath yelded himselfe and all his.  
Therefore let that foolissh & most miserable comfort of the Heathen be  
far from a Christian mans heart, which to strengthen their mindes a-  
gaynst aduersities, did impute the same to fortune, with whome they  
cōpted it foolissh to be angry, bicause he was blinde & vnaduised, that  
blindely wounded bothe the deseruing and vndereruyng. For contra-  
rywise this is the rule of godlinesse, that the only hand of God is the  
iudge and gouernesse of bothe fortunes, and that it runneth not for-  
ward with vnaduised sodayne rage, but with most orderly iustice dea-  
leth among vs bothe good thinges and euell.

### The eight Chapter.

Of the bearyng of the crosse, whiche is a part of the forsakyng  
of our selues.



At a Godly minde muste yet climbe vp hier, euen to that  
whereunto Christ calleth his disciples, y<sup>e</sup> every one take  
vp his crosse. For all whome the Lorde hath chosen and  
vouchehaued to receiue into his companie, must prepare  
thēselues to a hard, trauaillsome & vnquiet life, and full of  
many and diuerse kindes of incōmodities. So it is the will of the hea-  
uenly father, to exercise thē in such sort, that he may haue a true profe  
of them that be his. Beginnyng at Christ, his first begotten sonne, he  
procedeth with this order toward al his children. For whereas Christ  
was the best beloued sonne aboue the reste, and in whome the fathers  
minde was fully pleased, yet we see how he was not tēderly & deinti-  
ly handeled: so that it maye be truely sayd, y<sup>e</sup> he was not only exercised  
with a perpetual crosse so long as he dwelled in earth, but that al his  
life was nothinge els but a kinde of continuall crosse. The Apostle  
sheweth

pl. lxxi.  
29.

Mat. xvi.  
pua.

Mat. iii.  
vii. & xvii.



Sheweth the cause thereof to be, that it behoued that he should learne obedience by those thinges that he suffred. Why then should we priuilege our selues from that estate, whereunto it behoued Christ our hed to be subiect, specially sith he became subiect thereunto for our cause, to shew vs an example of patience in himselfe. Therefore the Apostle sayth that this is the appointed end for all the children of God, to be fashioned lyke vnto him. Whereupon also in harde and sharpe chaunces, which are reckened aduersities and euils, ariseth a great comfort vnto vs, that we communicate with the sufferings of Christ: that as he entred out of a maze of all troubles into the heavenly glorie, so we maye by diuerse tribulations be brought into the same glorie. For so sayth Paule himselfe, that when we learne the communicating of his afflictions, we do also conceyue the power of his resurrection: and when we are fashioned like vnto his death, we are so prepared to the felowship of his glorious rising agayne. Howe much maye this auayle to alwaige all the painefulnesse of the crosse, that the more we are afflicted with aduersities, so much the more surely is our felowship with Christ confirmed: by communicating whereof, our sufferings are not only made blessed vnto vs, but also do much help vs to the furtherance of our saluation.

Ro. viij. i

Act. iij. iro.  
Ihu. iij.

2

By side that, our Lord had no neede to take vpon him to beare the crosse, but to testifie & proue his obedience to his father: but we for diuerse causes, haue neede to leade our life vnder a continual crosse. first (as we be naturally bent to attribute all thinges to our flesh) vnlesse our weakenesse be shewed vs as it were before our eyes, we do easily esteeme our owne strength aboue due measure, & doubt not that what soeuer happen, it wil continue vnbroken & vnuercome against al hard assaults. Whereby we are caried into a foolish & vaine confidence of flesh, and then trusting therupon, we stubbozely waxe proude against God himselfe, as though our owne powers without his grace did suffice vs. This arrogancie he can no way better beate down, than whē he proueth vnto vs, by experience not only how feble, but also how fraile we be. Therefore he afflicteth vs either with shame, or pouertie, or losse of childre, or sicknesse, or other calamities, which we being vnable to beare in respect of our selues, doe by and by sinke downe vnder them. Being so humbled, we learne to call vpon his strength, whiche only maketh vs to stand byright vnder the heauy burden of afflictions. yea the moste holy, how wel soeuer they know that they stand by the grace of God and not by their owne force, yet are to muche assured of their owne strength and constancie, vnlesse by the tryall of the crosse, he bring them into a more inward knowledge of themselves. The slouthfulnessesse crept into Dauid: I sayd in my rest, I shall neuer be moued. Lorde, thou hadst stablished in thy good pleasure a strength to my hill, thou hiddest awaye thy face, I was striken. For he confesseth that with sluggishnesse in prosperitie his senses were dulled, that not regardyng the grace of God, vpon whiche he should haue hanged, he leaned vnto himselfe, to promise himselfe perpetuall continuance. If this chaunced to so great a Prophet: which of vs ought not to be fearful, that we may be heedefull? Therefore whereas in prosperitie they flatter themselves with opinion of a greater constancie and patience,

Pl. xxx.



Of the manner how to receiue

When they are ones humbled with aduersitie, they learne that their former opinion was but hypocrisie. The saythfull (I saye) beyng admonished by such examples of their diseases, do thereby profite to humilitie, that beyng vnclouthed of the wrongfull confidence of the flesh, they maye resort to the grace of God. And where they are ones come to his grace, they fele the presence of Gods strength, wherein is abundantly sufficient succour for them.

3  
So. b. iii. And this is it that Paule teacheth, that by troubles is engendred patience, by paciēce pzoofe. For whereas God hath promised the faithfull that he will be present with them in troubles, they fele the same to be true, when they stande patiently, beyng vpholden by his hande; which by theyr owne strength they were not able to do. Patience therefore bringeth a pzoofe by experience to the holy ones, that God when neede requireth, will in dedde performe y help that he hath promised. And thereby also their hope is confirmed: for asmuche as it were to much vnthankfulnesse not to loke for in time to come, the same truth of God that they had already by experience pzooued to be constant and sure. We see now howe many good thinges doe come vnto vs in one knot by the crosse. For, ouerthrowyng the opinion that we falsely presume of our owne strength, and disclosing our hypocrisie that deliteth vs, it shaketh awaye the hurtfull confidence of the fleshe, and teacheth vs beyng so humbled, to rest vpon God only, by which it commeth to passe, that we neyther be oppressed nor fall downe. And after victorie foloweth hope, in so much as the Lord in performing that which he hath promised, stablissheth the credit of his truthe for time to come. Truly, although there were no moe reasons but these, it appereth how much the exercise of the crosse is necessarie for vs. For it is a matter of no small importance, to haue the blinde loue of thy selfe wiped away, that thou mayst wel know thine owne weakenesse. To fele thine owne weakenesse, that thou mayest learne to distrust thy selfe: to distrust thy selfe, that thou mayst remoue thy confidence from thy selfe vnto God: to rest with confidence of heart vpon God, that beyng vpholden by his help, thou mayst continue vnouercomme to the last end: to stande fast by his grace, that thou mayest vnderstand that he is true in his promises: to know by pzoofe the truth of his promises, that thy hope may be strengthened thereby.

4  
The Lord hath also an other end of afflictynge his, to trie their patience, and instruct vs to obedience. Not that they can vse any obedience toward him, other than the same that he geueth them: but so if pleaseth hym by open examples to make approued by witness, and to set forth the graces that he hath bestowed vpon his holy ones, that they should not lie idly hidde within them. And therefore in bringyng forth into open shewe the strength of suffrance and constancie, where with he hath furnished his seruauntes, it is sayd that he tryeth their patience. And from hense came these sayenges: that God tempted Abraham, and had pzoofe of his godlinesse, by this that he refused not to offer vp in sacrifice his owne and only sonne. Therefore Peter teacheth, that our sayth is so pzooued in troubles, as golde is tried in a furnace: And whoe can say that it is not expedient, that the moste noble gift of patience, which a faithful man hath receyued of his God, should  
be



be brought forth into vse, that it may be made certainly knowne and manifest: for other wise men will not esteeme it as it is worthy. Now if God himself doth rightfully when he ministreth matter to stirre by the vertues that he hath geuen to his faithfull, that they should not be hidden, yea lye vnprofitable and perissh: then is there good reason of the afflictions of the holy ones, without which there patience should be nothyng. I saye also that by the crosse they are instructed to obedience, because they are so taught to liue not after their owne wish; but after the will of God. Truly if all thinges should flowe vnto them after their owne minde, they would not know what it were to follow God. And Seneca reherseth that this was an olde Proverbe, when they exhorted any man to suffer aduersities, follow God. By whiche they declared, that then only me truly entred vnder the yoke of God, when he yelded his hand and backe to Gods correction. Nowe if it be most righteous, that we should shewe our selues in all thinges obedient to the heauently father, then we ought not to refuse, that he should by all meanes accustom vs to yeld obedience vnto him.

But yet we perceyue not howe necessarie this obedience is for vs, vntill we do also consider, how wanton our fleshe is to shake of the yoke of God, so sone as it hath ben but a litle while deintily and tenderly handled. The same happeneth vnto it, that chaunceth to stubbozne horses, whiche yf they be a fewe dayes pampred idly, they can not after ward for scarcenesse be tamed, neyther do knowe their rider, to whose gouernement they somewhat before obeyed. And this is continual in vs that God complayneth to haue ben in the people of Israel, that beyng well fed and couered with fatnesse, we kick agaynst him that fed and nourished vs. The liberalitie of God shuld in deede haue allured vs to consider and loue his goodnesse, but for asinuche as our euell nature is such, that we are alwaye corrupted with his tender visage, it is moze than necessarie for vs, to be restrayned by some discipline, that we runne not outragiouly into such a stubbozne wantonnesse. So, that we should not growe fierce with vnto measurable abundance of riches, that we shuld not waxe proude beyng lifted by with honours, that we should not become insolent, beyng puffed vp with other good giftes, epyther of the soule, body or fortune, the lord himself, as he foresceeth it to be expedient, preuenteth it, and with the remedie of the crosse subdueth and byidleth the scarcenesse of our fleshe, & that diuerse wayes, so much as is healthfull for euery man. For all are not a like sicke of all one diseases, or do a like neede of hard healyng. And thereupon is to be seene howe some are exercised with one kinde of crosse, and some with an other. But whereas the heauently Physician handleth some moze getly, and purgeth some with sharper remedies, when he meaneth to prouide for the health of all: yet he leaueth none free or vntouched, because he knoweth all without exception to be diseased.

Moreover, the moste mercifull father needeth not only to preuent our weakenesse, but many times to correct our passed offences. Therefore so oft as we be afflicted, the remembrance of our forepassed life ought by and by to entre into our minde: so without doubt we shall finde that we haue done somewhat worthy of chastisement. Yet we



Of the manner how to receiue

ought not chesely to ground our exhortation to patience vpon the acknowledgement of sinne. For the Scripture ministreth vs a far better consideration, when it sayth, that the Lord correcteth vs with aduertisities, that we should not be damned with this worlde. Therefore we ought euen in the very sharpnesse of tribulations to acknowledge the kindnesse & goodnesse of our father toward vs, for asmuch as euē then he ceaseth not to further our saluation. For he doth afflict, not to destroy or kil vs, but rather to deliuer vs frō the dānation of the worlde. That thought shall leade vs to that, which the Scripture teacheth in an other place: My sonne, refuse not the Lordes correctiō, nor be wery when thou shalt be rebuked of him. For whome the Lord loueth, he correcteth, and embraceth him as a father doth his childe. When we know his rod to be y<sup>e</sup> rod of a father, is it not our dutie rather to shewe our selues obedient childzen and willyng to learne, than with obstinate to do like desperate men, that are hardened with euell doynges? The Lord leseth vs, vnlesse he call vs backe by correction when we are fallen awaye from him: so that the authour of the Epistle to the Hebrewes rightly sayth that we are bastardes, and not childzen yf we be out of correction. Therefore we are most froward, yf we can not suffer him whē he declareth his good will & the care that he hath for our saluatiō. This y<sup>e</sup> Scripture teacheth to be the differēce betwene the vnbeleuers & the saythful, that the vnbeleuers as the bondslaves of a rooted & hardened wickednesse, are made the worse & moze obstinate w<sup>th</sup> whippynge: the saythful, like childzē hauing an honest freedome of nature, do therby profit to repētāce. Now must thou choose of whether nūber thou wilt be. But bicause I haue spoken of this matter in an other place, I am cōtent to touche it briezly, & so will make an end.

7  
 Moreover it is a singular comfort, when we suffer persecution for righteousnesse. For then we ought to thinke, how great an honor God vouchsafeth to graunt vs, that he so garnisheth vs with the peculiar marke of his souldiours. I meane that they suffer persecution for righteousnesse, not only that suffer for defense of the Gospell, but also that are troubled for any defense of righteousnesse. Whether therfore in maineteynyng the truthe of God agaynst the lies of Satan, or in takynge in hande the defense of good men and innocentes agaynst the wronges of the wicked, we be driuen to runne into the displeasure & hatred of the worlde, whereby our life or goods, or estimatiō may come in daunger: let it not be greuous or lothsome vnto vs to employ our selues for god, or let vs not think our selues miserable in those things in which he hath with his own mouth pronounced vs blessed. Pouertie in deede, if it be cōsidered in it self, is miserable: likewise banishment, contēptious estate, prisonment, shame: finally, death is the vttermost of all calamities. But whē the fauour of our God breatheth vpo vs, ther is none of al these things, but it turneth to our felicitie. Therefore let vs rather be cōtent w<sup>th</sup> the testimonie of Christ, than w<sup>th</sup> the false estimation of y<sup>e</sup> flesh. So shal it come to passe, that we shal reioyse as the Apostles did, when God shall accōpt vs worthy to suffer reproche for his name. For why? If we beyng innocēt, & knowing our selues clere in our cōscience, are by the noughty dealynge of wicked men spoiled of our goods: we are in deede brought to pouertie therby amonge men,  
 but

Cor. ii.  
 19.

Pro. iii. xi.

Hebr. xii.  
 19.

Mat. v. f.

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but so richesse do truely growe vnto vs in heauen befoze God. If we be thrust out of our houses, we are the moze inwardly receiued into the household of God. If we be vexed and despised, we take so much the deeper rootes in Christ. If we be noted with reproches and shame, we are in so much the moze honorablen place in the kingdome of God. If we be slayne, so is the entrie made open for vs vnto blessed life. Let vs be ashamed to esteeme lesse these thinges, vpo which the Lord hath set so great a pryce, than shadowy and fickle enticyng pleasures of present life.

Si the therefore the Scripture doth with these and like adimonitions geue sufficient comfort for the shames or calamities, that we suffer for defense of righteousnesse, we are to muche vnthankfull yf we doe not gladly and cherefully receyue them at the Lordes hande: specially si the this is the kinde of crosse, mozte properly belongyng to the faythfull, whereby Christ will be glorified in vs. As also Peter teacheth. But it is moze greuous to gentle natures to suffer shame than a hundred deathes: therefore Paule expressly admonisheth that we shall not only suffer persecutions, but also reproches, because we trust in the liuyng God. As in an other place he teacheth vs after his example to walke through sleaunders and good report. Yet there is not required of vs such a cherefulness as maye take awaye all felyng of bitternesse and sorow, or els the patiēce of the holy ones in the crosse were no patience, vnlesse thei should be bothe tormented with sorow & vexed with grefe. If there were no hardinesse in pouertie, no peyne in sickenesse, no grefe in shame, no horzour in death, what valiantnesse or temperance were it to beate them indifferently? But when every one of these doth with the natural bitternesse therof bite the heartes of vs all, herein doth the valiantnesse of a faythfull man shewe it self, if beyng assayed with the felyng of such bitternesse, how greuously so euer he be troubled with it, yet with valiantly resistyng he ouercometh it, his patience bittereth it selfe herein, yf beyng sharply prouoked, he is yet so bzidled with the feare of God, that he bursteth not out into any distēper. His cherefulness appereth herein, yf beyng wounded with sadnesse and sorowe, he resteth vpon the spirituall comfort of God.

This conflict, whiche the faithfull do susteyne agaynst the natural felyng of sorow, while they studie for patience and temperance, Paul hath very wel described in these woordes. We are put to distresse in al thinges, but we are not made sorowfull: we labour, but we are not leste destitute: we suffer persecution, but we are not forsaken in it: we are throwē downe, but we perish not. You see how to beate the crosse patiently, is not to be altogether astonished and without al felyng of sorow. As the Stoikes in olde time did foolishly describe a valiant hearted man, to be such a one as puttyng of all nature of man, was a like moued in prosperitie and in aduersitie, in sorowfull and ioyefull state, yea suche a one as like a stone was moued with nothyng. And what haue they profited with this hye wisdomē? Forsothe they haue painted out such an image of wisdomē as neuer was found, and neuer can her after be among mē: But rather while they coucted to haue to exact and precise a patience, they haue taken awaye all the ble of patience

8

i. Pet. iii. 11.

i. Tim. iii. 17.

ii. Cor. vi. 10.

9

ii. Cor. iii. 7.



patience out of mans life. And at this day also amōg Christians there are newe Stoikes, that reckon it a fault not only to grone and wepe, but also to be sad and carefull. But these strange conclusions do commonly procede from idle men, whiche busieng themselues rather in speculation than doynge, can do nothyng but bzeede vs such new found Doctrines. But we haue nothyng to do with that stony Philosophie, whiche our maister and Lord hath condemned not only by his worde but also by his example. For he mourned and wept both at his owne and other mens aduersties. The worlde (sayth he) shall reioyse, but you shall mourne and wepe. And bicause no man should finde faulte therewith, by his open proclamation, he hath pronounced them blessed that mourne. And no maruell. For if all wepyng be blamed, what shall we iudge of the Lord himself, out of whose body dropped blouddy teares? If euery feare be noted of infidelitie, what shall we iudge of that quakyng feare, wherewith we reade that he was not slenderly striken. If all sadnesse be mistyked, how shall we like this, that he confesseth his soule to be sad euen to the death:

10 This I thought good to speake to this ende, to cal godly mindes from despair: that they should not therfoze altogether forlake the studie of patience, bycause they can not put of the naturall affection of sorrow: whiche must needes happen to them, that make of patience a senselesse dulnesse, and of a valiant and constant man, a stocke. For the Scripture geueth to the holy ones the prayse of patience, when they are so troubled with hardnesse of aduersties, that yet they be not overcome nor throwē downe with it: when they be so pricked with bitterness, that they be also delited with spirituall ioye: when they be so distressed with greife, that yet they receyue courage againe beyng cheared with the comfort of God. Yet in the meane time that repugnancie abideth still in their heartes, that naturall sense eschueeth and dzedeth those thinges that it knoweth to be against it: but the affection of godlinesse trauaileth euen through all those difficulties to the obeyeng of Gods will. This repugnancie the Lord expressed when he sayd thus to Peter: Whē thou wast yong thou didst gird thy self, & didst walke whether thou woldest: But when thou art old, an other shall gyrd thee and leade thee whither thou shalt not be willyng. Neyther is it likely that Peter, when the time came that he must glorifie God by his death, was drawn vnwillyngly and resistyng vnto it. Els his martyrdome should haue but small prayse. But howe so cuer he did with great cherefulness of heart obeye the ordynance of God, yet bicause he had not put of the nature of manne, he was doubly strayned with two sortes of willes. For when he dyd by himselve cōsider the bloudy death that he should suffer, beyng stryken with horrour thereof, he would gladly haue escaped it. On the other side, when it came in his minde, that he was called vnto it by the commaūdemēt of God, then conquerpyng and treading downe feare, he gladly, yea and cherefully toke it upon him. This therfoze we must endeuour yf we will be the Disciples of Christ, that our mindes be inwardly filled with so great a reuerence and obedience to God, as may tame and subdue to his ordynance all contrarie affections. So shall it come to passe, that with whatsoeuer kinde of crosse we be vexed, eue in the greatest anguishes

Job. xvii.  
xx.

Matth. v.  
iii.

Zuc. xiii.  
xliij.

Job. xxi. f.

*eccl. iij. is dourina my p... of*



of minde, we shall constantly kepe patience. For aduerſities ſhal haue their ſharpenesse, wherewith we ſhal be bitten: ſo when we are afflicted with ſickneſſe, we ſhal bothe grone and be diſquieted & deſire health: ſo beyng preſſed with pouertie, we ſhal be pricked with the ſtinges of carefulneſſe and ſozrowe: ſo ſhall we be ſtriken with greſe of ſhame, contempt and iniurie: ſo ſhall we yelde due teares to nature at the burial of our frendes: but this alway ſhal be the concluſion, But the lord willed ſo. therefore let vs ſolow his will. yea euen in the middeſt of the prickyngeſ of ſozrow, in the middeſt of mourning and teares, this thought muſt needes come betwene, to incline our heart to take cheerefully the very ſame thinges, by reaſon whereof it is ſo moued.

But for aſinuche as we haue taken the cheſe cauſe of bearyng the croſſe, out of the conſideratiō of the wil of God, we muſt in few wordes define what difference is betwene Philoſophical & Chriſtian paciēce. Cruely very fewe of the Philoſophers clumbed to ſo hie a reaſon, to vnderſtand that the hand of God doth exerciſe vs by afflictions, and to thinke ꝑ God is in this behalf to be obeyed. But they byyng no other reaſon, but bicauſe we muſt ſo doe of neceſſitie. What is this elſ, but to ſay that thou muſt yeld vnto God, bicauſe thou ſhalt trail in vaine to waſtle againſt him: For if we obey God, only bicauſe we ſo muſt of neceſſitie: then if we might eſcape. we would ceſſe to obey. But the Scripture biddeth vs to conſider a far other thing in the wil of God, ꝑ is to ſay, firſt iuſtice and equitie, then the care of our ſaluatiō. Theſe therfore be the Chriſtian exhortations to patience, whether pouertie, oz baniſhment, oz priſonment, oz ſhame, oz ſickneſſe, oz loſſe of parentes, oz children, oz any other like thing do greue vs, we muſt thinke ꝑ none of theſe thinges doth happen, but by the wil & prouidence of God, and that he doeth nothyng but by moſt iuſt order: for why? do not our innumerable & dayly offences deſerue to be chaſtiſed moze ſharply, and with moze greuous correction, than ſuch as the mercifull kindneſſe of God layeth vꝑ vs: Is it not moſt great equitie. ꝑ our fleſh be tamed, & as it were made acquainted with the yoke, ꝑ he doe not wantonly grow wild accoꝝding to her nature: Is not the righteouſneſſe & truth of God woꝝthy, that we ſhuld take paine for it: But if there appere an vndoubted righteouſneſſe in our afflictions, we can not without vnrigheteouſneſſe either murmure oz waſtle againſt it. We heare not now that cold ſong: We muſt geue place, bicauſe we ſo muſt of neceſſitie. but we heare a liuely leſſon & ful of effectualneſſe: we muſt obey, bycauſe it is vnlawfull to reſiſt: we muſt ſuffer patiently, bycauſe impatience is a ſtubboꝝneſſe agaynſt the righteouſneſſe of God. But now, bicauſe ꝑ thing only is woꝝthy to be loued of vs, which we know to be to our ſafetie and benefite, the good father doth this waye alſo comfort vs, when he affirmeth that euen in this that he afflicteth vs with the croſſe, he prouideth for our ſafetie. But if it be certayne that troubles are healthful for vs, why ſhould we not receyue them with a thankfull and well pleaſed minde: Therefore in patiently ſuffryng them, we doe not forceably yeld to neceſſitie, but quietly agree to our ſtone benefite. Theſe thoughtes (I ſay) do make that how muche our mindes are greued in the croſſe with naturall ſelyng of bitterneſſe, ſo much thei be cheared with ſpiritual gladneſſe. Wherupō alſo foloweth

thankes



## Of the manner how to receiue

Thankes geuyng, whiche can not be without ioye. But if the praise of the Lord & thankes geuyng procedeth of nothing but of a chereful & ioyful heart, & there is nothing y<sup>e</sup> ought to interrupt the same praising of God and thankesgeuyng in vs: hereby appereth howe necessarie it is that the bitternesse of the crosse be tempered with spirituall ioye.

### The .ix. Chapter.

**C** Of the meditation of the life to come.

**B**Ut with what so euer kinde of trouble we be distressed, we must alwaye loke to this ende, to vse our selues to the contempt of this present life, & therby be stirred to the meditation of the life to come. For, because God knoweth wel howe much we be by nature enclined to the beastly loue of this wo<sup>r</sup>ld, he vseth a most fit meane to draw vs back, and to shake of our sluggishnesse, that we shuld not stick to fast in y<sup>e</sup> loue. There is none of vs that desireth not to seme to aspire & endeuour al their life lōg to heauēly immortallitie. For we are ashamed to excel bzute beasts in nothing: whose state shoud be nothing inferiour to oures, vnlesse there remaine to vs a hope of eternitie after death. But if you examine the deuises, studies & doynge of euery man, you shall finde nothyng therein but earth. Hereupon groweth that senselesnesse, that our minde beyng daseled with vaine glistering of riches, power & honours, is so dulled that it can not see far. Our heart also beyng possessed with couetousnesse, ambition & lust, is so weyed downe, that it can not rise vp hie<sup>r</sup>. Finally al our soule entangled with enticementes of the flesh, sebeth her felicitie in earth. The Lord, to remedie this euell, doth with cōtinual examples of miseries teach this of the vanitie of this present life. Therfore that thei shoud not promise thēselues in this life a sound & quiet peace, he suffreth them to be many times disquieted & troubled either with warres, or vprozes, or robberies, or other iniuries. That they shoud not with to much gredinesse, gape for fraile & transitoie riches, or rest in the riches y<sup>e</sup> they already possesse, sometime with banishment, sometime with barrennesse of the earth, sometime with fire, sometime by other meanes he bringeth thē to pouertie, or at least holdeth them in measure. That they shoud not with to mucche ease take pleasure in the benefites of mariage, he eyther maketh them to be vexed with the frowardnesse of their wiues, or plucketh thē downe w<sup>it</sup>h ill child<sup>rē</sup>, or punisheth thē with wāt of issue. But if in al these things he tenderly beareth with them, yet least they shoud either swell with foolish glozie, or immeasurably reioyse with vaine confidence, he doth by diseases & dangers set befoze their eyes, how vnstable & vanishing be al the goods that are subiect to mortallitie. Then only therfore we rightly profit in the discipline of the crosse when we learne y<sup>e</sup> this life, w<sup>hen</sup> it is considered in it self, is vnquiet, troublesome & innumerable wayes miserable, & in no point fully blessed: & that all those y<sup>e</sup> are reckened the good thinges thereof are vncertaine, sickle, vaine, & corrupted with many euels mixed with them. And herupō we do determine, that here is nothing to be sought or hoped for but strife: and that whē we thinke of our crowne, then we muste liste vp our eyes to heauen. For thus we muste beleue. That our minde is neuer truly rayled to the desire and meditation of the life to come, vnlesse it haue first concyued



repyed a contempt of this present life.

For betwene these two there is no meane, the earth must either become vile in our sight, or holde vs bound with intemperate loue of it. Therfoze if we haue any care of eternitie, we must diligētly endeouour to loose our selues frō these fetters. Now bicause this present life hath many flatteryng pleasures wherewith to allure vs, a great shewe of pleasantnesse, grace, & sweetenesse, wherewith to delite vs: it is much behoueful for vs to be now and then called away, that we be not bewitched with such alluremētes. For what, I pray you, would be done if we did here enjoy a continual concourse of good things & felicitie, si the we can not with continuall spurres of euels be sufficiently awaked to consider the miserie thereof: Not only the learned doe knowe, but also the common people haue no Proverbe moze common than this that mans life is like a smoke or shadow: and bycause they sawe it to bee a thynge very profitable to be knowen, they haue set it out with many notable sentēces. But there is nothyng that we do either moze negligently consider, or lesse remember. For we goe aboute all thinges, as though we would frame to our selues an immortalicie in earth. If ther be a corps caried to burial, or if we walk amōg graues, then, bicause there is an image of death befoze our eyes, I graunt we do maruelously well discourse like Philosophers vpon the vanitie of this life. Albeit we do not y<sup>e</sup> cōtinually, for many times al these things do nothing moue vs. But when it happeneth, our Philosophie lasteth but a while, which so sone as we turne our backes, wanisheth awaye, & leaueth no steppe at al of remēbrance behinde it: finally it passeth awaye as a clapping of hādes vpo a stage at any pleasant sight. And we forgetting not only death, but also y<sup>e</sup> we be subiect to death, as though we had neuer heard any report therof, fall to a carelesse assurednesse of earthly immortalicie. If any mā in the meane time tel vs of y<sup>e</sup> Proverbe, that man is a creature of a dayes continuance, we graunt it in deede: but so heedlesly, y<sup>e</sup> still the thought of euerlastyng continuance resteth in our minde. Whoe therfoze can denie, that it is a great profit to vs all, not only to be admonished in wordes, but by all the exāples of experiece that may be to be cōuincid of y<sup>e</sup> miserable estate of earthly life: for asmuche as euen when we are comincid, we scarcely cesse to stand amased with peruerse & foolish admiratiō of it, as though it cōteined the vttermost end of good thinges. But if it be necessarie y<sup>e</sup> God instruct vs, it is our dutie likewise on our behalues, to harken to him when he calleth & awaketh our dulnesse, that despisyng the world, we may with al our heartes endeouour to the meditatiō of the life to come.

But let the faithfull accustomethemselues to suche a despisyng of present life, as maye neither engendze a hatred thereof, nor any vnthankfulnesse toward God. For this life, howsoeuer it is ful of infinite miseries, is yet woorthily reckened amōg the not slender blessinges of God. Therfoze if we acknowledge no benefitt of God in it, we are guilty of no small vnthankfulnesse toward God himselte. But specially it ought to bee to the saythfull a testimonie of Gods good will, for asmuche as it is wholly directed to the furtherance of their saluation. For befoze that he openly deliuer vnto vs the inheritance of eternall glozpe, hys will is to shewe hymselfe a father vnto vs by smaller example:



examples: and these be the benefites that are dayely bestowed vpon vs. Sithe therefore this life serueth vs to vnderstand the goodnesse of God, shal we disdain it as though it had not a crême of goodnesse in it? We must therefore put on this felypng and affection, to recken it among the gistes of goodnesse that are not to be refused. For though there wanted testimonies of Scripture, of which there are both many and most euident, very nature it self both exhort vs to geue thâkes to the Lorde, for that he hath brought vs into the light of it; that he graunteth vs the vse of it, that he geueth vs all necessarie succors for the preservation of it. And this is a muche greater reason, yf we consider that we are in it after a certayne manner prepared to the glozie of the heavenly kingdome: For so the Lorde hath ordeyned that they whiche in time to come shalbe crowned in heauen, must fight certayne battels in earth, that they should not triumph, till they had overcome the hard aduentures of the battel, & obteyned the victorie. Then another reason is, yf we do by diuerse benefites beginne therein to taste the sweetnesse of Gods liberalitie, that our hope & desire should be whetted to long for the reuelypng thereof. When this is determined, that it is a gift of Gods clemencie that we lyue this earthly lyfe, for whiche as we be bound vnto him, so we ought to be mindefull and thankfull: the we shal in fit order come to cōsider the most miserable estate thereof, to this end yf we may be deliuered frō to much gredinesse of it, wherunto as I haue before sayd, we are of our selues naturally enclined.

Now what so euer is taken from the wrongfull desire of this life, ought to be added to yf desire of a better life. I graūt in dedde that they thought truely, that thought it best not to be bozne, & the next, to die quickly. For what could they beyng destitute of the light of God and true religion, see therein but vnhappy and miserable? And they dyd not without reason, that mourned and wepte at the birthes of their frendes, and solemnely reioysed at their burials; but they did it without profit, bicause beyng without the right doctrine of fayth, they did not see how that may turne to good to the godly, which is of it self neither blessed nor to be desired: and so they ended their iudgement with desperation. Let this therefore be the marke of the faithful in iudgypng of mortall life, that when they vnderstand it to be of it self nothing but miserie, they maye resort wholly the moze freshly & redily to the eternal life to come. When we come to this comparison, then this present lyfe maye not only be safely neglected, but also vtterly despysed and lothed in comparison of the other. For if heauen be our contrey, what is the earth els but a place of banishment? If the departing out of the world be an entryng into lyfe, what is the world but a graue: to abide in it, what is it els but to be drowned in death? If to be deliuered from the bodie is to be set in perfect libertie, what is the bodye els but a pryson? If to enioye the presence of God is the hiest summe of felicitie, is it not miserable to lacke it? But til we be escaped out of the world, we wander abzode from the Lorde. Therefore if the earthly life be compared with the heavenly life, doubtlesse it ought to be despysed & troden vnder foote. But it is neuer to be hated, but in respect that it holdeth vs in subiection to sinne, & yet that hatred is not properly to be layed vpon our life. But how so euer it be, yet we must



must be so moued either with werinesse or hatred of it, that despyng the end of it, we may be also redy at the will of the Lorde to abide in it: so þ our werinesse may be far from all grudging and impatience. For it is like a place in battell array, wherin the Lorde hath placed vs, which we ought to kepe tyll he call vs away. Paul in dede lamēteth his state that he is holden bond in the bondes of the body longer than he wyshed, and sigheth with feruent desire of his redemption: neuerthelesse to obey the commaundement of the Lorde, he professed him self ready to both, because he acknowledgeth himself to owe this vnto God, to glorifie his name, either by death or life: and that it is in God to determine what is moste expedient for his glory. Therfore if we must liue and die to the Lorde, let vs leaue to his will the tyme of our life and death: but so that we be styll feruent in desire of death, and be continually occupied in meditation therof, and despise this life in comparison of the immortalitye to come, and wythe to forsake it when it shall please the Lorde, because of the bondage of sinne.

But this is monstruous, that in stede of that desire of death, manye that boast them selues to be Christians, are so afrayed of it, that they tremble at euery mention of it, as of a thing betokening vnluckely and vnhappy. Cruely it is no maruell, if naturall feare in vs do quake for feare when we heare of the dissoluing of vs. But this is in no wyse tolerable, that there be not in a Christian mans brest the light of godlinesse, that should with greater comfort ouercome and suppress that feare, howe great soeuer it be. For if we consider that this vusted fast, faulty, corruptible, fralle, withering, and rotten tabernacle of our body, is therfore dissolved, that it may afterward be restored againe into a stedfast, perfect, vncorruptible and heavenly glorie: shall not faith compell vs feruently to desire that whiche nature feareth? If we consider that by death we are called home out of banishment, to inhabite our contry, yea a heavenly contry, shall we obtaine no comfort there by? But there is nothinge that desireth not to abide continuall. I graunt, & therefore I affirme, þ we ought to loke vnto the immortalitye to come, wher we may atteine a stedfast state that no where appeareth in earth. For Paul dothe very well teache, that the faithfull ought to goe cherefully to death: not because they would be vnclothed, but because they desyre to be newly clothed. Shall brute beastes, yea and lifeles creatures, euen stockes and stones, knowing their present vanitie, be earnestly bent to loking for the last day of the resurrection, that they may with the children of God be deliuered from vanitie, and shall we that are endued with the light of wyt, and aboue wyt enlightened with the spirite of God, when it standeth vpon our being, not lift vp our myndes beyond this roffennesse of earth? But it pertaineth not to my present purpose, nor to this place, to speake against this perversnesse. And in the beginning I haue already professed, that I would not here take vpon me the large handlinge of common places. I would counsel suche fearfull myndes, to rede Cyprians booke of Mortalitie, vnlesse they were mete to be sent to the Philosophers, that they may beginne to be ashamed when they se the contempt of death that those do shewe. But this let vs hold for certainly determined, that no man hath well profited in Christes schole, but he that doth ioyfully loke for the daye both of death and of the last resur-

Rom. vii.  
xviii.Phillip. i.  
xiii.

ii. Cor. v. 4

Rom. viii.  
xix.



rection. For both Paule Describeth all the faithfull by this marke, & also it is common in the Scripture, to call vs thither as oft as it will set for the a ground of perfect gladnesse. Reioyce (saith the Lorde) and lift vp your heads, for your redemption commeth nere at hande. Is it reasonable, I praiſe you, y<sup>e</sup> the thing which he willed to be of so great force to raise vp ioye & cherefulnesse in vs, sholde brede nothing but sorrowe and discouragement? If it be so, why do we still boast of hym as oure Scholemaster. Let vs therfore gette a sounder minde, and howsoeuer the blinde and senslesse desire of the flesh do striue against it, let vs not doubt to wishe for the comming of the Lorde, not onely with wishinge, but also with groning and sighing, as a thing most happy of all other. For he shal come a redemer to vs, to drawe vs out of this infinite gulfe of euels and miseries, and to leade vs into that blessed inheritance of his life and glorie.

This is certainly true: all the nation of the faithfull, so longe as they dwel in earth, must be as shepe appointed to slaughter, that they maye be fashioned like Christ their heade. Therfore thei were in mosse lamentable case, vnlesse thei had their minde raised vp into heauen, & surmounted all that is in the worlde, and passed ouer the present face of things. Contrariwise, whē thei haue ones lifted their heades aboue all earthly thinges, although thei see the wealth and honoures of the wicked flozishing, if thei see them enioying quiet peace. if thei see them proude in gorgiousnesse and sumptuousnesse of all thinges, if they see them to floure in plentiful store of al delites, by side that if thei be spoiled by their wickednesse, yf they susteine reprochfull dealinges at theyr pride, if thei be robbed by their couetousnesse, if thei be vexed by any other outrage of theirs: thei will easily vpholde themselues in such aduersityes. For that daie shalbe before their eies, when the Lorde shall receiue his faithfull into the quiet of his kingdome, when he shal wipe all teares from theyr eyes, when he shall clothe them with the robe of glorie & gladnesse, when he shall feede them with the vnspearable sweetness of his deinties, when he shall aduance them to the felowshippe of his hie estate: synally when he shall bouchesaue to enterparten hys felicitie wyth them. But these wycked ones that haue flozished in the earthe, he shall throwe into extreme shame, he shall change their delites into tormentes, their laughing and mirth into weping and gnashing of tethe, he shall disquiet their peace with terrible torment of conscience, he shall punish their deintinesse with vnquenchable fier, & shall put their heades in subiection to those godly men, whose patience thei haue abused. For this is righteousnes (as Paule testifieth) to geue release to the miserable & to them that are vniustly afflicted, and to render affliction to the wycked that do afflict the godly, when the Lorde Iesus shall be reueled from heauen. This truely is our onely comfort, whiche if it be taken awaie, we must of necessitie either despaire, or statferlyngly delite oure selues wyth the bayne comforges of the worlde to oure owne destruction. For euen the Prophete confesseth that his fete staggged, when he taried to longe vpon considering the present prosperitie of the wicked: and that he coulde not otherwise stande stedfaste, but when he entred into the sanctuarie of God, and bended his eyes to the last ende of the godly and the wicked. To conclude in one word,

then

Lu. ii. pt.  
Lu. xxi.  
viii.

6  
Ro. vii.  
xxvi.  
i. Cor. xv.  
ix.

Est. xv.  
viii.  
Reuel. vii.  
xiii.

i. Thet. i.  
iii.

pt. lxxiii.



then only the crosse of Christ triumpheth in the heartes of the faythfull vpon the Deuil, flethe, synne & the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the resurrection.

## The tenth Chapter.

Howe we ought to vse this present lyfe, and the helpes thereof.



By suche introductions the Scripture doth also wel informe vs what is the right vse of earthely benefites: whiche is a thyng not to be neglected in framing an order of lyfe. For if we must lyue, we must also vse y<sup>e</sup> necessary helpes of life: neyther can we eschue euen those thynges that seme rather to serue for delite than for necessity. Therfore we must kepe a measure, that we may vse them with a pure conscience, either for necessitie or for delight. That measure the Lorde apointeth by his worde, when he teacheth that this lyfe is to them that bee his, a certaine iorney throughe a strange countrey, by whiche they trauallye towarde the kingdome of heauen. If we must but passe throughe the earth, doubtlesse we ought so far to vse the good thynges of the earth, as they may rather further than hynder our iourney. Therfore Paul doth not vnprofitably counsell vs so to vse this worlde, as though we vsted it not: and to bye possessions with suche a mynde as they vse to bee solde. But because this place is slippery, and so slope on bothe sydes, that it quckely maketh vs, to fall, let vs labour to fasten our foote there, where we maye stande safely. For there haue bene some, that otherwyse were good and holy men, whiche when they sawe intemperance and ryot continually to range with vnbudled lust, vnlesse it be sharply restrained, & wer desirous to corret so great a mischiefe, thei could finde none other way, but suffred man to vse the benefites of the earth, so far as necessitie required. This was in dede a Godly counsell, but they wete to seuer. For (whiche is a very perillous thyng) they did put streighter bondes vpon consciences, than those wherewith they were bounde by the worde of God. And they expounde necessity, to absteyne from all thynges whiche a man may be without. And so by their opinion, a man might scarcely take any more foode than bread & water. And some be yet more seuer: as it is red of Crates the Thebane, that did thrawe his goodes into the sea, because if they were not destroyed, he thought that he shoulde be destroyed by them. Many at this daye, while they seeke a pretence, whereby the intemperance of y<sup>e</sup> flethe in vse of outwarde thynges may be excused, and whyle they goe about to prepare a way for the flesh raging in wantonesse, do take that as a thyng confessed, whiche I do not graunte them, that this libertie is not to be restrained with any limitation of measure, but that it is to be left to euery mans conscience to vse as muche as he seeth to be lawfull for him. Truly I confesse, that consciences neither ought nor can in this point be bounde by certayne and precise formes of lawes. But for as muche as the Scripture teacheth generall rules of lawfull vse, we must surely measure the vse according to these rules.

Let this be a principle: that y<sup>e</sup> vse of Gods giftes swarue[n]eth not out of the way, when it is referred to that ende, wherunto the authour him



Of the manner howe to receiue

Psa. c.iii.  
10.
 selfe hath created and appointed them for vs, for as muche as he hath created them for our good and not for our hurt. Therfore no man can kepe a righter way, than he that shall diligētly loke vnto this end. Now if we consider to what end he hath created meates, we shall finde that he meant to make prouision not only for necessitie but also for delite & pleasure. So in apparell, beside necessitie he appointed an other ende, whiche is comelinesse & honestie. In herbes, trees, and frutes, beside diuerse profitable bles, there is also a pleasantnesse of sight, & sweetenesse of smell. For if this were not true, the Prophet would not reckon among the benefites of God that wyne maketh glad the heart of man, & that ople maketh his face to shine: the Scripture woulde not echewhere, to set fourth his liberalitie, rehearse that he hath geuen all suche thinges to men. And the very naturall qualities of thinges do sufficiently shew, to what end and howe far we may vse them. Shall the Lorde haue set in floures so great a beutie, as presenteth it selfe to our eyes: shall he haue geuen so great a sweetenesse of sauour as naturally floweth into our smelling: and shall it be vnlawfull either for our eyes to take the vse of that beautie, or for our smelling to feele that sweetenesse of sauour: what: Hath he not so made difference of colours, that he hath made some more acceptable than other: what: Hath he not geuen to gold and siluer, to iuorie & marble, a speciall grace whereby they might be made more precious than other metalles or stones: finally hath he not made many thinges commendable vnto vs without necessary vse.

Therfore away with that vnnaturall Philosophie, whiche in graūting vs of þ creatures no vse but for necessitie, not only doth niggardly bereue vs of the lawfull vse of Gods liberalitie, but also can not take place, vnlesse it first haue spoiled mā of al his senses & made him a blok. But on the other side we must with no lesse diligence prouide a stay for the lust of þ fleſhe, whiche if it be not brought into order, ouerfloweth without measure: & it hath (as I haue said) defenders of it, which vnder pretense of allowed libertie do graunt vnto it all thinges. First there is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be determined, that all thinges are created for vs to this end, that we should know the authour of the, and geue him thanks for his tender kindnesse toward vs. Where is thy thanks geuing, if thou so gluttonously fill thy selfe with deintye meates or with wyne, that thou either be made senselesse, or vnfit to do the duties of godlinesse and of thy calling. Where is the reknowledging of God, yf thy fleſhe by to great abundance boilynge in fylthye luste, dothe with her vncleannesse infecte thy mynde, that thou canste not see any thing that is ryght or honest. In apparel, where is thankfulnessse to God, yf with costlye gorgeousnesse thereof we bothe fall in admiration of our selues and disdayne other. If with the trymnesse and cleaynnesse of it, we prepare our selues to vnchastitie. Where is the reknowledging of God, if our mynde be fixed vpon the gaynesse of our apparell. For manye so geue all their senses to bodelye delyses, that the mynde lyeth ouerwhelmed. Many are so delited with marble, gold, and payntinges, that they become as it were menne made of marble, that they bee as it were turned into metalles, and bee lyke vnto paynted Images. The smelle of the kytchen, or sweetenesse of saouours so dulleth some, that they can smell nothyng that is spiritual.

And



And the same is also to be seen in the rest. Therefore it is certaine that hereby the licentiousnesse of abusing is somewhat restrained, and that rule of Paul confirmed, that we be not to carefull of the flesh, for the lustes therof, to whiche if we graunt to muche, they boyle out about measure and temper.

Rom. iiii.

But there is no surer nor redier way than that whiche is made vs by the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of heavenly immortalitye. For therupon folow two rules: the one, that they which vse this world, should be so minded as though they vsed it not, they y<sup>e</sup> mary wines as though they did not mary: they y<sup>e</sup> oye as though they did not bye, as Paul teacheth. The other, y<sup>e</sup> they should learne as well to beare pouertie, quietly & paciētly, as abundance moderatly. He y<sup>e</sup> biddeth thee to vse this world as though thou didst not vse it, doth cut away not on ly y<sup>e</sup> intemperance of gluttonie in meat & drinke, & to much deintinesse, sumptuousnesse, pride, hautinesse, & nicenesse, in fare, bylding, & apparell, but also all care & affection y<sup>e</sup> may either withdrawe thee or hinder thee from thinking of the heauēly life, or frō study to garnish thy soule. But this was long ago truely sayd of Cato: that there is great carefulnesse of trimming our body, & great carelesnesse of vertue. And it is an old proverbe y<sup>e</sup> they whiche are much busied in care of their body are commonly carelesse of their soule. Therefore, although the libertie of the faithfull in outward thinges is not to be restrained to a certain forme, yet truely it must be subiect to this law, to beare very little with theyr owne affections, but contrariwise still call vpon them selues with continually bent mynde, to cut of all thow of superfluous plentie, muche more to restraine ryotous excesse, and to take diligent hede, that they do not of helpes make to them selues hinderaunces.

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i. Cor. viii.

The other rule shalbe, that they that haue but small and slender rychesse, may learne to lacke paciētly, that they be not carefully moued with inmeasurable desire of them: whiche paciēce they that kepe, haue not a litle profited in the Lordes schole: as he y<sup>e</sup> hath not at least somewhat profited in this behalf, can scarcely haue any thing wherby to proue him selfe the scholar of Christ. For beside this that the most part of other vices do accompanie the desire of earthly thinges, he that beareth pouertie impatiently, doth for the moste part bewray the contrarie disease in abundance. I meane hereby that he whiche wilbe ashamed of a poore cote, wilbe proude of a costly cote: he that will not be content with a hungry supper, will be disquieted with desire of a deintier, and would also intemperately abuse those deinties if he had them: he that hardly and vnquietly beareth a private & base estate, will not absteine from pryde if he climbe to honors. Therefore let all them that haue an vnfained zeale of Godlinesse, endeouour to learne by the Apostles example, to be full and hungry, to haue store and suffer want. The Scripture hath also a thirde rule, wherby it tempereth the vse of earthly thinges, of whiche we haue spoken sumwhat when we entreated of the preceptes of charitie. For the Scripture decreeth that al earthly thinges are so geuen vs by the bountifullnesse of God, and apointed for our comōditie, that they may be as things deliuered vs to kepe, wherof we must one day yelde an accompt. We must therefore so dispose them, that this saying may continually sound in our eares, yeld an accompt of thy bayly:

5

Iohn. iiii.

Eg.



wike. Therwithall let this also come in our mynde Whoe it is that affecteth suche an accompt, euen he that hath so muche commended abstinence, sobrietie, honest sparing, and modestie, and abhorreth riotous sumptuousnesse, pride, ostentation and vanitie, whiche alloweth no other disposing of goodes, but suche as is ioyned with charitie: whiche hath already in his own mouth condemned all those deliteful thinges that do withdrawe a mans mynde from chastitie and cleannesse, or doe dull his wit with darkenesse.

6 Last of all, this is to be noted, that the Lorde biddeth euery one of vs in al the doinges of his life, to haue an eye to his calling. For he knoweth with how great vnquietnesse mans wit boyleth, with howe skipping lightnesse it is caried hether and thether, how greedy his ambition is to holde diuerse thinges at ones. Therefore that all thinges shoulde not be confounded with our follie and rashnesse, he hath apointed to euerie man his duties in seuerall kindes of lyfe. And that no man rashly runne beyond his bondes, he hath named all suche kyndes of lyfe, vocations. Therefore euery mans seuerall kinde of life is vnto him as it were his standing apointed him by God, that they shoulde not all theyr life vncertainly wander about. And this diuision is so necessary, that al our doinges are measured thereby in his sight, and oftentimes contrary to the iudgemēt of mans reason and Philosophie. There is no dede accompted more noble, euen among the Philosophers, than for a man to deliuer his contrie from tyrannie: but by the voice of Gods iudgemēt the priuate man is openly condemned that layeth hand vpon a tyrant. But I wil not tarry vpon rehearsing of examples, It is sufficient if we knowe that the calling of the Lorde is in euery thing the beginning and foundation of well doing: to whiche he that doth not direct himself, shal neuer kepe a right way in his doinges. He may peraduenture somtyme do somewhat seeming worthy of praise: butte whatsoeuer that be in the sight of men, before the throne of God it shalbe reiected: moreouer there shalbe no conuenient agreement in the partes of his life. Therefore our life shal then be best framed, when it shalbe directed to this marke: for then, no man caried with his owne rashnesse will attempt more than his calling may beare, because he knoweth that it is not lawfull to passe beyond his bondes. He that shalbe a man of base estate, shal contentedly liue a priuate life, least he shold forsake the degree wherin God hath placed him. Againe this shalbe no smal relefe to cares, labors, greues, and other burdens, when a man shall knowe in all these thinges God is his guide. The more willingly the magistrat will execute his office: the housholder will bynd him selfe to his dutie: euery man in his kinde of life will beare and passe through the discomforties, cares, tediousnesse, and anguishes therof: when they are perswaded that euery mans burden is laid vpon him by God. Hereupon also shal growe singular comfort, for as muche as there shalbe no worke so filthy & vile, (if it be such a one as thow obey thy calling in it) but it shineth & is most precious in the sight of God.

### The aleuenth Chapter.

Of the iustificacion of Fayth, and fyrst of the definition of the name and of the thyng.

I thinke





Thinke I haue already sufficiently declared before, howe there remaineth for men being accursed by the lawe one only helpe to recouer saluation: agayne, what faith is, and what benefites of God it bestoweth vpon man, and what frutes it bringeth fourth in hym. The summe of all was this, that Christ is geuen vs by the goodnesse of God, and receiued and possessed of vs by faith, by partakynge of whome we receiue principally twoo graces: the first, that being reconciled to God by his innocencie, we maye nowe in stede of a iudge haue a merciful father in heauen: the second, that being sanctified by his Spirite, we maye geue our selues to innocencie and purenesse of lyfe. As for regeneration, whiche is the second grace, we haue alredy spoken of it as muche as seemed to be sufficient. The manner of iustification was therfore lesse touched, because it serued well for our purpose, first to vnderstande both howe the faythe by whiche alone we receiue frely geuen righteousnesse by the mercie of God, is not idle from good workes: and also what be the good workes of the holy ones, wherupon part of this question entreateth. Therfore they are first to be thoroughly discussed, and so discussed that we must remembre that this the chiefe stay of vpholding religion, that we may be the more carefull and hedefull about it. For vnlesse thou first knowe, in what state thou art with God, and what his iudgement is of thee: as thou hast no ground to stablishe thy saluation, so hast thou also none to rayse thy reuerent feare toward God. But the necessitie of this knowledg shall better appere by knowledg it selfe.

But that we stumple not at the first entrie, (whiche we should doe if we should entre disputation of a thing vnknowen) let vs first declare what is meant by these speches, Man to be iustified before God, To be iustified by fayth or by workes. He is sayd to be iustified afore God, & is pronounced by the iudgement of God bothe iust and accepted for hys owne righteousnesse sake. For as wickednesse is abhominable before God, so a sinner can not finde fauour in his eyes, in respect that he is a sinner, or so long as he is accompted suche a one. Therfore wheresoeuer synne is, there also appereth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is iustified that is not accompted in place of a sinner but of a iust man, and by reason therof he standeth fast before the iudgemēt seate of God when all sinners fal. As if an innocent be brought to be arayned before the seate of a righteous iudge, when iudgemēt is geuen accordinge to his innocencie, he is sayde to be iustified before the iudge: so he is iustified before God that being exempt out of the number of sinners hathe God a wytnesse and affirmer of his ryghteousnesse. Therfore after the same manner a man shalbe said to be iustified by workes, in whose lyfe there is founde suche cleannesse and holiennesse, as may deserue the testimonie of righteousnesse before the throne of God: or he that with the bprightnesse of his workes is able to answer and satisfie Gods iudgement. Contrariwylse he shalbe said to be iustified by fayth that being excluded from the righteousnesse of workes, doth by fayth take holde of the righteousnesse of Christ: wherwith when he is clothed, he appereth in the sight of God, not as a sinner, but as righteous. So we simply expound iustification to be an acceptation, wherby God receiuing vs into fauour taketh vs for righteous. And we say that the same consisteth in



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forgeuenesse of sinnes, and imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ.

3

For confirmation hereof there are many and euident testimonies of Scripture. first it can not be denied, that this is the proper and mooste vsed signification of the word. But because it is to long to gather al the places and compare them together, it shalbe enough to put the reders in mynde of them, for they may of them selues easely marke them. But I wyll bring fourth some, where this iustification that we speake of is exprestely entreated of by name. first where Luke sayeth that the people when they had heard Christ did iustifie God. And where Christ pronounceth that wisdom is iustified by her children: he doth not meane there, & they do geue righteousnesse, which alway remaineth perfect to God, although all the worlde goe about to take it awaye from hym: nor in this place also to make the doctrine of saluatiō righteous, which hath euer that of it selfe. But bothe these speches are as muche in effect, as to geue to God and his doctrine the praise that they deserue. Againe when Christ reprocheth the Pharisees, that they iustifie them selues, he doth not meane that they obtaine righteousnesse by well doing, but do baine gloriously seke for the same of righteousnesse, whereof in dede they be voyde. They that are skilfull of the Hebrue tongue doe better vnderstande the sense of this phrase: in whiche tongue they are not only called wicked doers, that are gilty in their conscience of anye wicked doing, but also they that come in daunger of iudgement of condemnation. For when Bersabe sayeth that she and Solomon shalbe wicked doers, she doth not therein acknowledge any offense, but complaineth that she & her son shalbe put to shame, to be numbred among the reprobate and condemned. But by the processe of the text it easely appeareth, that the same worde in Latine also, can not otherwyse be taken but by way of relation, and not to signifie any qualitie. But as concerning the matter that we are nowe in hande with: where Paul saith that the Scriptur did foresee, that God iustifieth the Gentiles by faith, what may a man vnderstande thereby, but that God doth impute righteousnesse by faith: Againe, when he sayth that God iustifieth & wicked man that is of the fayth of Christ, what meanyng can be therof, but by the benefite of fayth to deliuer them from the damnation whiche their wickednesse deserued: And yet he speaketh more playnely in the conclusiō, when he cried out thus, Who shal accuse Gods elect: It is God & iustifieth, who shal condemne: It is Christe that died, yea that rose againe, and nowe maketh intercession for vs. It is as muche in effect as if he should say, Who shal accuse them whome God acquiteth: whome shal condemne them whose patrone Christ is and defendeth them: To iustifie therfore is nothing els, than to acquite hym that was accused, from gilthynesse as allowyng his innocencie. Sithe therfore God doth iustifie vs by & intercessiō of Christ, he doth acquite vs, not by allowāce of our own innocencie, but by imputatiō of righteousnesse, that we may be cōpted for righteous in Christ which are not righteous in our selues. So in the .xiii. Chapter of the Actes, in Paules sermō: by him is forgeuencs of sinnes preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from al those thynges, from whiche you could not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. You see that after forgeuenesse of sinnes, iustification is added in place of an exposition. you see playnely that it is taken

ic. vii.

ic. vii.  
vii.

ic. xvi.

Xcg. i.

al. iiii.

i.

om. iiii.

ii.

om. viiii.

viii.

ct. xlii.

lviii.



taken for absolution. you see that it is taken awaye from the workes of the lawe. you see that it is the mere beneficial gyft of Christe. you see that it is receiued by sayth. finally you see that there is a satisfaction spoken of where he sayeth that we are iustified from sinnes by Christe. So when it is sayde that the Publicane came iustified out of the Temple, we can not saye that he obteyned righteousnesse by any deseruing of workes. This therefore is sayde that after pardon of his sinnes obteyned, he was coumpted for ryghteous before God. He was therefore ryghteous, not by approunge of workes, but by Gods free absolutio. Wherefore Ambrose sayeth very well, that calleth the confession of sinnes a lawefull iustification.

But to leaue struiuing about the worde: If we loke vpon the thyng it selfe as it is described vnto vs, there shall remayne no more doubt. For truely Paule doth expresse iustification by the name of acceptatio, when he saith (Ephes. i. a. v.) we are apointed vnto adoption by Christ, accordyng to the good pleasure of God, vnto the prayse of his glorious fauour, whereby he hath accompted vs acceptable or in fauour. For the same is meant by it that is sayde in an other place, that God doeth freely iustifie. In the .iiii. Chapter to the Romaines, he first calleth it an imputation of righteousnesse, and sticketh not to saye that it consisteth in forgiuenesse of synnes. That man (sayd he) is called of Dauid a blessed man, to whome God accompfeth or imputeth righteousnesse without workes, as it is writtē: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiuē. &c. Truely he there doth entreate not of one part of iustification, but of all iustification wholly. And he testifieth that Dauid in that place maketh a definition of iustification, when he pronounceth that they are blessed to whome is geuen free forgiuenesse of sinnes. Whereby appereth that this ryghteousnesse wherof hee speaketh, is in comparifon simply set as contrary to guiltinesse. But for this purpose, y is the best place wher he teacheth, that this is the summe of the message of the Gospel, y we should be reconciled to God: because it is his will to receiue vs into fauour through Christ, in not imputing sinnes vnto vs. Let the reders diligently wey all the whole processe of the text. For by & by after, where he addeth by way of exposition, that Christ whichē was without sinne was made sinne for vs, to expresse the manner of recōciliation, doubtlesse he meaneth nothing els by the word recōciling but iustifying. And that whiche he sayth in an other place, that we are made righteous by the obedience of Christ, could not stand together, vnlesse we be accompfed righteous before God, in hym, and without our selues.

But where as Oslander hath brought in, I wote not what monster of essential righteousnes, wherby, although his wil was not to destroy free righteouines, yet he hath wrapped it within such a myste, as darkneth godly mindes, and bereueth them of the earnest feling of the grace of Christ: therefore ere I passe further to other thynges, it is worth the labour to confute this doting error. first this speculation is but of mere and hungry curiositie. He doth in dede heape together many testimontes of Scripture, to proue that Christe is one with vs, and wēe one with hym, whiche nedeth no profe: but because hee kepeth not this bonde of buytie, he snareth hym selfe. But wee whyche holde that wee are made all one wyth Christe by the power of his Spirite,

Luc. Poit.  
iiii.In Psal. ii  
Hom. 10.

4

Rom. iii  
viii.Rom. iii  
vi.ii. Cor. i  
viii.Rom. vi  
vii.

5



may easily vndoe all his knottes. He had conceived a certayne thyng very neare to the opinion of Manichees, to desire to conuey the substance of God into men. Herupon riseth an other inuention of his that Adam was fashioned after the Image of God, bicause euen before the fall Christe was ordeyned the paterne of the nature of man. But because I woulde bee shorte, I wyll tarry vpon the matter that I haue presently in hande. He saith that we are one wyth Christ. We graunt. But we denie þ the substance of Christ is mingled with oures. Moreouer we say that this principle that Christe is righteousnesse to vs, bicause he is an eternal God, the fountaine of righteousnesse and the very selfe righteousnesse of God, is wrongfully drawen to defende hys deceites. The readers shall pardon me, if I do nowe but touche these thinges that the ordre of teaching requirerh to be dyfferred into another place. But although he excuse himself from meaning nothing els by the name of essentiall righteousnesse, but to resist thys opinion þ we are accompted righteous for Christes sake: yet he plainly expresth þ he is not cõtented with þ righteousnes þ is purchased for vs by þ obedience & sacrifice of Christ, but sayerh that we are substantially righteous in God, as well by substance as by qualitie poured into vs. For this is the reason why he so earnestly affirmeth, that not only Christ, but also the father and the holy ghosse do dwel in vs. Which although I graunt to be true, yet I saie that he wrongfully wresteth it. For hee shold haue considered the manner of dwellyng, that is, that the father and the holy ghosse are in Christe, and as the fulnesse of the Godhead dwelleth in hym, so do we possesse whole God in him. Therefore al that he saith severally of the father and the holy ghost, tenderh to no other end but to draw the simple frõ Christe. And then he thrusteth in a mixture of substances, whereby God pouring himselfe into vs, doth make vs as if were a part of himself. For he rekeneth it almost a matter of nothing, þ it is wrought by the power of þ holy ghost, þ we growe into one with Christe, and that he is oure heade & we his membres, vnlesse his very substance be mingled with vs. But in the father & þ holy ghost (as I haue said) he doth more openli bewraie what he thinketh, euen this, that we be iustified not by the onely grace of the Mediator, and that righteousnesse is not simply or perfectli offered vs in his person, but that wee are made partakers of the righteousnesse of God, when God is essentially made one with vs.

6 If he did saye no more, but that Christe in iustifying vs, ys by essentiall coniounyng made oures: and that not onely he is our heade, in that hee ys manne, butte also that the substance of the diuine nature ys powred into vs. Hee shoulde wyth lesse hurte feede hym selfe deyntyly, and peraduenture so greate a contention shoulde not haue been raysed for thys doubtyngge erreure. Butte sythe thys beginning is lyke a cuttle that wyth casting oute of blacke and thycke blood bydeth her many tayles, we muste nedes earnestly resiste vnlesse we wyll wittyngly and wyllynghely suffer that ryghteousnesse to be taken from vs, whiche onely byngeth vs confydence to glorie of saluation. For in all this discourse, the name of ryghteousnesse, and thys worde iustifying, extende to two partes: that to be iustified is not only to be reconciled to God w fre pardõ, but also to be made righteous, þ righteousnes



is not a free imputation but a holinesse and byrightnesse; whiche the substance of God remayning in vs doth breathe into vs. Then he stoutly denieth, y<sup>e</sup> Christ is our righteousnesse in respect y<sup>e</sup> being a prest he did with satisfactorily purging sinnes appease his father towards vs; but in respect that he is eternall God and lyfe. To proue that fyrst point, that God dothe iustifie not onelye by forgeuinge but also by regenera-  
 ting, he asketh whether God doeth leaue them whome he dothe iustifie suche as they were by nature, chaunging nothyng of theyr byces. The aunswere hereof is verye easye: that as Christe can not be torne in partes so these two things whiche we together and ioynly receiue in hym, that is to saye righteousnesse and sanctification, are inseparable. Therefore, whome soeuer God receiue into sauour, he dothe also therewith all geue them the spirite of adoption, by the power wherof he newlye fashioeneth them after his image. But if y<sup>e</sup> brightnesse of y<sup>e</sup> sunne can not be seuered from the heate therof, shall we therefore saye that y<sup>e</sup> earth is warmed with the light, enlightened with the heate: There is nothing more fit for this purpose, than this similitude. The sunne with his heate geueth life and frutefulnesse to the earth, with his beames he geueth light & brightnesse. Here is a mutuall & vnspeparable coioyning: yet reason forbiddeth to conuey to the one that whiche is peculiar to the other. Like absurditie is in this confusion of two sortes of graces, that Orlander thrusteth in. For because God dothe in dede renew them to the obseruing of righteousnesse whome he frely accepteth for righteous, therefore Orlander confoundeth that gift of regeneration with this free acceptance, & affirmeth that they be al one & the selfsame thing. But the Scripture ioyning the both together, yet doth distinctly recke them, y<sup>e</sup> the manifold grace of God may y<sup>e</sup> better appere vnto vs. For y<sup>e</sup> saying of Paul is not superfluous, y<sup>e</sup> Christ was geuen vs vnto righteousnesse & sanctification. And whensoever he resoneth to proue by the saluation purchaced for vs by the fatherly loue of God, & by the grace of Christ, that we are called to holinesse & cleannesse, he plainly declareth y<sup>e</sup> it is one thing to be iustificed & an other be made newe creatures. But when Orlander cometh to y<sup>e</sup> Scripture, he corrupteth as many places as he allegeth. Where Paul saith that faith is accounted for righteousnesse to him y<sup>e</sup> worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustificieth the wicked mā, he expoundeth it to make righteous. With like rashnesse, he depraueth al the fourth Chapter to y<sup>e</sup> Romains, & sticketh not with like fals colour to corrupt y<sup>e</sup> place which Ieuen now alleged, Who shall accuse the electes of God: it is God y<sup>e</sup> iustificieth: where it is plaine y<sup>e</sup> he speaketh simply of guiltinesse & acquiting, & the meaning of the Apostle hangeth vpon a comparing of contraries. Therefore Orlander is found to fond a babler, as wel in y<sup>e</sup> reason as in alleging the testimonies of Scripture. And no more rightly doth he speake of the name of righteousnesse, in saying that sayth was accounted to Abraham for righteousnesse, after that embracing Christ (whiche is the righteousnesse of God and God him self) he excelled in singular vertues, whereby appeareth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the ryghteousnesse that is there mentioned, pertaineth not to the whole course of his calling: but rather the holy Ghost testifieth, y<sup>e</sup> although y<sup>e</sup> vertues of Abraham were singularly excellent, & that w<sup>o</sup> long

1. Cor. 11. 1.

FF.

Ro. 11. 5.



continuance hee at length had encreasced them : yet hee did no other waye please God, but by this, that he receiued by faythe the grace offered in the promyse . Whereupon foloweth, that in iustification there is no place for workes, as Paull very well affirmeth.

7 As for this y<sup>e</sup> Dislander obiecteth, that y<sup>e</sup> power of iustifying is not in faith of it selfe, but in respect that it receiveth Christe, I wyllynglye graunte it. For if fayth did iustifie of it selfe, or by inwarde force, as they call it, and as it is alwaye feble and vnperfect, could not worke iustification but in part, so should the iustification be maymed, that should geue vs but a pece of saluation. As for vs, we imagine no suche thinge, but in proper speaking doe saye, that God only iustifieth: and then we geue the same to Christe, because he was geuen vs vnto ryghteousnesse: and faythe we compare as it were to a vessell. For except we came emptie with open mouthe of our soule to craue the grace of Christe, we can not be able to receyue Christ. Whereupon we gather that we doe not take from Christ the power of iustifying, when we teache that he is first receiued by fayth, before that his righteousnesse be receyued. But yet I doe not admit the crooked figures of this Sophister, when he sayth that faith is Christ: as if an earthen pot were a treasure, because gold is hidden in it. For the reson is not vnlike, but that faith although it be by it selfe of no worthynesse or pryce, may iustifie vs in byngynge Christ, as a pot full of money maketh a man ryche. Therefore I say that fayth, whiche is onely the instrument to receyue rightuousnesse, is vnfitly mingled with Christe, whiche is the materiall cause and bothe author and minister of so great a benefite. Howe is this doubt also dissolued. Howe this worde Faith ought to be vnderstanded when we entreate of iustification.

8 In the receiuing of Christ he goeth further: for he sayeth, that the inward worde is receiued by the ministracion of the outwarde worde, thereby to drawe vs from the priesthode of Christ and the persone of y<sup>e</sup> Mediatour to his outwarde Godhed. As for vs. we deuide not Christ, but we say that he is the same eternall worde of God, whiche reconciling vs to God in his flesh, gaue vs righteousnesse: and we confesse y<sup>e</sup> otherwyse he could not haue fulfilled the office of Mediatour, and purchased vs righteousnesse, vnlesse he had ben eternall God. But this is Dislanders doctrine, where as Christ is both God and mā, that he was made righteousnesse to vs, in respect of his nature of Godhed, and not of manhode. But if this properly belong to the Godhed, thē it shal not be peculiar to Christ, but common with the father and the holy Ghost, for as muche as ther is not one righteousnesse of the one, and an other of the other. Moreover that whiche was naturally frō eternitie, coulde not bee conueniently sayde to bee made to vs. Butte althoughe we graunte this, that God was made righteousnesse for vs: howe shal it agree that that whiche is set betwene, is made of God. Cruely that properly belongeth to the persone of the Mediatour: whiche though he containe in hym selfe the nature of Godhede, yet here he is specially signified by his proper title, by whiche he is seuerally discerned frō the father and the holy Ghost. But he folishly triumpheth in that one worde of Hieremie, where he promisseth that the Lorde Jehoua shal be our righteousnesse, but out of that he shall gather nothinge, but that  
Christ



Christ which is righteousness, is God openly shewed in the flesh. In another place we haue rehearsed out of Dauides sermon, that God purchased to himselfe the church with his blood, if any man gather thereupon, that the blood wherewith sinnes were purged was diuine, and of the nature of Godhed, who can abyde so fowle an error: But Oslander thinketh that with this so childishe a cauillation he hath gotten all thinges, he swelleth, he leapeth for ioye, and stuffeth many leaues full with his bigge wordes: when yet there is a plaine and redy solutiō for it in saying that the worde Jehoua in dede when he is made the issue of Dauid shalbe the righteousness of ꝑ godly: But Esaiē teacheth in what sense, saying: My iust seruant shal with knowledge of him selfe iustifie many. Let vs note that the father speaketh: that he geueth to ꝑ sonne the office of iustificyng: he addeth a cause, for that he is iust, & setteth the manner or meane as they call it in the doctrine wherby Christe is knowen. For it is a more comodious exposition to take this worde Dauid knowledge passiuely. Hereupon I gather first that Christe was made righteousness when he did putte on the fourme of a seruant: secondely that hee dyd iustifie vs in respect that hee shewed hym selfe obedient to his father: and that therefore hee dothe not this for vs according to his nature of Godhed, but according to the office of dispensation comitted vnto him. For although God alone is ꝑ fountaine of righteousness, and we be made righteous by no other meane but by the partaking of him: yet because we are by vnhappy disagreement estranged fro his righteousness, we must nedes come down to this lower remedy, that Christ may iustifie vs with ꝑ force of his death & resurrectiō.

If he obiect ꝑ this is a worke of such excellency, ꝑ it is aboue ꝑ nature of man, & therefore can not be ascribed but to ꝑ nature of God, ꝑ first I graunt: but in the secōd I say ꝑ he is vnwisely deceiued. For although Christ could neither clese our soules with his blood, nor appease his father with his sacrifice, nor acquite vs from gyltinesse, nor doe the office of prest, vnlesse he had ben true God, because the strength of the flesh had ben to weake for so great a burden: yet it is certain that he performed all these thinges according to his nature of māhod. For if it be demanded how we be iustified, Paul answereth, by ꝑ obediēce of Christ. But did he any otherwise obey than by taking vpon him the shape of a seruant: wherupon we gather that righteousness was geue vs in his flesh. Likewise in the other wordes (whiche I maruell that Oslander is not ashamed to allege so often) he apoynteth the fountayne of ryghteousnesse no where els but in the flesh of Christe. Hym that knewe no sinne he made synne for vs, that we myght be the ryghteousnesse of God in hym. Oslander with full mouth aduanceth the righteousness of God, and triumpheth as though he had proued that it is his imaginative ghost of essentiall righteousness: when ꝑ wordes sound far otherwise, ꝑ we be righteous by ꝑ cleansing made by Christ. Very yong beginners shold not haue bene ignorant that the righteousness of God is taken for the righteousness that God alloweth, as in John, where the glorie of God is compared with the glorie of men. I knowe that sometime it is called the righteousness of God, wherof God is the author & which God geueth vs: but though I say nothing, the reders ꝑ haue their sound wit doe perceiue ꝑ nothing els is meant in this place.

but

Act. 17.

Esai. 53.

Rom. 8.

John. 1.



but that we stande byright before the iudgement seate of God, beinge byholder by the cleansing sacrifice of Christes death. And there is not so great importance in the word, so that Osiander do agree with vs in this point that we are iustified in Christ, in this respect y he was made a propiciatorie sacrifice for vs, whiche can not agree with his nature of Godhed. After whiche sort, when Christe meaneth to seale the righteousnesse and saluatio that he hath brought vs, he setteth before vs an assured pledge therof in his fleshe. He doth in dede call him selfe the lyuely bred, but expressing the manner here; he addeth that his fleshe is verely meate, & his bloud is verely drinke. Whiche manner of teaching is sene in the Sacramentes, whiche although they direct our faith to whole Christ, and not to halfe Christ, yet they do there withall teache that the matter of righteousnesse and saluation remaineth in his flesh: Not that in that that he is only man, he either iustifieth or quickeneth of him selfe, but because it pleased God to shewe openly in the mediatur that whiche was hidden and incomprehensible in him selfe, wherupon I am wont to saye, that Christ is as it were a fountaine set open for vs, out of whiche we may drawe that whiche otherwyse hold without fruite lye hidde in that close and depe spring that riseth by vnto vs in the persone of the Mediatour. In this manner and meaning, I doe not denye that Christe as he is God and man doth iustifie vs, and that this is also the worke of the father and the holy Ghost as well as his. Finally, that the righteousnesse wherof Christ maketh vs partakers, is the eternall righreousnesse of the eternall God, so that he yeide to the sure and playne reasons that I haue alleaged.

10 Nowe that he should not with his cauillations deceiue the vnskillfull, I graunt that we want this incomparable benefit, tyll Christe be made ours. Therfore we set that conioyning of the head and the members, the dwelling of Christ in our heartes, and that mysticall vniou, in the hiest degree: that Christ being made ours, may make vs partakers of the gites wherwith he is endued. Therfore we do not beholde hym a far of out of our selues, that righteousnesse may be imputed vnto vs, but because we haue put on him, & are grafted into his body: finally because he hath vouchsaued to make vs one with him, therfore we gloze that we haue a felowship of righteousnesse with him. So is Osianders sleanderous cauillation cofuted, where he saith y we compt faith righteousnesse, as though we spoiled Christ of his right, whē we saye y we come by faith empty to him, to geue rōme to his grace, y he only maye fill vs. But Osiander refusing this spiritual conioyning, enforceth a grosse mingling with the faithful, & therfore he odiously calleth all the Zuinglians that subscribe not to his fantastical error, concerning essentiall righteousnesse: because they do not thinke y Christ is substācially eaten in the Lordes supper. As for me, I compt it a great glorie to bee so reproched of a proude mā & geuen to his own errors. Albeit he toucheth not me only, but also other wyters wel knownen to the worlde, whome he ought to haue modestly reuerenced. It moueth me nothing, whiche meddle not with mine owne priuate cause: and so muche the more sincerely I handle this cause, being free from all corrupt affection. Where as therefore he so importunately requyrceth essentiall ryghteousnesse, and thee essentiall dwellinge of Christe in vs, it tendeth to thys end,



ende: first that God should with a grosse mixture poure him selfe into vs, as he sayneth a fleshely eatynge of Christ in the supper: secondlye that God should breathe his ryghteousnesse into vs, wherby we maye be really righteous with him: for by his opinion, this righteousnesse is as well God hym selfe, as the goodnesse or holinesse, or purenesse of God. I wyll not spende muche labour in wypping away the testimonies that he bryngeth, whiche he wrongfully wresteth from the heauenlye lyfe to this present state. Through Christ (sayeth Peter) are geuen vs the precious and moste great promyses, that we shoulde be made partakers of the nature of God: As though we weare nowe suche as the Gospell promysed that we shalbe at the last comming of Christe: yea John telleth vs, that we shall then see God as he is, because we shalbe lyke vnto hym. Only I thought good to geue a small taste to the readers, that I doe of purpose passe ouer these trifles: not for that it is harde to confute them, but because I wyll not be tedious in a superfluous worke.

But in the seconde point lurketh more poyson, where he teacheth that we are righteous together with God. I thynke I haue alreedy sufficiently proued, that although this doctrine were not so pestilent, yea because it is colde and scutelesse, and of it selfe so bayne that it melteth away, it ought worthely to be vnsauorie to sounde and godly Readers. But this is an intolerable wickednesse, vnder pretense of double rightuousnesse, to enfeble the earnest assuraunce of saluatio, and to cary vs aboute the cloudes, that we shold not embrace by faith the grace of propitiacion, & cal vpon God with quiet myndes. Orlander scorneth them, that teach that this worde Iustifying is a lawe terme: because, we must be ryghteous in dede. And he abhorreth nothing more thā to say, that we be iustified by free imputation. But, if God do not iustifie vs by acquiting and pardoning, what meaneth that saying of Paul, God was in Christe reconciling the worlde to hym selfe, not imputynge to men their synnes. For, hym that had done no synne, he made synne for vs, that we might be the rightuousnesse of God in him. First I wyll thus muche, that they be iudged righteous that be reconciled to God. The manner howe is declared, for that God iustifieth by forgyng: as in an other place iustification is set as contrary to accusatio, which comparing of them as contraries, doth clerely shewe that it is a phrase borrowed from the vse of the lawe. And there is no man beyng but meanely practised in the Hebrewe tongue, if he haue a sober brayne, that is ignoraunt that this phrase came from thence, and wherunto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Nowe where Paul sayeth that Dauid described the ryghteousnesse without workes; in these wordes, Blessed are they whose synnes are forgyen: Let Orlander aunswere me whether this be a full definition or but halfe a one. Cruely Paul bryngeth not in the Prophet for a witness, as though he taught y forgyuenesse of synnes is but a part of righteousnes, or a thing y ioyneth with other to the iustifying of man: But he includeth whole ryghtuousnesse in free forgyuenesse, pronoucing y man blessed, whose synnes are couered, to whom God hath forgyen iniquities, & to whom he imputeteh no transgressions: He doth measure & iudge suche a mans felicitie thereby, because he is not this way righteous in dede, but by imputatio. Orlander taketh



Of the manner howe to receiue

Take th exception and saith, that this should be sclaunderous to God, and contrary to his nature, if he should iustifie them that in deede remaine still wicked. But we must remember, as I haue already sayde, that the grace of iustifying is not seuered from regeneration, although they be seuerall thynges. But because it is more than sufficiently known by experience, that there abide alwayes in the righteous some remanentes of sinne, it must nedes be that they be farre otherwoyse iustified than they be reformed into newnesse of lyfe. For this later point of reformation, God so beginneth in his elect, and throughout the whole course of their life, by litle and litle, and sometime slowly procedeth in it, that they be alway before his seate in danger of the iudgemēt of death. But he iustifieth them, not by partmeale, but so that they may freely, as clothed with the purenesse of Christ, appere in heauen. For no portion of righteousnesse could appease our consciences, tyll they be satisfied & God is fully pleased with vs, because we be righteous in his sight without exception. Whereupon foloweth, that the doctrine of iustification is misturned, yea ouerturned from the very foundation, when doubtinge is cast into mens myndes, when the affiance of saluatiō is shaken, when the free and dreadlesse inuocation is hindered, yea when quiet and tranquillitie with spirituall ioye is not stablyshed. Whereupon Paul gathereth an argument by contraries, to proue, that the inheritance is not by the lawe. For by this meane faith should be made boide, whiche if it haue respect to workes, is ouerthrowen, because none of the moste holy shall therein finde wherupon to trust. This differēce of iustifying and regeneratying (whiche two thinges Olyander confoundinge together; calleth two sortes of righteousnesse) is very wel expressed by Paul: for speaking of his reall righteousnesse in dede, or of the bprightnesse wherwith he was endued (whiche Olyander nameth essentiall righteousnes) he lamentably crieth out: Wretche that I am: who shall deliuer me from the body of this death. But fleing to the righteousnesse whiche is grounded vpon the only mercie of God, he gloriously triumpheth over both life, death, reproches, hunger, sword, and all aduersities. Whoe shall accuse the electes of God whome he iustifieth: for I am surely persuaded, that nothing shall seuer vs from his loue in Christ. He plainly publisheth, that he hath the righteousnesse whiche alone fully sufficeth to saluation before God, so that the wretched bondage whiche he knowyng to be in him selfe, did a litle before beuayle his estate, may not monish nor any way hinder his boldnesse to glorie. This diuersitie is sufficiently known, and so familiar to al the holy ones, that grone vnder the burden of iniquities, & yet with victorious confidence, do mount by aboue all feares. As for this that Olyander obiecteth, that it disagreeeth with the nature of God, it falleth vpon him selfe. For although he clotheth the holy ones with a double rightuousnesse as it were with a furred garment, yet he is compelled to confesse that without forgiveness of synnes they neuer pleased God. If that be true, then at least let him graunt, & they which are not righteous in dede, are accompted righteous according to the apointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But howe far shall a sinner extend this free acceptation that is put in place of ryghteousnesse: shall he measure it by the pounce or by the ounce: Cruely he shall hang doubtfull and waueryng to this side and

that

ala. iiii.  
iii.

lom. viii.  
iii.

lom. viii.  
iii.



that side, because he may not take vnto him so much righteousnesse as shalbe necessarie to stablish confidence. It is happy that he that would binde God to a law, is not iudge of this cause. But this shal stāde stedfast, that thou mayest be iustified in thy sayenges and ouercome when thou art iudged. But howe great pzelumption is it to condemne the chiefe iudge when he freely acquiteth, that this answer maye not be in force, I will haue mercie vpon whom I wil haue mercie. And yet the intercession of Moses which God did put to silence with this sayeng, tended not to this ende that he should spare none, but that he would acquite altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guilty of offense. And we do say that they whiche were losse haue their sinnes buried and so are iustified befoze God: because, as God hateth sinne, so he can loue none but them whome he iustifieth. But this is a maruellous manner of iustifieng, that they beyng couered with the righteousnesse of Christ stand not in feare of the iudgement which they haue deserued, and when they worthily condemne themselues are accompted righteous without themselues.

But the readers are to be warned, that they take good heede to the misterie whiche he braggeth that he wil not hide from them. For after that he hath longe and largely trauailed to proue that we do not obtaine fauour with God by the only imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ, because this should bee impossible for him to compte them for righteous that are not righteous, (I vse his owne wordes) at length he concludeth that Christ was geuen vs vnto righteousnesse, not in respect of his nature of manhood but of his nature of Godhed: and that although this righteousnesse can not be found but in the person of the Mediatour, yet it is the righteousnesse not of mā but of God. He doth now bynde vp his rope made of two righteousneses, but he plainly taketh away the office of iustifieng from Christes nature of māhode. But it is good to see how he disagreeeth. It is sayd in the same place, that Christ was made vnto wisdom, which belōgeth to none but to the eternal word. Therfoze Christ in that he is man is not wisdom. I answer that the only begotten sonne of God was in deede his eternal wisdom, but in Paules writings that name is geuen him in diuerse wise, because al the treasures of wisdom & knowlege are laied vp in him. That therfoze which he had with his father, he disclosed vnto vs: & so that which Paule sayth is not referred vnto the essence of the sonne of God, but to our vse, and is rightly applied to Christes nature of manhode: because although he shined a light in darkenesse, befoze that he did put on fleshe, yet it was a hidden light till the same Christ came forth in the nature of man, the shynng sunne of righteousness, which therfoze calleth himself the light of the world. Also it is foolishly objected of him, p̄ the power of iustifieng is far aboue bothe Angeles & men: for asmuch as this hangeth not vpon the worthinesse of any creature, but vpon the ordinance of God. If Angels will take vpon thē to satisfie God, they can nothyng preuaile, because they are not appointed therunto. But this singularly belonged to Christ being man, which was made subiect to the lawe, to redeme vs frō the curse of the law. Also he doth sleaundersouly cauil, p̄ they which denie that Christ is our righteousnesse accorpyng to his nature of Godhed, doe

psa. li. vi.

Exod. p̄t. ii.

12

Col. ii. iii.

Job. xlii. iij.

Sala. iij. iij.



leave but one part of Christ, & (which is worse) do make two gods, be-  
 cause although they confesse, y<sup>e</sup> God dwelleth in vs, yet they saye againe  
 that we are not righteous by the righteousnesse of God. For although  
 we call Christ the authoz of life, in respect that he suffred death to de-  
 stroye him that had the power of death, we do not by & by take awaye  
 that honoz from whole Christ as he was openly shewed God in the  
 flesh, but we only make a distinctio how the righteousnesse of God is  
 coueyed vnto vs, that we may enioy it. In which point Msiander hath  
 to fowly erred. Neither do we denie that that which is opely geue vs  
 in Christ, procedeth from the secret grace & power of God: & we strue  
 not agaynst this, that y<sup>e</sup> righteousnesse whiche Christ geueth vs is the  
 righteousnesse of God that procedeth from God: but we hold this sted-  
 fastly, that we haue righteousnesse & life in the death & resurrection of  
 Christ. I ouerpasse that heapyng together of places whereof he maye  
 wel be ashamed, wherewith he hath crediously cobzed y<sup>e</sup> readers, with-  
 out choise & without comon reason, to proue that whersocuer is made  
 mention of righteousnesse, there ought to be vnderstanded this essen-  
 tiall righteousnesse. As where Dauid calleth vpon the righteousnesse  
 of God to help him: wheras he doth the same aboue a hundzed times;  
 Msiander sticketh not to corrupt so many sentēces. And nothing stro-  
 ger is the other obiectio, that that is properly & rightly called righte-  
 ousnesse, whereby we be moued to do rightly, but that God only wor-  
 keth in vs both to will & to perfoyme. For we do also not denie, but that  
 God refozmeth vs with his Spirit vnto holinesse of life & righteous-  
 nesse: but we must first see whether he do this by himself and immedi-  
 atly, or by the hand of his Sonne, with whom he hath lefte al the sul-  
 nesse of his holy Spirit, that with his abundāt store he should supplie  
 y<sup>e</sup> neede of his mēbres. Moreouer although righteousnesse come vnto  
 vs out of the secret fountayne of the godhed, yet it foloweth not that  
 Christ which sanctified himself in y<sup>e</sup> flesh for our sakes, was righteous-  
 nesse vnto vs according to his nature of godhed. No lesse fond is that  
 which he sayth, y<sup>e</sup> Christ himself was righteous by y<sup>e</sup> righteousnesse of  
 God. Bicause vnlesse y<sup>e</sup> wil of his father had moued him, he could not  
 himself haue satisfied y<sup>e</sup> office comitted vnto him. For though we haue  
 in an other place sayd, y<sup>e</sup> al the deseruings of Christ himself do procede  
 fro the mere good will of God, yet that maketh nothing to that fanta-  
 stical thing, wherewith Msiander bewitcheth both his own and simple  
 mens eyes. For whoe would suffer a mā to gather this cōclusion, that  
 bicause God is the fountaine & beginning of our righteousnesse, ther-  
 fore we be essentially righteous, & the essence of Gods righteousnesse  
 dwelleth in vs? In redeminge the church (sayth Clare) God did put  
 on his righteousnesse as a harnesse: but dyd he so to spoyle Christ of  
 his armure which he had geuen him, to make him to be no perfect re-  
 demer? But the Prophet meante nothyng els but that God borrowed  
 nothing out of himselfe, nor was holpen by any ayde to redeme vs.  
 Which thing Paule bresly expressed in other wordes, sayeng that he  
 gaue vs saluatio to the shewyng of his righteousnesse. But this doth  
 not ouerthrowe that which he teacheth in an other place, that we are  
 righteous by the obediēce of one mā. finally whosoouer wappeth by  
 a double righteousnesse, that pooze soules maye not rest in the mere  
 only

Heb. 6.  
11.Philip. 1.  
11.1ho. 1. 11.  
11.Esa. 11.  
11.

Ro. 11. 11.

Ro. 6. 11.



only mercie of God, he dothe in a mockerie crowne Christ w thornes.

But for asmuch as a great part of me, imagineth righteousnesse to be made of faith & workes, let vs first shew this also, that the righteousnesse of fayth and workes doth so differ, that when the one is stablished, the other must needes be ouerthrowen. The Apostle sayth that he esteemed al thinges as dong, that he might winne Christ & finde in him the righteousnesse that is of God by faith, cōpting not his righteousnesse that which is by the law, but y<sup>e</sup> whiche is by the faith of Iesu Christ. you see that here is also a cōparison of cōtraries & that here is declared y<sup>e</sup> he which wil obtaine the righteousnesse of Christ, must forsake his owne righteousnesse. Therefore in an other place he sayth, y<sup>e</sup> this was the cause of fal to the Jewes, y<sup>e</sup> goyng about to stablish their owne righteousnesse, they were not subiect to y<sup>e</sup> righteousnesse of God. If in stablishyng our owne righteousnesse we take away the righteousnesse of God, therefore to obtaine Gods righteousnesse our owne must be utterly abolished. And he sheweth the same thyng, when he sayth, that our glozieng is not excluded by the law, but by faith. Wherupon foloweth that so long as there remaineth any righteousnesse of workes, how litle soeuer it be, there still remaineth to vs some matter to glozie vpon. Now if faith exclude al glozieng, then the righteousnesse of workes can no wise be coupled with the righteousnesse of faith. To this effect he speaketh so playnely in the.iiij. chapter to the Romanes, that he leaueth no roume for cauillations or Mistes: If (sayth he) Abraham was iustified by workes, he hath glozie. And immediatly he addeth: but he hath no glozie in the sight of God. It foloweth therefore that he was not iustified by workes. Then he byngeth an other argument by contraries, when reward is rendred to workes, that is done of det and not of grace. But righteousnesse is geuen to fayth accordyng to grace: Therefore it is not of the deseruinges of workes. Wherfoze farewell their dreame, that imagine a righteousnesse made of faith and workes mingled together.

The Sophisters thinke that they haue a suttle Miste, that make to themselves sport and pastime with wrestyng of Scripture and with bayne cauillations. for they expōd workes in that place to be those which men not yet regenerate doe only literally & by the endeuour of free will without the grace of Christ: and do saye that it belōgeth not to spiritual workes. So by their opinion a man is iustified bothe by faith and by workes, so that the workes be not his own, but the giftes of Christ and frutes of regeneration. For they saye that Paule spake so for none other cause, but to conuince the Jewes, trusting vpon their owne workes, that they dyd foolishly presume to clayme righteousnesse to themselves, sith the only Spirit of Christ doth geue it vs, and not any endeuour by our owne motion of nature. But they doe not marke y<sup>e</sup> in the cōparison of the righteousnesse of the law & the righteousnesse of the gospell, which Paule bringeth in in an other place, all workes are excluded with what title so euer they be adorned. For he teacheth that this is the righteousnesse of the law, y<sup>e</sup> he shuld obteyne saluation that hath perfozmed that whiche the law cōmaundeth: and that this is the righteousnesse of fayth, yf we beleue that Christ died and is risen againe, Hozeouer we shall herafter shewe in place fit for

13

Philip. iii.  
viii.

Ro. v. iii.

Rom. iii.  
xvii.

Ro. iii. 4.

14

Gal. iii. xi.



it, that sanctification & righteousnesse are seuerall benefites of Christ. Whereupon foloweth that the very spirituall woorkes come not into the accompt, when the power of iustifieng is ascribed to fayth. And where Paule denieth (as I ene now alleged) that Abraham had any thing wherupō to glozie befoze God, bicause he was not made righteous by woorkes: this ought not to be restrayned to the literall and outward kinde of vertues, or to the endeuour of free will. But although the life of the Patriarch Abraham were spirituall and in manner Angeliike, yet he had not sufficient deseruynges of woorkes to purchase him righteousnesse befoze God.

15 The Scholemen teach a litle moze grossly, that mingle their p̄p̄arations: but these do lesse infect the simple and vnskillfull with corrupt doctrine, vnder p̄tense of Spirit and grace hydyng the mercie of God whiche only is able to appease tremblyng consciences. But we confesse with Paul that the doers of the law are iustified befoze God: but bicause we are all far from the keping of the law, herupon we gather, that the woorkes which should most of al haue auailed to righteousness, do nothing help vs bicause we lacke them. As for the comon Papistes or Scholemen, they are in this point doubly deceiued: both bicause they cal faith an assurednesse of consciēce in loking for reward at the hand of God for deseruynges, and also bicause they expound the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteousness, but the holy ghost helpyng to the endeuour of holinesse. They reade in ȳ Apostle that he which cometh to God, muste first beleue that there is a God, & then that he is a render of reward to them that seke him. But they marke not, what is the manner of seking. And that they are deceyued in the name of grace, is plainely p̄oued by their owne writings. For Lombarde expoundeth, that iustification by Christ is geuen vs two wayes. First (sayth he) the death of Christ doth iustifie vs, when by it charitie is stirred vp in our heartes, by which we are made righteous. Secondly that by the same death sinne is destroyed, wher eby Satan helde vs captiue, so that now he hath not wheremy to condemne vs. You see how he considereth the grace of God principally in iustification, to be so far as we are directed to good woorkes by ȳ grace of the holy ghost. He would forsoth haue folowed the opinion of Augustine: but he foloweth him a far of, & goth far out of the waye frō rightly following him: bicause if Augustine haue spokē any thing plainly he darreneth it, if there be any thing in Augustine not very vnpure; he corrupteth it. The Scholemen haue stil strayed from worse to worse, till with hedlong fall at length they be rolled downe into a Pelagian error. And the very sentence of Augustine, or at least his manner of speakyng is not altogether to be receyued. For though he singularly well taketh from man all prayse of righteousness, and assigneth it wholly to ȳ grace of God, yet he referreth grace to sanctificatiō, wherby we are renewed into newnesse of life by the holy ghost.

16 But the Scripture, when it speaketh of the righteousness of faith, leadeth vs to a far other end, ȳ is to say, that turnyng away from the loking vpō our owne woorkes, we should only loke vnto the mercie of God and perfection of Christ. For it teacheth this order of iustificatiō, that first God vouchsauneth to embrace mā beyng a sinner w̄ his mere  
and

Heb. xi. vj.

Sent. lib. 3.  
dist. 15. ca.



and free goodnesse, consideryng nothing in him but miserie whereby he may be moued to mercie, for asmuch as he seeth him altogether naked & voide of good woorkes, fetchyng from himself the cause to do him good: then, that he moueth the sinner himself with feling of his goodnesse, which desperyng vpon his owne woorkes casteth all the summe of his saluation vpon Gods mercie. This is the felyng of fayth, by which felyng the sinner commeth into possession of his saluation, when he acknowlegeth by the doctrine of the Gospel that he is reconciled to God: that obteyning forgeuenesse of sinnes by meanes of the righteousnesse of Christ, he is iustified: and although he be regenerate by the Spirit of God, he thinketh vpon continuall righteousnesse layed by for him not in the good woorkes to which he applieth himself, but in y only righteousnesse of Christ. When these thinges shalbe euery one particularly weyed, they shal geue a perfect declaratiō of our sentēce. Albeit they might be better disposed in an other order than they are set forth. But it maketh litle mater, so that they hang together in such sort that we may haue the whole mater truely declared & surely proued.

Here it is good to remember the relation that we haue before sayd to be betwene faith and the Gospell: bycause it is sayd for this cause that faith iustificieth, for that it receueth & embraceth y righteousnesse offered in the gospel. And whereas it is sayd to be offered by the gospel, therby al cōsideratiō of woorkes is excluded. Which thing Paule declareth many times els where, but most plainly in two places. For, to the Romanes, comparing the lawe and the gospel together he sayth: the righteousnesse that is by the lawe is thus, the man y doth these thinges shal liue in them. But the righteousnesse that is of faith offereth saluation, if thou beleue in thy heart and confesse with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and that the father hath raysed him vp from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the lawe and the Gospel, that the lawe geueth righteousnesse to woorkes, and the Gospel geueth true righteousnesse without helpe of woorkes: It is a notable place, and that maye deliuer vs out of many harde doubtēs, yf we vnderstande that the same righteousnesse that is geuen vs by the Gospell is free from all conditions of the lawe. This is the reason, why he doth more than ones with great seming of contrarietie set the promise by way of opposition against the lawe, as if y inheritance be of the lawe, then is it not of the promise: & all the rest in the same chapter to the same effect. Cruely the lawe it selfe hath also her promises. Therefore there must needes be in the promises of y gospel, somthing different & diuerse frō the promises of the lawe, vnlesse we will confesse that the comparison is very sond. But what diuersitie shall this bee, vnlesse it be that they are freely geuen, and vpholden by the only mercie of God, whereas the promises of the lawe hange vpon the condition of woorkes. Neyther let any manne here carp agaynst me, and saye, that in this place the righteousnesse is reiected whiche menne of their owne force and freewill would compell God to receiue: for asmuch as Paule without exception teacheth that the lawe in cōmaunding profiteth nothing: because there is none not only of the cōmon multitude, but also of the perfectest that fulfilleth it. Loue vndoubtedly is the chefe point of the lawe: when the Spirit of God frameth vs vnto it, why is it not to vs a

17

Ro. p. u.

Sala. iiij.  
vii.

Ro. viij. b.



Of the manner how to receiue

cause of righteousnesse, but for that euen in the holy ones it is vnperfect, and therefore of it self deserueth no reward.

The second place is this. It is manifest that no man is iustified by the lawe before God: Bicause the righteous man shall liue by fayth, But the law is not of fayth; but the man that doth these thynges shall liue in them. Howe could this argument otherwise stande together, vnlesse we agree vpon this point, that workes come not into the account of fayth, but are vtterly to be seuered from it: The lawe (sayth he) differeth from fayth. Why so: bicause workes are required to the righteousnesse thereof. Therefore it foloweth that workes are not required to the righteousnesse of fayth. By this relation it appereth, that they which are iustified by fayth are iustified byside the deseruing of workes, yea without the deseruyng of workes, bycause fayth receiuet that righteousnesse which the Gospel geueth. And the gospel differeth from the law in this point, that it bindeth not righteousnesse to workes, but setteth it in the only mercy of God. Like herunto is that whiche he affirmeth to the Romanes, that Abraham had nothyng to glozie vpon, bycause fayth was imputed to him vnto righteousnesse, & he addeth a confirmation, bycause then there is place for the righteousnesse of fayth, when there are no workes to whiche a reward is due. Where bee workes (sayth he) due reward is rendred vnto them: that whiche is geuen to fayth is freely geuen. For the very meanning of y<sup>e</sup> wordes that he vseth in that place serue to proue the same. Whereas he adioyneth within a litle after, that therefore we obteyne y<sup>e</sup> inheritance by fayth as accorดยnge to grace, hereupon he gathereth that the inheritance is of free gift, bicause it is receyued by fayth; and how commeth that, but bicause fayth without any help of workes leaneth wholly vpon the mercie of God: And in the same meanning, without dout he teacheth in an other place, that the righteousnesse of God was openly shewed without the law, although it haue witnesse borne of it by the law & the Prophetes: bicause excludyng the lawe, he sayth that it is not holpen by workes, and that we obteyne it not by working, but come empty that we maye receiue it.

By this time the reader perceiueth w<sup>h</sup>at equitie the Sophisters do at this daye cauil at our doctrine, when we saye that man is iustified by fayth only. They dare not denie that man is iustified by fayth, bicause it is so often found in Scripture: but bicause this word, Only, is neuer expzessed, they can not abide to haue such an addition made. Is it so: But what will they answer to these wordes of Dauid, where he affirmeth that righteousnesse is not of fayth except it be freely geuen: Howe can free gift agree with workes: And w<sup>h</sup>at cauilations will they mocke out, that whiche he sayth in an other place, that the righteousnesse of God is manifestly shewed in the Gospell: If righteousnesse be manifestly shewed in the Gospell, surely therein is conteyned not a tozne or halfe righteousnesse but full and perfect. Therefore the lawe hath no place therein. And they stande vpon not only a false but also a foolish chifte about this exclusiue word, Only. Doth not he perfectly enough geue al things to only fayth, that taketh al thinges from workes: what, I praye you, meane these sayenges: that righteousnesse was manifestly shewed without the law: that ma



is iustified freely and without the woorkes of the law: Here they haue a witty Miste to escape withall, whiche although they deuised it not themselues but bozowed it of Origene & certaine of the old wryters, yet is very foolish. They prate that the ceremoniall woorkes of the law, not the mozal, are excluded. They profit so with continuall brawling, that they know not the very first rules of Logike. Do thei thinke that the Apostle doted when he alleged these places to proue his sayenge? The man that shal do these thynges shall liue in them: and, Cursed is euery one that fulfilleth not all thinges that are wrytten in the volume of the lawe. Unlesse they be mad, they will not saye that life was promised to the keepers of Ceremonies, or curse thzretened onely to the breakers of them. If these places be to bee vnderstanded of the mozall lawe, it is no doubtfe that the mozall woorkes also are excluded from the power of iustifieng. To the same purpose serue these argumentes that he vbleth: bycause the knowledge of sinne was by the lawe, therefore righteousnesse is not by the lawe. Bycause the lawe woorketh wrath, therefore it woorketh not righteousnesse. Bycause the lawe can not make conscience assured, therefore also it can not geue righteousnesse. Bycause sayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse, therefore righteousnesse is not a rewarde of woрке, but is geuen beyng not due. Bycause we are iustified by sayth, therefore gloryng is cut of. If there had ben a lawe geuen that might geue life, then righteousnesse were truely by the lawe: but God hath shut by all vnder sinne that the promise might be geuen to the beleuers. Let them nowe fondly saye yf they dare, that these thynges are spoken of ceremonies and not of manners: but very children would hisse out so great shamelesnesse. Therefore let vs hold this for certayne, that the whole lawe is spoken of, when the power of iustifieng is taken awaye from the lawe.

But if any manne maruell why the Apostle bled such an addition, not beyng content with only nampng of woorkes: the reason is ready to be shewed for it. For, although woorkes be so hiely esteemed, yet they haue that value by the allowance of God, rather than by their owne worthinesse. For whoe can booste vnto God of any righteousnesse of woorkes, but that which he hath allowed: Whoe dare clayme any rewarde as due vnto thē, but such as he hath promised? They haue therefore this of the bountifulnesse of God, that they are compted worthy both of the name and rewarde of righteousnesse: & they be of value only for this cause, when the purpose of him that doth them is by them to shew his obedience to God. Wherfore the Apostle in an other place, to proue that Abraham could not be iustified by woorkes, allegeth that the law was geuen, almost fower hundred and thirty yeres after the couenant made. Unlearned men would laugh at suche an argument, bicause there might be righteous woorkes before the publishyng of the law. But bicause he knew y there was no such value in woorkes but by y testimonie & vouchsauiug of God, therfore he taketh it as a thing cofessed that before y law thei had no power to iustifie. We vnderstand why he namely expresseth y woрке of the law, whē he meaneth to take awaye iustification frō any woorkes: bycause controuersie may be moued of those and none other, Albeit sometime he excepteth all woorkes

Gal. iij.

Ro. iij. ff  
E iij. v.Gala. iij  
ff.

20

Gala. iij  
vii.



Of the manner how to receiue

without any additiō, as when he sayth, that by the testimonie of Dauid blessednesse is assigned to that man, to whome the Lord imputeth righteousnesse without workes. Therfore they can with no cauillations byng to passe, but that we shall get this generall exclusiue, only. And they do in bayne seeke that triflyng sutteltie, that we are iustified by that only faith which worketh by loue, so that righteousnesse must stand vpon loue. We graunt in deede with Paule, that no other faith iustificieth, but that which is effectually working with charitie: but that faith taketh not her power of iustifying from that effectualnesse of charitie. yea it doth by no other meane iustifie, but because it byngeth vs into the communicatyng of the righteousnesse of Christ. Or els all that which the Apostle so earnestly presseth, should fall to nought. To him that worketh (sayth he) the reward is not reckened accordyng to grace, but accordyng to det. But to him that worketh not, but beleieth in him that iustificieth the vnrightheous, his sayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse. Could he speake moze euidently than in so sayeng: that there is no righteousnesse of faith but where there are no workes to which any reward is due: and that only then sayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse, when righteousnesse is geuen by grace that is not due.

21 Now let vs examine howe true that is, which is sayd in the definition, that the righteousnesse of sayth is the reconciliation with God, which consisteth vpon the only forgiuenesse of sinnes. We muste alwaye returne to this principle, that the wrath of God resteth vpon all men, so long as they continue to be sinners. That hath Clave excellently well set out in these wordes: The had of the Lord is not shortened, that he is not able to saue: nor his eare dulled that he can not heare: but your iniquities haue made disagreement betwene you and your God, and your sinnes haue hidden his face from you that he heareth you not. We heare that sinne is the diuision betwene man and God, and the turnyng awaye of Gods face from the sinner. Neyther can it otherwise be. For it is disagreeyng fro his righteousnesse to haue any fellowship with sinne. wherfore the Apostle teacheth that manne is enemye to God till he be restozed into fauour by Christ. whome therfore the Lord receyueth into ioyning with him, him he is sayd to iustifie: bycause he can neyther receyue him into fauour nor ioyne him with himselfe, but he muste of a sinner make him righteous. And we further say, that this is done by the forgiuenesse of sinnes. For if they whome the Lord hath recōiled to himselfe be iudged by their workes, they shall be found still sinners in deede, whoe yet must be free & cleane from sinne. It is certayne therfore that they whom God embraceth, are no otherwise made righteous, but because they are cleansed by hauing the spottes of there sinnes wiped awaye by forgiuenesse, that such a righteousnesse maye in one worde be called the forgiuenesse of sinnes.

22 Both these are most clerely to be seene by these wordes of Paule, which I haue already alleged: God was in Christ reconcilyng the world to himselfe, not imputyng their sinnes to man, and he hath left with vs the word of reconciliation. And then he addeth the summe of his message, that him which knew no sinne he made sinne for vs, that we



We might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. Here he nameth righteousnesse and reconciliation without difference, that we maye perceyue that the one is mutually conteyned vnder the other. And he reacheth the manner to arteyne this righteousnesse to be when our sinnes are not imputed vnto vs. Wherefoze doubt thou not hereafter howe God doth iustifie vs, when thou hearest that he doth reconcile vs to himself by not imputyng sinnes. So to the Romanes he pro- ueth by the testimonie of Dauid, that righteousnesse is imputed to mā without woorkes, bycause Dauid pronounceth the man blessed whose iniquities are forgivenen, whose sinnes are couered, to whom the lord hath not imputed his offenses. Without doubt by blessednesse he there meaneth righteousnesse. And sicke he affirmeth the same to stande in the forgivenesse of sinnes, there is no cause why we shuld otherwise define it. Therefore Zacharie the father of John the Baptist singeth that the knowlege of saluatiō consisteth in the forgivenesse of sinnes. Whiche rule Paule folowynge in his Sermon whiche he made to the Antiochians concernyng the lumme of saluation, as Luke reponeth it, concluded in this māner: by him forgivenesse of sinnes is preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from all these thinges, from whiche ye could not be iustified in the lawe of Moyses. The Apostle so knitteth þe forgivenesse of sinnes with righteousnesse, that he sheweth that they be bothe all one. Whereupon he rightfully reasoneth that the righteousnesse is freely geuen vnto vs, whiche we obtaine by the louyng kindenesse of God. Neyther ought it to seme a strange vniused speache, that the faithfull are righteous befoze God, not by woorkes, but by free acceptation: sicke bothe it is so oft found in the Scripture, and the old authours also do sometime so speake. For Augustine sayth thus in one place: The righteousnesse of the saintes in this worlde standeth rather in forgivenesse of sinnes, than in perfection of vertues. Wherewith agree the notable sentences of Bernard: Not to sinne is the righteousnesse of God: but the righteousnesse of man, is the merciful kindenesse of God. He had befoze affirmed that Christ is to vs righteous: eise in absolution, and therefore that they only are righteous that haue obteyned pardon by mercie.

Hereupon also foloweth this, that by the only meane of Christes righteousnesse, we obtaine to be iustified befoze God. Which is as much in effect as yf it were sayd, that man is not righteous in himselfe, but bycause the righteousnesse of Christ is by imputation enterpartened with him, whiche thyng is worthy to be heedefully marked. For that trifling error vanisher away, to saye that man is therefore iustified by faith, bicause sayth taketh part of the Spirit of God by whiche he is made righteous, which is so cōtrarie to the doctrine aboue taught, that they can neuer be made to agree together. For it is no doubt that he is voyde of his owne righteousnesse, that is taught to seke righteousnesse without himselfe. This the Apostle affirmeth moste plainly when he writeth that he which knew no sinne was made for vs a propitiatorie sacrifice to cleanse away sinne, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. You see that our righteousnesse is not in vs but in Christ, and that it belongeth to vs only by this title, bicause we be partakers of Christ, bicause we possesse all his richesse with

Ro. iii.

Luc. i.  
lxxvii.Act. xiii.  
xxviii.De ciuit.  
dei. ca.Serm. 23  
cañt.

Serm. 2

23

ii. Cor.  
v.



him. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie, that in an other place he teacheth, that sinne was condēned of sinne in the flesh of Christ, that the righteousnesse of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs: where he meaneth no other fulfilling, but that whiche we obteyne by imputation. For the Lord Christ doth in such sort communicate his righteousnesse with vs, that after a certayne maruelous māner, he poureth the force therof into vs, so much as pertaineth to the iudgement of God. It appereth that he did no other wise meane, by the other sentence which he had spoken a litle befoze: As by the disobedience of one man we weare made sinners, so by the obedience of one man we are iustified. What is it els to set our righteousnesse in the obedience of Christ, but to affirme that hereby only we are accompted righteous, because the obedience of Christ is imputed vnto vs as if it were our owne? Therefore me thinkes that Ambrose hath excellently well shewed how there is an example of this righteousnesse in the blessing of Jacob. For as Jacob hauing not of himself deserued the pzeeminencie of the first begotten soune, hid himself in the apparell of his brother, a beyng clothed with his brothers cote that sauored of a most swete smell, he crept into the fauour of his father, and receiued the blessing to his owne comoditie vnder the persone of an other: so we doe lie hidden vnder the pzeious purenesse of Christ our eider brother: that we may get a testimonie of righteousnesse in the sight of God. The wordes of Ambrose are these: Whereas Isaac smelt the sauour of the garmentes, paraduēture this is meant thereby, that we are not iustified by workes but by faith: because fleshly weakenesse hindereth workes, but þ brightnesse of faith whiche meriteth forgiuenesse of sinnes; ouer shadoweth the error of deedes. And truely so it is. for, that we may appere befoze the face of God vnto saluation, it is necessarie for vs, to smel swetely with his odour, & to haue our faultes couered and barred with his perfection.

The. xii. Chapter.

That, to the end we may be fully perswaded of the free iustification, we muste like by our mindes to the iudgement seate of God.



Although it appereth by most euident testimonies, that all these thinges are true, yet we shall not clearly perceiue how necessarie they be, vntill we haue set befoze our eyes those thinges that ought to be the groundes of all this disputation. First therfoze let vs remēber this, that we purpose not to speake of the righteousnesse of a worldly iudicial court, but of the heauenly iudgement seate: that we should not measure by our owne small portion, by what brightness of workes Gods iudgemēt maye be satisfied. But it is maruelous to see with what rashnesse and boldnesse it is commonly debated. yea and it is to be seen howe none doe more boldely or with fuller mouthes (as the sayeng is) prate of the righteousnesse of workes, than they that are either monstruously sicke of open outwarde diseases, or bee ready to burste with inward vices. That commeth to passe because they thinke not vpon the righteousnesse of God, wherof if they had neuer so litle selyng, they wold neuer make so grea te a mockerie of it. And truely it is out of measure lightly regarded, whē it is not acknowledged to be such and so perfect that



that nothyng be imputed vnto it but euery waye whole and absolute, and defiled with no vncleannesse: suche as neuer was and neuer shal be able to be found in man. It is in deede easy and redy for euery man in Scholes to talke baynely vpon the worthynesse of workes to iustifie men. But when they come into the sight of God, such dalliances must auoide, bicause there is earnest doyng bled, and no trifyng strife about wordes. To this, to this I saye, we must apply our minde, if we will profitably enquire of true righteousnesse, how we maye answer the heauenly iudge when he calleth vs to accompt. Let vs thinke him him to be a iudge, not such a one as our owne vnderstandinges do of themselues imagine: but such a one as he is painted out in the Scripture, with whose brightnesse the starres shalbe darkened, by whose strength the hilles do melt away, by whose wrath the earth is wakē, by whose wisdom the wise are takē in their sutteltie, by whose purenesse all thinges are proued vnpure, whose righteousnesse the Angels are not able to beare, whiche maketh the innocent not innocent, whose vengeance when it is ones kindled pearceth to the bottome of hel. If he (I saye) sit to examine mens doynges, whoe shal appere assured befoze his thzone: whoe shal dwell with a deuouryng tier: sayth the Prophet. Whoe shal abide with continuall burninges: he that walketh in righteousnesse & speaketh truth, &c. But let suche a one come forth, what so euer he be. But that answer maketh, that none cometh forth. For this terrible sayeng soundeth, to the cōtrarie: Lord if thou marke iniquities, Lord, who shal abide it: truely all must needes immediatly perish, as it is writtē in an other place: Shall man be iustified if he be compared with God, or shal he be purer than his maker: Beholde they that serue him are not saythfull, and he hath found peruersnesse in his Angels. How much moze shal they y dwell in houses of claye, & that haue an earthly foundation, be consumed with mothes: they shalbe cut downe from the mozyng to the euenyng. Beholde among his Saintes there is none saythfull, and the heauens are not cleane in his sight: how much moze is man abhominable and vnprofitable, whiche drinketh iniquitie as water: I graunt in deede that in the booke of Job, is mention made of a righteousnesse that is hyper than the keepyng of the lawe. And it is good to vnderstande this distinction: bicause although a manne did satisfie the lawe, yet he could not so stand to the triall of that righteousnesse that passeth all senses. Therefore although Job be cleare in his owne conscience, yet he is amazed, and not able to speake, bicause he seeth that very angelike holinesse can not appease God, if he exactly weye their workes. But I therfoze wil at this time ouerpasse that righteousnesse which I haue spoken of, bicause it is incomprehensible: but only this I saye, that yf our life be examined by the rule of the wrytten lawe, we are moze than senselesse if so many curses wherewith the Lorde hath willed vs to be awaked do not torment vs with horrible feare, and among other this general curse, Cursed is euery one that doth not abide in al y thinges that are wrytten in this boke. Finally al this discourse shalbe but vn-  
sauozie and colde, vnlesse euery mā yelde himselfe guilty befoze the heauenly iudge, and willingly thzowe downe and abace himselfe, beyng carefull how he may be acquitted.

Esa. lxxix.

Iob. viii.

Iob. vi.

Deu. xxi.



Of the manner how to receive

2

To this, to this I say, we should haue lifted by our eyes, to learne rather to tremble for feare, than bairnely to reioyse. It is in deede easy, so long as the cōparison extendeth no further than men, for euey mā to thinke himself to haue somewhat which other ought not to despise. But when we rise by to haue respect vnto God, then sodenly that cōfidence falleth to the ground and commeth to nought. And in the same case altogether is our soule in respect of God, as mans body is in respect of the heauen. For the sight of the eye, so long as it cōtinueth in bewyng things that lie nere vnto it, doth shew of what pearcing force it is, but if it be ones directed by to the sunne, then byyng daseled and dulled with the to great brightnesse therof, it feleth no lesse feblenesse of it self in beholding of the sunne, than it perceiued strength in beholding inferiour thinges. Therfore let vs not deceyue our selues with bayne confidence, although we compt our selues cyther egal or superiour to other menne: but that is nothyng to God, by whose will this knowlege is to be tried. But if our wildenesse can not be tamed with these admonitions, he will answer to vs as he sayd to the Pharisees: you be they that iustifie your selues befoze men: but that which is hie to men is abhominable to God. Now goe thy way and proudeyly booste of thy righteousnesse among men, while God from heauen abhorreth it. But what say the seruantes of God that are truely instructed with his Spirit? Entre not into iudgement with thy seruant, by cause euey liuing mā shal not be iustified in thy sight. An other sayth, although in somewhat diuerse meanyng. Man can not be righteous with God: if he will contende with him, he shal not be able to answer one for a thousand. Here we nowe playnely heare what is the righteousnesse of God, euen such as can be satisfied with no workes of men, to whom when it examineth vs of a thousand offenses, we can not purge our selues of one. Such a righteousnesse had that same chosen instrumēt of God Paule conceyued, when he professed that he knewe himselfe guilty in nothyng, but that he was not thereby iustified.

3

And not only such examples are in the holy Scriptures, but also all godly wryters do shewe that they were alwaye of this minde. So Augustyne sayth. All the godly that grone vnder this burden of corruptible flesh, and in this weakenesse of life, haue this only hope that we haue one mediatur Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the appeasement for our sinnes. What sayth he? If this be their only hope, where is the confidence of workes? for whē he calleth it only, he leaueeth none other. And Bernard sayth. And in deede where is safe and stedfast rest and assurednesse for the weake, but in the woundes of the Sauour: and so much the surer I dwell therein as he is mightier to saue. The world rageth, the body burdeneth, the deuell lieth in waite. I fall not, because I am bulded vpon the sure rocke. I haue sinned a greuous sinne my conscience is troubled, but it shal not be ouertrobled, because I shall remember the woundes of the Lord. And hereupon afterward he concludeth. Therefore my merite is the Lordes takyng of mercie, I am not bitterly without merite, so longe as he is not without mercies. But if the mercies of the Lord be many, then I also haue as many merites. Shal I sing mine owne righteousnesse? Lord I will remember only thy righteousnesse. For that is also my

righte

Luc. xvi.  
v.

1. Tim. iii. ii.

Job. ix.  
iiij.

1. Cor. iii.  
iiij.

1. ad Bonifa.  
lib. 3. ca. 5.

uper cat.  
rom. 61.

in psal. qui  
habitabit scru-  
150. 15.



righteousnesse, for he is made vnto me righteousnesse of God. Againe in an other place. This is the whole merite of man, if he put his whole hope in him that saueth whole man. Likewise whete reteyning peace to him self he leaueth y<sup>e</sup> glozie to God. To thee (sayth he) let glozie remaine vnto God: it shalbe well with me, if I haue peace. I forswere glozie altogether, least if I wrongfully take vpon me y<sup>e</sup> which is not mine owne, I lose also that which is offered me. And moze plainely in an other place he sayth: Why should the church be careful of merites, which hath a surer and safer waye to glory vpon the purpose of God? So there is no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites we hope for good things, specially when thou hearest in the Prophet, I will doe it, not for your sakes, but for myne owne sake, sayth the Lord. It sufficeth for merite, to know that merites suffice not. But as it sufficeth for merit not to presume of merites, so to bee without merites sufficeth to iudgement. Whereas he freely bleseth this word Merites for good woorkes, we must therein beare with the custome. But in the end his purpose was to make Hypocrites afrayde, that wildly range with licentiousnesse of sinnynge agaynst the grace of God. As afterward he expoundeth himself, sayeng: Happy is the Church that neyther wanteth merites without presumption, nor presumption without merites. It hath wherupon to presume, but not merites. It hath merites, but to deserue not to presume. Is not the very not presuming a deseruyng? Therfoze it presumeth so much the moze boldly, bicause it presumeth not, hauyng large matter to glozie vpon, euen the many mercies of the Lord.

This is the truth. The exercised consciences perceyue this to be the only sanctuarie of safetie, wherein they may safely rest themselues when they haue to do with the iudgement of God. For if the Starres that semed moste bright in the night season, doe loose their brightnesse with sight of the sunne, what thinke we shal become eu<sup>e</sup> of the rarest innocencie of man, when it shalbe copared with the purenesse of God? For that shalbe a most seuerer examination, that shal pearce into the most hidden thoughtes of the heart, and (as Paule sayth) shal reuele the secretes of darknesse, and disclose the hidden things of the heart, which shal compell the lurking and vnwillyng conscience to viter al thinges that now are fallen out of remembrance. The Deuell our accuser will presse vs, which is priuie to all the wicked deedes that he hath moued vs to doe. There the outward pompous shewes of good woorkes which now only are esteemed, shal nothing profit vs. Only the purenesse of will shalbe required. Wherfoze the Hypocritie, not only wherby euery mā knowyng himself guilty befoze God desireth to voste himself befoze men, but also wherwith euery man deceiueth himselfe befoze God (as we be al inclined to stroke & flatter our selues) shal fall downe confounded, howsoeuer it now be proude with moze than drunken boldnesse. They y<sup>e</sup> bend not their wit to such a sight, maye in deede for a short time sweetely & pleasantly frame a righteousnesse to themselues, but it is such a righteousnesse as shalbe by & by taken awaye fro them at the iudgement of God: like as great riches heaped vp in a dreame do vanish away fro men when they awake. But they that shal earnestly as it were in the sight of God, enquire of the true rule of

In cant. / mo. 13.

Ecc. 11 / 17.

4

i. Cor. 11 / u.

righte-



righteousnesse, shal certainly finde that al the woꝝkes of mē, if they be iudged by their owne woꝝthinnesse, are nothing but defilinges & filthinesse: that y<sup>e</sup> which amōg the cōmon people is accōpted righteousnesse, is befoze God mere wickednesse: that that whiche is iudged puritie, is vnclennesse: that that whiche is rekerened glozie, is but shame.

5 From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not greue vs to descend to loke vpon our selues without flatterie oz blinde affectiō of loue. For it is no maruel if we be al so blinde in this behalf, for asmuch as none of vs doth beware of the pestilent tenderesse toward himself, which (as y<sup>e</sup> Scripture crieth out) naturally sticketh fast in vs all. To euery man (sayth Salomon) his owne way is right in his own eyes. Againe. All the wayes of mā seme cleane in his owne eyes. But what? Is he acquitted by this blindness? No. But (as he further sayth in the same place) the loꝝd weyeth y<sup>e</sup> heartes, that is to say, while man flattereth himself by reason of the outward visōze of righteousnesse that he beareth in resemblance, in y<sup>e</sup> meane time the loꝝd with his balāce examineth y<sup>e</sup> hidden vnclennesse of the heart. Therfoze sith we so nothing profit with such flatteries, let vs not wilfully mocke our selues to our owne destructiō. But that we may trie our selues rightly, we must necessarily cal back our cōscience to the iudgement seate of God. For we do altogether neede his light to disclose y<sup>e</sup> secret foldinges of our perversnesse, which otherwise lie to depely hidden. For then, and neuer til then, we shal clerely perceiue what is meant hereby: that man beyng rottennesse & a woꝝme, abhominable & vaine, which drinketh wickednesse as water is far from being iustificed befoze God. For whoe shuld make y<sup>e</sup> cleane that is cōceiued of vnclane seede: not one mā. The shal we also finde y<sup>e</sup> by experience, which Job sayd of himself: If I wil goe about to shew my self innocent, mine own mouth shal condēne me: if I will shewe my selfe righteous, it wil proue me wicked. For that is not meant of one age only, but of al ages, whiche the Prophet in old time complayned of Israel, that all went astraye like shepe, that euery one turned aside to his owne way. For he there cōprehendeth all them, to whom the grace of redemption should come. And the rigorosnesse of this examinatio ought to procede so far, till it subdue vs, so that we be fully thzowen downe withall, and by that meane prepare vs to receiue the grace of Christ. For he is deceyued that thinketh himselfe able to receyue the enioyng of this grace, vntill he haue first thzowē downe all hatwinesse of minde. This is a known sayeng: that God confoundeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble.

6 But what way is there to humble our selues, but that we beyng al together needy & empty, should geue place to the mercie of God? For I do not call it humblenesse, if we thinke that we haue any thing remayning with vs. And hether to they haue taught a very hurteful hypocrisie, that haue ioyned these two thinges together, that we muste thinke humbly of our selues befoze God, and that we must make some accōpt of our owne righteousnesse. For if we confesse to God contrarie to our owne thinking, we do wickedly lie vnto him: but we can not thinke as we ought, but that by and by all that semeth glorious in vs must be troden vnder foote. Therfoze whē thou hearest in y<sup>e</sup> Prophet, that there is prepared saluation for the humble people, and abarimēt



for the eyes of the wicked: first thinke, that there is no entrie open to saluation, vntil thou haue layed away all pride & taken to thee perfect humbleness: then, that the same hūbleness is not a certaine modestie whereby thou geuest ouer to the Lorde a heare bredth of thine owne right, as they are called hūble befoze men that do neither pzesumptuously aduance themselves, noz reprochefully triumph ouer other, although thei stād bpō some estimation of their owne excellence: but an vnfaigned submission of a minde thzowen downe w̄ feling of his owne miserie & nediness. For it is so echewhere described in þ̄ word of God. When the lord sayth thus in Zephaniās: I wil take away out of thee him that outragiously reioyleth, & I wil leaue in the middes of thee þ̄ afflicted man, & the pooze man, & thei shal trust in the lord: doth he not there plainely shewe whoe be humble: euen they that lie afflicted with knowledge of their owne pouertie. On the other side he calleth the pzoude, outragious reioylers, bicause mē ioyeng in pzolperitie ar wōt to reioyle without measure. But to the hūble whom he purposeth to saue, he leaueth nothing but to trust in þ̄ Lord. And likewise it is sayd in Claye: Whome shal I looke vnto, but to the pooze & contrite in spirit, & him that feareth my wordes: Againe: The hie and excellent, that inhabiteth eternitie, his name is holy, that dwelleth on hye, and in the holy place, and with the contrite and humble spirit, to quicken the spirit of the humble and the heart of the contrite. When thou so oft hearest the name of contrition, vnderstand thereby the wound of the heart, that suffreth not a man thzowen downe on the ground to rylse agayne. With such contrition ought thy heart to be wounded, if thou wilt accorzyng to the sayeng of God be aduanced with the humble. If that be not done, thou shalt be bzought lowe with the mighty hāde of God to thy shame and disgracement.

And our beste Schoolemaister thinking it not enough to shewe it out in wordes, hath also set out vnto vs in a parable the image of true humilitie as in a painted table. For he bzyngeth forth a Publicane that standyng a far of, not daryng to lifte vp his eyes to heaue, with much knocking his bzeft prayeth in this wise: Lord be mercifull to me a sinner. Let vs not thinke these to be tokens of fayned modestie, that he dare not loke vp to heauen, noz to come nerer, that with knockynge his bzeft he confesseth himselfe a sinner: but let vs know that they bee testimonies of inward affection. On the other side he setteth the Pharisee, whiche thanketh God that he is not of the common sozte of men, eyther an oppzesser, or an vnrighteous man, or an adulterer, bycause he fasted twyse on the Sabbath, and gaue tithes of all that he possessed. He dothe wyth open confession acknowledge that the righteousness which he hath is the gift of God: but bycause he standeth in confidence that he is righteous, he departeth from God vnfaouzed and in hatred. The Publicane by acknowledgyng of his owne wickednesse is iustified. Hereby we may se, how great is þ̄ estimatiō of our hūbling vs befoze God: so that the heart can not be open to receiue his mercie, vnlesse it be first boide of al opinion of his owne worthinesse. When this opinion hath possessed the place, it shutteth vp the way for Gods mercie to entre. And that no man should doubt herof, Christ was sent of his father into the earth with this cōmissiō,

Zepha. i.

Esa. lxxv.

Esa. lxxv.

7

Luc. lxxv.



*Esa. lxi. i.* to byp̄ng glad tidinges to the pooze, to heale the contrite in heart, to preache libertie to the captiue, & deliuerance to them that were shut by in pryson, and to cōfozt them that mourne: to geue them glozie for athes, oyle for inournyng, the robe of prayse for the spirit of sorowe. *Matt. xi. xviii.* According to this cōmission, he calleth none but them that labour and are lodē to take part of his liberalitie. And in an other place he sayth: *Matt. ix. xij.* I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

8 Therfoze if we will geue place to the callyng of Chzist, let all arrogancie & carelesnesse depart far awaye from vs. Arrogancie groweth of a foolish persuasion of our owne righteousnesse, when a man thinketh himself to haue somewhat, by the deseruing wherof he may be cōmended befoze God, carelesnesse may be euen without any persuasion of woꝝkes. For many sinners, bicause beyng dꝛōke with swetenesse of vices they think not byō the iudgement of God, lie as if were senselesly amased with a disease of dꝛoulinesse, ȳ they aspire not to the mercie offered them. But we must no lesse shake of such dull sluggishnesse, than we must caste away all baine confidence of our selues, that we maye without encombrance hasten to Chzist, that we beyng empty & hungry may be filled with his good thinges. For we shal neuer sufficiētly haue trust in him, vnlesse we bitterly distrust of our selues, we shal neuer sufficiētly raise by our courages in him, vnlesse they be first thꝛowē downe in our selues. We shal neuer sufficiētly haue consolatiō in him, vnlesse we be first desolate in our selues. Therfoze we be then mete to take hold of & obteyne the fauour of God, casting away al trust of our selues, but trusting vpon the only assurednesse of his goodnesse, when (as Augustine sayth) forgettyng our owne deseruinges, we embrace the giftes of Chzist. Bicause if he sought deseruinges in vs, we should not come to his giftes. Wherewith Bernard very well accoꝛdeth, cōparyng proude men to vnfaithful seruantes, that arrogantly clayme any thyng be it neuer so litle to their owne deseruinges: bicause they do wꝛongfully kepe to themselues the prayse of grace passyng by thē, as if a wall would saye that it byngeth foꝝth the sunbeame whiche it receyuet hꝛough a window. But, not to tary longer hereupon, let vs take a hozt but a generall and sure rule, that he is prepared to take parte of the frutes of Gods mercie, that hath bitterly emptied himselfe, I will not saye of righteousnesse, whiche is none at all, but of the vayne and windye image of righteousnesse. Bicause every man so much hindereth his receiuing of the liberalitie of God as he resteth in himself.

*De uerbis post. ca. 8.*  
*Serm. 15. in cant.*

### The. xiii. Chapter.

¶ That there are two thynges to be marked in free iustification.



AD here are alwaye two thinges to be principally looked vnto: that is to say, that there maye remayne to the Lord his glozie vnminished and as it were wholly and perfectly mainteined, and to our cōsciēces an vntroubled quietnesse and calme tranquillitie befoze his iudgement. We see how oft and howe earnestly the Scripture exhꝛteth vs, to geue only



only to God a confession of praise, when we entreate of righteousnesse. And the Apostle testifieth, that this was the Lordes principal purpose of geuing vs righteousnesse in Christe, that he might shewe his owne righteousnesse. And what a shewyng that should be, hee declareth immediately after: that is, if he alone be knownen to be righteous, and that iustified him that is of the faith of Iesus Christ. Thou seest that the righteousnesse of God is not sufficiently set out, vnlesse he alone be accounted righteous, and do communicate the grace of righteousnesse to them that deserue it not. By this meane he wil haue euery mouth to be stopped, and the whole World to be made subiect to him. For whyle mā hath any thing to speake in his owne defence, so longe there is somewhat taken away from the glory of God. So in Ezechiel he teacheth how muche we glorifie his name by reknewleging of our owne wickednesse. You shall remember (sayeth he) the wayes and al the wicked doings wherewith ye haue been defiled. And ye shall be displeasēd with your selues in your owne syght, in all the euels that ye haue comitted. And ye shall knowe that I am the Lorde, when I shall do good to you for myne owne names sake, and not according to your moste wicked offences. If these thinges be contained in the true knowledge of God, that we being broosed with knowledge of our owne iniquitie, should consider that he doth good to vs where as we be vnworthy therof: why then do we to our great hurt attempt to steale awaye from the Lorde any parcell be it neuer so small of the prayse of his free goodnesse. Like wise Ieremie when he crieth out, Let not y wise man glozie in his wisdom, or the riche mā in his riches, or the strong man in his strength, but let him that glozieth, glozie in the Lorde: doth he not there declare that somewhat is diminished from Gods glorie, if mā glozie in him self. To this purpose truely doth Paule apply those wordes, when he teacheth that all the partes of our saluation are reposed in Christ, that we should not glozie but in the Lord. For his meaning is that he riseth vp against God & darkeneth his glorie, whosoever thinketh that he hath any thing be it neuer so litle of his owne.

This is the truthe, we neuer truely glozie in him, vnlesse we be utterly put from our own glorie. On the other side, this is to be holdē for a catholike principle, that all they glozie against God that glozie in thē selues. For Paul iudgeth that only by this meane the worlde is made subiect to God, when all matter to glozie vpo is utterly taken frō men. Therefore Saie, when he declareth that Israel shall haue their iustification in God, sith also that they shall there also haue their praise: as though he should say, that the Lord to this end iustifieth the elect that they should glozie in him and in nothing els. But howe we ought to be praised in the Lorde, he had taught in the verse next before: that is, y we should swear that our righteousnesse & strength are in the Lord. Note that there is not required a bare confession, but confirmed with another, that a mā should not thinke that he shall be discharged with I wote not what fained humilitie. And let no man here allege for excuse, that he doth not glozie when without arrogance he reknewlegeth his own righteousnesse: for there can be no such estimation but it engendreth confidence, nor confidence but it bredeth glorie. Therefore let vs remēber that in all the disputatiō of righteousnesse we must haue regard to this end,



Of the manner howe to receiue

that the praise therof remaine with the Lorde whole & perfect. For as muche as for declaratiō of his righteousnesse (as the Apostle testifieth) he hath poured out his grace vpon vs, that he might be iust & iustifying him that is of the faith of Christe. Wherfore in an other place, when he had taught that the Lord gaue vs saluation, to set out the glorie of his name, afterward as it were repeting y<sup>e</sup> same thing he addeth: ye are saued by grace & by the gift of God, not by workes, that none should glorie. And when Peter telleth that we are called vnto hope of saluation that we should declare the powers of him y<sup>e</sup> hath called vs out of darkenesse into his maruelous light, without doubt his meaning is so to make y<sup>e</sup> only praises of God to sound in the eares of the faithful, y<sup>e</sup> they should w<sup>o</sup> depe silence oppresse al arrogancie of the fleshe. In a summe, man can not without robberie of God chalēge to him self any one crum of righteousnesse: because euē so muche is plucked and taken away from the glorie of Gods righteousnesse.

3 Now if we aske by what meane the conscience may be quited before God, we shall finde no other meane but if free righteousnesse be given vs by the gift of God. Let vs alway thinke vpon this saying of Salomon, Who shall say, I haue cleansed my heart, I am made cleane from my sinne. Truely there is no man that shall not be overwhelmed with infinite filthinesse. Therefore let euē the perfectest man descende into his own conscience, & call his doinges to accōpt: what end shall he haue? Shall he swētely rest as though al things were in good order betwene him & God? & shall he not rather be vexed with terrible tormentes, whē he shall fele matter of damnation abiding in him selfe if he be iudged according to his workes? The conscience, if it loke vpon God, must of necessitie either haue assured peace with his iudgement, or be besieged w<sup>o</sup> the terrors of hell. Therefore we profit nothyng in disputing of righteousnesse vnlesse we stablye suche a righteousnesse, with the stedfastnesse wherof our soule may bee staid in the iudgement of God. When our soule shall haue whereby it may bothe without feare appeare before the face of God, & receiue his iudgement, vnshaken, then & not till then let vs knowe y<sup>e</sup> we haue found an vnfained righteousnesse. Therefore not without cause the Apostle standeth so muche vpon this point, with whose wordes I had rather expresse it than with mine owne. If (saith he) the promise of inheritance be of the law, faith is made boide; the promise is made abolished. He first inferreth that faith is disannulled and made boide yf the promise of righteousnesse haue respect to the deseruings of our workes, or do hang vpon the keeping of the law. For so could neuer any man assuredly rest in it: because it could neuer come to passe that any mā might assuredly determine with him selfe that he had satisfied y<sup>e</sup> law, as in dede neuer any man doth by workes fully satisfie it. Wherof, that we should not nede to seke far for testimonies to proue it, euery man may be a witness to him selfe that will with a right eye behold himself. And hereby appereth, in how depe & darke corners hypocritte buried the mindes of mē, while they so carelesly beare with thē selues, that they sliē not to set their own flatteries against the iudgement of God, as though they would binde to a stay of his iudicial proceeding, but the faithfull that do sincerely examine them selues, are grieved & tormented with a far other māner of carefulnesse. Therefore they should

Rom. iii.  
xvi.  
Eph. i. ii.  
Eph. i. viii

Pro. v.  
r.

Rom. viii.  
xiii.



Should so entre into all mindes a doubting, & at length a very despeire where eche man for him selfe should make accompt, with howe great a burden of Det he is still ouerpressed, and how far he is from the conditio wherw he is charged. Noe, how faith is by this meane already expresse & extinguished. For to wauer, to variē, to be carried by & downe., to stick fast in doubting, to be holden in suspense, to stagger, & at length to despeire, is not to trust: but to strengthen thy minde with constant certaintie & perfect assurednes, & to haue wherby to rest & faste thy foote.

He adioyneth also an other thing, y<sup>e</sup> is, that y<sup>e</sup> promise shal therby be made of no effect & boide. For if the fulfilling therof do hang vpon oure deseruing, when shal we come thus farre as to deserue y<sup>e</sup> bountifullnes of God: Also this second point hangeth vpon the former: For y<sup>e</sup> promise shal not be fulfilled but to them y<sup>e</sup> beleue it. Therefore if faith be fallen, ther shal remaine no force of y<sup>e</sup> promise. Therefore the inheritaunce is of faith, y<sup>e</sup> it may be according to grace, to stablishe the promise. For it is abundantly wel stablisshed when it resteth vpon y<sup>e</sup> only mercy of God: because his mercy & truth are in a perpetual knot ioyned together, y<sup>e</sup> is to say, whatsoeuer God mercifulli promiseth, he also faithfulli performeth.

So Dauid, before y<sup>e</sup> he required saluation by the word of God, first determineth y<sup>e</sup> cause therof to be in his mercye. Let thy mercies (saith he) come vnto me, thy saluation according to thy word. And rightfully: because God is by no other meane perswaded to make the promise, but of his own mere mercie. Therefore we must herin stay, & deeply fasten all our hope & not to loke to our own works, to seke any helpe of the. And that you should not think that I herin speake any new thing: Augustine doth also teache y<sup>e</sup> we ought so to do. Christ (saith he) shal reigne for euer in his seruantes, God hath promised it, God hath said it, and if y<sup>e</sup> be not enough, God hath sworne it. Therefore for asmuch as y<sup>e</sup> promise is stablisshed, not according to our deseruinges, but according to his mercie, no man ought to speake fearefully of y<sup>e</sup> of whych he can not doubt.

Bernarde also saythe: The disciples of Christe saye, Whoe canne bee saued: Butte hee answered: thys ys impossible with menne, butte yt is not impossible wyth God. This is all our confidence, this is our only comforte, this is the whole grounde of oure hope, but beyng assured of the possibilitie, what saye we of hys wyll: Whoe knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred: Who hath knowen y<sup>e</sup> Lords meaning: Or who hath ben his counseller: Here now faith must of necessitie help vs, here must his trueth succoure vs, y<sup>e</sup> that which is hidden from vs in y<sup>e</sup> heart of y<sup>e</sup> father, may be reueled by y<sup>e</sup> Spirit, & his Spirit testifieng it may perswade our heartes that we are y<sup>e</sup> sonnes of God. And it may perswade vs by calling & iustifyeng vs freely by fayth, in which things ther is as it were a certaine meane passage from y<sup>e</sup> eternall predestination to y<sup>e</sup> glorie y<sup>e</sup> is to come. Brefely let vs thys conclude. The Scripture declareth y<sup>e</sup> the promises of God are not stablisshed, vnlesse they be taken hold of with assured affiance of conscience: & whersoever there is any doubting or vncertaintie it pronounceth y<sup>e</sup> thei be boide. Againe yt pronounceth y<sup>e</sup> they do nothing but stagger & wauer if thei rest vpon our own workes. Therefore we must nedes either lose righteousnesse, or we must not consider our own workes, but only faith must take place, whose nature is this, to lift vp her eares & shut her eyes, y<sup>e</sup> is to say, to be hede-

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pt. c. pp. 176.

In Psal. 88  
tract. prior  
7c.In dedicat.  
templi. ser.  
50Eccle. ix.  
1. Cor. ii.  
10



fully bent to the promise only, and to turne away her thought from all mans worthinesse or deseruing. So is þ notable prophecie of Zacharie fulfilled, that when the wickednes of the land shalbe done away, a man shal call his frend vnder his vine & vnder his figge tree, where the Prophet declareth þ the faithful do no otherwise enioy true peace but after obtaining of the forgenesse of sinnes. For this cauelatio is to be remē bred in the Prophetes, that whē thei speake of the kingdome of Christ, they set out the outward blessinges of God as figures of the spirituall thinges. Wherupon Christ is called both the king of peace & our peace, because he appeaseth al the trouble som motiōs of cōscience. If we seke by what meane he doth it, we must nedes come to the sacrifice by which God is appeased. For he shal neuer cesse to tremble for feare that shal not determine that God is appeased by the only satisfactorie cleansing wherin Christ hath susteined his wrath. Finally peace is no where els to be sought for but in the terrors of Christ our redemer.

But why do I vse so darke a testimonie: Paul euerly where denieth, that there is peace or quiet ioy left to consciences, vnlesse it be determined that we be iustified by faith. And he therewithall declareth whense that assurednes cometh, namely when þ loue of God is poured into our heartes by the holy Ghost: as if he had said, þ our cōsciences can not otherwise be quieted, vnlesse we be certainly persuaded þ we please god. Wherupō also in an other place he crieth out in þ persone of al þ godly, Who shal seuer vs frō the loue of God, whiche is in Christ: because we shal trēble euen at euerly litle breath, till we be arriued into þ hauē: but we shalbe without care euen in the darkenes of death, so long as þ lord shal shew him selfe a pastor to vs. Therefore whosoever prate þ we are iustified by faith, because being regenerate we ar iust by living spiritu ally: they neuer tasted the swetenesse of grace, to cōsider þ God will be merciful vnto thē. Wherupō also soloweth, that they do no more know the manner of praiyng rightly, than Turkes & whatsoeuer other profane Nations. For (as Paul witnesseth) it is no true faith vnlesse it teache & put vs in minde of þ most swete name of father, yea vnlesse it opē our mouth freely to crie out Abba father. Whiche in an other place he more plainely expresseth, where he saith þ in Christ we haue boldnesse & entrie in cōfidence by þ faith of him. Truly this cometh not to passe by the gift of regeneration: which as it is alway vnperfect in this flesh, so it containeth in it self manifold mater of douting. Wherfore we must of necessitie come to this remedy, þ the faithful shold determine that they may by no other right hope for þ inheritāce of þ heauēly kingdome, but because being grafted into þ body of Christ they are frely accōpted righteous. For as touching iustificatio, faith is a thing merely passiue, bringging nothing of our own to the recovering of the fauour of God, but receiuing of Christ that whiche we want.

### The. xiiii. Chapter.

What is the beginning of iustification, and the continuall proceedinges therof.



What the mater may bee made more plaine, let vs searche, what may be þ righteousness of mā in the whole course of his life: & let vs make sower degrees therof. For mē euer being endued with no knowledge of God, are drowned in idolatrie: or being entred into profession by sacramētes, de-myng



nyeng God with vncleannes of life whom thei confesse with mouth, thei are Christes no further thē in name: or thei be hypocrites, which couer þ wickednes of their heartes, w vaine deceitful colors: or being regenerate by þ Spirit of God, thei endenoure themselues to true holmes. Specially when thei are to be iudged by their natural gistes, from þ crowne of their heade to þ soule of their foote, ther shal not be found one sparde of goodnesse: vnlesse paradventure we will accuse þ Scripture of falsed, whē it setteth out all þ sonnes of Adam w these titles, þ thei be e of forward & stubborne heart þ al þ imaginatiō of their heart is euil frō their infantie, þ their thoughtes be vaine, þ thei haue not þ feare of God before their eies, þ none of them vnderstādeth or seketh God: breseli þ thei be flesh, by which word are vnderstāded al those workes which Paul reherseth, fornicatiō, vncleānes, vnchastitie, riotousnes, worshipping of ydoles, witchcraftes, enmitie, contentions, emulations, angers, dissensions, sectes, enuies, manslaughteres, & whatsoeuer filthines & abominatiō mai be deuised. This forsothe is þ worthinesse, w cōfidence whe of thei must be proued. But if any among thē excel w such honestye of manners as may haue some shew of holynes amōg men: yet bicause we know þ God regardeth not þ outward glittering, we must searche þ very fountaine of workes, if we wil haue them to auailē any thing to righteousnes. We muste (I saye) thoroughly loke into them, frō what affection of heart these workes procede. But although here lieth open a most large fielde to discourse in, yet bicause þ matter may be declared in very few words, I will folowe asmuch as I may a bresenelle in teaching.

First I deny not þ whatsoeuer excellent gistes appeare in þ vnbelieuers, thei are þ gistes of God. Neither do I so differ frō common iudgement, þ I wold affirme þ ther is no difference betwene þ iustice, temperance, & equitie of Titus & Traianus, & þ rage, intemperāce, & crueltie of Caligula, or Nero, or Domitian: betwene þ filthy lustes of Tiberius, & in this behalfe þ continence of Vespasian: & þ wee may not tarry vpon some special vertues or vices) betwene þ obseruing & þ despising of right & lawes. For ther is so great difference of right & wronge, þ it appeareth euen in þ deade image therof. For what thing shal ther remaine well ordered in þ world, if we cōfound these together? Therfore such a differēce betwene honest & vn honest doinges, the Lord hath not only engrauen in the mindes of al men, but also doth oft confirme it with the dispensation of his prouidence. For we see how he extendeth many blessings of this present life to them þ among men doe folowe vertue. Not bicause þ outward image of vertue deserueth so much as þ leaste benefit of his: but so it pleaseth him to declare by prose how much true righteousness pleaseth him, when he suffreth euen outward & fained righteousness not to be wout reward. Wherbyō foloweth þ which we euen now cōfessed, that these vertues, such as thei be, or rather images of vertues, are þ gistes of God, forasmuch as ther is nothing in any wise praise worthy, whiche proceedeth not from him.

But neuerthelesse it is true whiche Augustine writeth, that all they that are strangers frō the true religion of the one God, howsoeuer they be accompted worthy of admiration for opinion of vertue, are not ouely worthy of no reward, but rather are worthy of punishment, bicause thei doe both defiling of hearte, bespott the pure good thinges of God: for though thei be the instrumentes of God, to preserue the felowship of mē

Jer. p  
17.  
Gen. 8  
11  
Ista. p  
11. & p  
11.  
Gen. 1  
11.  
Gal. 5

2

3

Li. 4. cōtr  
Iulianum.



with iustice, continence, temperance of minde, valiantnesse, & wisdome: yet they do very euelly execute these good workes of God: because they are restrained from euil doing, not by sincere loue of goodnesse, but either by only ambition, or by loue of the selues, or by some other crooked affectiō. Wheras therfore they ar corrupt by þ very vnclennesse of hart as by their beginning, they are no more to be reckened amonge vertues, than those vices, which are wont to deceiue by reason of nerenesse & likenes of vertue. Finally whan we remēbre, that the end of that which is right, euer is that God be serued: what soeuer tendeth to any other end, fourthly wor- thily loseth the name of right. Because therfore they haue not respect to the mark which þ wisdome of God apointeth: although the thing that they do, seme good in doying, yet by a wrongful end it is sin. He cōcludeth therfore þ al þ fabricii, Scipiōes, & Catoes, in al these excellent actes of theirs: yet sinned in this behalfe, þ wheras they lacked þ light of faith, they did not apply them to that end to which they ought to haue applied them: and that for that cause, true righteousnes was not in them: for as much as duties are not weyed by the doinges, but by the endes.

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ohn. v. Moreouer if it be true which John saith, that there is no life without the sonne of God: who so haue no part in Christ, what maner of men so euer they be, whatsover they do or goe about, yet they run forward with their whole course into destruction & the iugement of eternal death. After this reaso, is that said of Augustine, Dure religio discreteth þ righteous from þ vnrighteous, not by law of workes, but by the very lawe of faith, wout which, those that seme good workes are turned into sinnes. Wherfore the same Augustine saith very wel in an other place, when he cōpareth þ endeour of such mē to running out of þ way. For how much faster a man runneth out of þ way, so much further he is from þ mark, & therfore is made so much more miserable. Wherfore he affirmeth that it is better to halt in þ way, than to run out of þ way. Finally it is certaine that thei are euil trees, forasmuch as without þ cōmunicating of Christ there is no sanctification. They may therfore beare faire fruites & beautifull to the eye, yea & swete in tast, but in no wise good fruites. Hereby we easly perceiue that whatsoever man thinketh, purposeth, or doeth, before þ he be reconciled to god by faith, is accursed, & not only of no value to righteousnesse, but of certaine deseruing to dānatiō. And why dispute we herof as of a doubtful thing, sith it is alredy proued by þ witness of thapostle, that it is impossible þ any man mai please God wout faith.

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But there shall yet appere a plainer proufe, if the grace of God be in comparison, directly set against the naturall state of man. For the scripture crieth out euery wher, that God findeth nothing in man wherby he may be prouoked to do good to him, but w his owne free goodnes preuenteth him. For what can a dead do to attaine life? But when he lighteneth vs wth the knowledg of himself, he is said to raise vs from death, & to make vs a new creature. For we se that oftentimes, specially of the Apostle, the goodnes of god is set foorth vnto vs by this title. God (saith he) which is riche in mercy, for the great loue wherth he loued vs, euen whē we were dead by sinnes, hath made vs aliue together in Christ. &c. In an other place, wher vnder the figure of Abrahā he entreateth of þ general calling of the faithfull, he saith: it is God þ geueth life to þ dead, & calleth those thinges that are not, as though they were. If we be nothyng, what (I beseeche you) can we do. Wherfore the lord strongly beate- teth done this arrogancie, in the historie of Job, in these wordes: who  
preuen-



preuenteth me, & I shal rendre it him: for al thinges ar mine. Which sente Paul expounding applieth it to this, that we shold not think that we bring ani thig to the lord but mere shame of needines & emptines. Wherfore in the place aboue cited, to proue y we ar come into the hope of saluatio by his grace alone, not by works, he allegeth y we ar his creatures bicause we ar new begottē in Christ Iesus, to the good works which he hath prepared y we shuld walk in thē: As if he had said: which of vs may boaste y he hath with his righteousnes prouoked God, sith our first power to do good procedeth out of regeneratio: for as we ar made by nature, oyle shal soner be wrong out of a stone, thā a good work out of vs. Truly it is wonderful if mā being condēned of so great a shame, dare yet say that ther remaineth ani thing with him. Therefore let vs confesse w this noble instrumēt of God, y we ar called of God with a holy callig, not accordig to our works, but accordig to his purpose & grace: & that y kindness & loue of God our sauioz toward vs hath appeared, bicause he hath saued vs, not by y works of righteousnes which we haue don, but accordig to his own mercie: y being iustified by his grace, we might be made y heires of eternal life. Bi this confessio we dispoil mā of al righteousnes euē to y least litle pece therof, til he be bi only merci regenerate into hope of eternal life: forasmuch as if y righteousnes of works do brig any thig toward y iustifyig of vs, it is falsly said y we ar iustified by grace. Truly thapostle had not forgottē hieself, whē he affirmed iustificatio to be of free gift, which in an other place resoneth y grace is now not grace, if works do any thing auail. And what other thig doth y lord mean, whē he saith that he came not to cal righteous mē but sinners: If only sinners ar receaued, why seeke we an entry by fained righteousneses?

Stil this same thought hath now & thē recourse to my mind, that it is peril least I shold do wrong to the mercies of God, which do so carefully trauail in prouig of this thig as though it wer doubtful or darke. But because our enuiusnes is such, as vnlesse it be most straightli thrust out of place, it neuer yeldeth to God y which is his, I ā cōpelled to tary sōwhat y lōger bpō it. yet for asmuche as y scripture is clere mough in this matter, I wil in fighting rather vse y words therof thē mine own. Esai, whē he hath described y vniuersal destructio of mākind, doth imediatly after verifitly adioyn y ordze of restoring. The lord hath seen, & it semed euē in his eyes. And he saw, that ther is no mā: & he maruailed that there is none that offereth himself: & he hath set saluatio in his own arm, & hath strēgthned hieself w his own righteousnes. Where are our righteousneses if it be true which y prophet saith: y ther is no mā y helpeth y lord in recouerig his saluatio: So an other prophet, wher he bringeth in y lord, discoursig of y recōciling of siners to hieself, saith: I wil espouse the to me for euer, in righteousnes, iudgmēt, grace & mercie. I wil sai to hir y hath not obtained merci, y hast obtained merci. If such couenāt, which it is certain to be y first cōioynig y we haue w God, stādeth bpō y mercy of god ther is left no foundatio of our own righteousnes. And I wold fain learn of those mē which faine y mā meteth God w sō righteousnes of works, whether thei think y ther is ani righteousnes at al, but that which is acceptable to God. If it be madness to thik so, what acceptable thig to god cā procede frō his enemies, whō he wholli abhorreth w al their doings: That al we, I sai, ar y dedli & professed enemies of our god, y truth it self

Job. xli  
Rom. v.  
xxx.

Eph. ii.

i. Tit. i.

Tit. iii. i.

Ro. vi. x  
Matt. i. i  
iii.

6

Esa. lvi. i.

Dsc. ii. p.

Ro. b. xl.  
Coloi. i. ii  
i. 3v. iii. s



.iiii.
.vi.
.ii.
7
 Thon, to rutne away that pestilent arrogance, dothe diligently put vs in mind how we did not first loue him. And þ self same thing þ lord had long before taught bi his prophet: I wil loue thē, saith he, w a fre loue, bicause mine anger is turned. Certainly his loue is not prouoked by workes if it hath of his owne accorde inclined it self vnto vs. But þ rude cōmon sorte of men think it to be nothing els, but that no mā hath deserued þ Christ shoulde perfoyme oure redēption: yet that to the entring into þ possession of redemptiō, we be holpen by our owne workes. Yea but hoseouer we be redeemed of Christ, yet till we be by the calling of the Father grafted into the communion of him, we are bothe heires of darkenesse and death and the enemies of God. For Paul teacheth that we are not cleansed & washed from our vncleanneses by the blood of Christ, vntill the holy ghoſte worketh þ cleansing in vs. Whiche same thing Peter minding to teache, declareth that the sanctifyinge of the Spirite auaieth vnto obedience & the sprinkling of the bloode of Christ. If we be by the Spirite sprinkled with the bloode of Christ vnto cleansing, lette vs not thinke that before such watering we be any other than a sinner is without Christ. Let this therfore remaine certaine, þ the beginning of oure salutiō is as yt were a certain resurrectiō frō death to life: bicause when for Chyestes sake it is genē to vs to beleue in him, thē we first begin to passe frō death into life.

.ii.
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 Under this sort are comprehended they whyche haue in the diuision aboue set ben noted for the second & thirde sort of men. For þ vncleannesse of conscience proueth þ both of them ar not yet regenerate by the Spirit of God. And againe, wheras there is no regeneration in them, this proueth þ want of faith. Wherby appeareth þ thei are not yet reconciled to God, nor yet iustified in his sight: forasmuch as these good things ar not attained to, but by faith. What can sinners being estranged frō God bring forth, but þ which is accursed in his iudgemēt. With this folish boldnesse in dede, both al wicked men are puffed vp, & specially hypocrites: bicause howesoouer thei knowe that their whole hearte swarmeth ful of fylthinesse, yet if thei do any workes þ haue a shew of goodnes, thei think them worthy þ God shold not despise thē. Herof groweth þ pernicious errour, þ being proued guilty of a wicked & mischeuous minde, yet thei can not be dūmē to cōfesse thēselues void of righteousnes: but euē whē thei acknowledged thēselues vnrighteous, bicause thei cā not deny it, yet thei arrogātly claime som righteousnes vnto thē. This vanitie þ lord excellently wel cōfutech bi þ prophet: Ask (saith he) þ prestes, saieng: if a man carrie sanctified flesh in þ hēme of his garmēt, & putteth to it bread or other meate, shal it be sanctified. The prestes answered: No. And Haggee said. If a defiled mā in soule touche any of such these thinges, shal it be defiled. The prestes answered: it shalbe defiled. Haggee said. So is this people befor my face, saith þ lord: & so al þ work of their hands, & al thinges þ thei offer to me shalbe defiled. I wold to god þ this saieng might either get ful credit w vs, or wel be settled in our remēbrāce. For ther is no mā, though he be otherwise in his whole life neuer so hainous a wicked doer, þ cane abide to be perswaded, þ which þ Lord here plainely pronounceth. The naughtiest mā, so sone as he hath perfoymed one or two doubtful dedes of þ law, doubteth not þ it shalbe accōpted to him for righteousnes. But þ Lord crieth to þ contrarie, þ ther is no sanctificatiō gotten therby, vnlesse þ heart be first wel cleansed. And not contēted therw, he affirmeth þ al þ workes whatsoeuer thei be þ procede frō sinners, are defiled with vncleannes of þ heart. Therfore let þ name of righteousnes depart frō



these works which are by þ Lords owne mouth condemned of filthines. And w howe fit a similitude doth he shew þ same: for it might haue ben obiected, þ whatsoeuer þ Lord had commaunded, was inuolably holly. But he on the contrarie side setteth against them, that it is no maruell, if those thinges that are hallowed by the lawe of the Lorde, are deiled with the filthinesse of naughty men: whereas an vnclane hand prophaneeth a holy thing with touching it.

The same matter he excellently wel handleth in Esai. Offer not (saith hee) sacrifice in vaine: incense is abomination to me: my soule hateth your Calendes and solemnities. Thei are become tedious to me, and I haue be en werie with bearing them: when you shal hold vp your hands I wil tourne away mine eyes from you: when you shall multiply prayer I will not heare: for your handes are full of bloud. Be washed, be cleane, take away the euell of your thoughts. What meaneth this that the lord so lotheth the obeying of his owne lawe: yea but he heere refuseth nothing that is of the naturall obseruing of the law, the beginning wherof he euery where teacheth to be the vnfaigned feare of his name. Whē that is taken away, what so euer thinges ar offered him are not only trifles, but stinking and abhominable filthinesse. Now let the hypocrites go, & keping perversnes wrapped vp in their heart, endeuour to deserue þ fauour of God w works. But bi this mean, thei shal more & more prouoke him to wrath. for to him the sacrifices of wicked are abhominable, & the only prayer of vpright men please thim. Therefore we hold that out of dout, which ought to be most commonly knowen to him, that is eue but meanly exercised in the Scriptures, that euen those works that glister most gloriously in men not yet truly sanctified, ar so far frō righteousness in the sight of the lord, þ thei be iudged sins. And therefore thei haue said most truly that haue taught that fauour w God is not procured to anye person by workes: but contrary wise that workes do then please, & neuer til thē, whē þ person hath firste found grace in þ sight of God. And this ordre is religiously to be kept, to which þ scripture leadeth vs by þ hand. Moses writeth þ the lord had respect to Abell & to his works. See you not howe hee declareth that God is fauorable to the menne, before that he hath respect to their works: Wherfore the clesing of þ heart must go before, þ the workes which come frō vs, may be louingly receiued of God: because this sayig of Jeremy is alway in force, þ the workes of God haue respect vnto truth. And that it is only faith by which the heartes of men ar clesed, the holy ghost hath affirmed by the mouth of Peter: whereby it is certen, that the first foundation is in true and liuely faith.

Now let vs looke what righteousness thei haue, whom we haue set in the sowerth degree. Wee graunt that when God by the meane of the righteousness of Christ, reconcileth vs to him selfe, and giuing vs free forgiveness of sinnes accompteth vs for righteous, with such mercie is also conioyned this his beneficiall doing, that by his holy spirit he dwel leth in vs, by the power wherof the lustes of our flesh are daylye more and more mortified: but we are sanctified: that is to say, hallowed to the Lord vnto true puruenesse of life, when our hearts ar framed to the obedience of the law: that this may be our chief will, to serue his will, and by all meanes to aduance only his glorie. But euen whyle by the guiding of the holy ghoste we walke in the waies of the Lorde, leaste yet wee forgettyng our selues should ware proude, there are leste certayne remnants of imperfection, which may minister vs matter of humilitie.

8  
Esa. l. viiPio. fo  
vii.Aug. lib. d  
poenit. c  
Gregor.Gen. iiii  
iii.  
Act. fo. vi

Iere. v. i



king. viii Ther is none righteous, (saith y<sup>e</sup> scripture) y<sup>e</sup> doth good and sinneth not. What māner of righteousnes therfore wil thei yet get by their workes: first I saie, y<sup>e</sup> best worke y<sup>e</sup> can be brought forth of the, is yet alwaye sprinkled & corrupted w<sup>th</sup> some vncleannes of y<sup>e</sup> flesh, & hath as it were some dregges mingled w<sup>th</sup> it. I sai, let a holy seruant of God chole out of al his life y<sup>e</sup> most excellēt thing y<sup>e</sup> he shal think y<sup>e</sup> he hath done in y<sup>e</sup> whol course therof, & let him wel cōsider al y<sup>e</sup> parts of it, wout dout he shal find some wher somewhat sauoring of y<sup>e</sup> rottenes of y<sup>e</sup> flesh forasmuch as to doing wel our chereful quicknes is neuer such as it ought to be, but in lacking our course our weaknes is much. Although we se y<sup>e</sup> ther at euident fowle blottes wherw<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> works of y<sup>e</sup> holy are be spredde, yet grant y<sup>e</sup> thei be nothing but most little spottes: shal thei nothing offende y<sup>e</sup> eyes of God, before whom euen y<sup>e</sup> sterres are not cleane. Thus haue we shewed y<sup>e</sup> there commeth not so muche as one good woорke out of holy men, whiche if it be iudged in it selfe, deserueth not iuste rewarde of shame.

10 Secondly I say, y<sup>e</sup> if it wer possible y<sup>e</sup> we shold haue some thoroughly pure & perfect works, yet one sinne is enough to blot out & quench al y<sup>e</sup> remembrance of y<sup>e</sup> former righteousnes, as y<sup>e</sup> prophet saith. With whome also James agreeth: He y<sup>e</sup> offendeth (saith he) in one, is made guilty of al. Now sith this mortal life is neuer pure or void frō sine, whatsoener righteousnes we shold purchase, being frō time to time w<sup>th</sup> sinnes folowing corrupted, oppressed & lost, it shold not com into y<sup>e</sup> sight of God, nor be acceptēd to vs for righteousnes. Finally whē y<sup>e</sup> righteousnes of works is entreted of, we must not haue respect to y<sup>e</sup> work of y<sup>e</sup> law, but to y<sup>e</sup> cōmaundement. Therfore if we seke righteousnes by the law, we shal in vain bring forth one or two works: but a perpetual obedience of y<sup>e</sup> law is there necessarie. Wherfore the Lord doth not but ones (as many foolishly thinke) impute to vs righteousnes y<sup>e</sup> same forgeuenes of sinnes wherof we haue spoken, that hauing ones obtēined pardon of oure life past, we shold afterwarde seeke righteousnes in the lawe: bicause he shoulde so do nothing els butte bringe vs into a false hope, and mocke and laughe vs to scoorne. For sith no perfectiō cold com to vs so lōg as we are clothed w<sup>th</sup> this flesh, & sith y<sup>e</sup> law threteth death & iudgmēt to al the y<sup>e</sup> perioyme not ful righteousness in work: it shal alway haue wherof it mai accuse & cōdēne vs, vnlesse y<sup>e</sup> mercie of God on y<sup>e</sup> other side did wstand it, to acquite vs frō time to time w<sup>th</sup> cōtinual forgeuenes of sinnes. Wherfore this stādeth alwaye certain which we said at y<sup>e</sup> beginning, y<sup>e</sup> if we be weied by our own workes, whatsoener we purpose or go about, yet we w<sup>th</sup> al our trauailes, & endenours are worthy of death and destruction.

11 Upō these two points we must strongly stād fast: y<sup>e</sup> ther was neuer any work of a godli mā, which if it wer examined by y<sup>e</sup> seuerer iudgmēt of god, was not dānable. Again, if ther be any such shewed, (which is not possible for mā) yet being corrupted & defiled w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> sinnes, wherw<sup>th</sup> it is certaine that the doer of it is loden, it looeth the grace. And this is the cheefe point of our disputatiō. For about y<sup>e</sup> beginning of iustification there is no strife betwene vs & y<sup>e</sup> louder sort of Scholmen, but y<sup>e</sup> a sinner being freely deliuered frō damnation obtēineth righteousnes, & y<sup>e</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> forgeuenes of sinnes: sauing y<sup>e</sup> thei vnder y<sup>e</sup> worde of Justification comprehend the renewing wherw<sup>th</sup> we are newly formed by y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God vnto y<sup>e</sup> obedience of y<sup>e</sup> law: & thei thus describe y<sup>e</sup> righteousnes of a mā regenerate, y<sup>e</sup> man being ones recōiled to God by y<sup>e</sup> faith of Christ, is by good workes iudged righteous before God, and by they<sup>e</sup> deseruyng vs accepted.

But



But the lord contrariwise pronouceth y he imputed to Abrahā faith for righteousnes, not at the tyme whē he yet serued idols, but whē he had al ready many years excelled in holines of life. Therefore Abrahā had long worshipped God frō a pure hart, & had performed y obediēce of y law whiche mai be performed of a mortal mā: yet he hath righteousnes reposed in faith. Wherevpo we gather, accordig to y argumēt of Paul, y it was not of workes. Likewise whē it is said in the prophet, The righteous mā shall liue by faith, it is not spokē of wicked & prophane men, whō the lorde iustificieth by cōuering thē to faith; but the speech is directed to the faithfull, & to them is promised life by faith. Paul also taketh away all doubt, whē for cōfirming of that sentēce, he taketh this verse of David, Blessed art they whose iniquities are forgeuē. But it is certein, that David speaketh not of the wicked, but of the faithful, such as him self was: bicause he spake out of the felig of his own cōscience. Therefore this blessednes we must not haue ones in our life, but hold it throughout al our life. Last of all he testifieth y the embassage cōcerning the fre reconciliatiō w God is not published for one or two daies, but is perpetual in y church. Therefore the faithfull haue euen to y end of their life no other righteousnesse than y which is there set foorth. For Christ euerlastyngly remaineth the mediatur to reconcile y father to vs, & the effectualnesse of his death is euerlasting: namely washing, satisfactiō, expiation, finally perfect obediēce, wherw al our iniquities are covered. Neither doth Paul to the Ephesians say, that we haue the beginning of saluatiō out of grace, but that we are saued by grace, not of workes, y no man should glorie.

The starting holes whiche y scholmen do here seke to escape by, do not deliner thē. They say y good workes are not by inward worthinesse in thēselues of so great value, y they be sufficiēt to purchace righteousnesse: but this, y they be of so great value, is of grace accepting thē. Thē, because they be diuē to cōfesse y the righteousnesse of workes is in this life alway vnperfect, they graūt y we, so long as we liue, do nede forgesse of sinnes, wherby y way of workes may be supplied: but, y the defaultes which are cōmitted, are recōpensed w workes of supererogation. For I answere y the accepting grace as they cal it, is none other thā his fre goodnes wherwith y father embraceth vs in Christ, whē he clotheth vs with y innocēcie of Christ, & accompteth the same ours, that by y beneficial meane therof he may take vs for holy, pure, & innocent. For, the righteousnesse of Christ (which as it only is perfect, so only can abide the sight of God) must be set in our stede, and be presented at the barre as a suretie: Herewith we beyng furnished to obtaine cōtinual forgesse of sinnes in faith. With y purnesse herof our filthineses & vnclenneses of imperfections being couered are not unputed: but are hidden, as if they were buried, y they may not come into y iugement of god, vntil y houre come, whē y olde mā being slain & vtterly destroyed in vs, y goodnesse of god shall receiue vs into blessed peace with the new Adam, where let vs loke for the day of the Lorde, in which receiuing vncoꝛrupt bodies, we shall be remoued into the glove of the heauenly kingdome.

If these thinges be true, verily no workes of ours can of them selues make vs acceptable & pleasing to god: neither can the workes thēselues please, but in respect y mā being couered w the righteousnes of Christe, pleaseth god, & obtineth forgesse of his sines. For god hath not promised y rewarde of eternal life to some certaine workes: but only promised y he which, doth these things, shall liue: settig y notable curse against all

Rom. iii.  
iii.Habac. ii.  
iii.Rom. iiii.  
vii.  
Psa. cxxii.ii. Cor. v.  
viii.

12

13

13

all



Leut. xviii. all theſe ſhould continue not in al things. Wherby the deuife of righteousneſſe in part is largely confuted, ſithe no other righteousneſſe is admitted into heauen, but a whole obſeruing of the law. And no whit ſouder is y<sup>e</sup> which they are wot to babble of ſupplieng of recōpenſe by workes of Supererogatio. For why? Do thei not ſtill returne to the ſame place frō whēſe they ar already ſhut out: y<sup>e</sup> he which kepeth the law in part, is by workes ſo far righteous. That which no man of ſound iugement wil graunt thē, they do to ſhameleſſy take for cōfeſſed. So oft the Lord testiſieth y<sup>e</sup> he acknowlegeth no righteousneſſe of workes, but in y<sup>e</sup> perfect obſeruing of his law. What obſtinacie is it, ſhould we whē we are deſtitute of y<sup>e</sup> obſeruing, leaſte we ſhould ſeeme ſpoiled of al gloire, ſhould we haue altogether geue place to God do boſte our ſelues of I wote not what ſmall peces of a few workes, & go about by ſatiſſactions to redeme y<sup>e</sup> which wanteth. Satiſſactiōs haue already before been ſufficiētly ouerthrowē, ſhould we ought not now ſo much as to dreame of thē. Only this I ſay, that they which ſo play the fooles, do not wey how deteſtable a thing ſin is before God: for truly they ſhould vnderſtād that the whole righteousneſſe of men being laid vpo a heap, is not ſufficient to make recōpenſe for one ſinne. For we ſe that mā was by one offence ſo caſt awai & abādoned of God, ſhould he therwithal loſt al mean to recouer ſaluatiō. Therefore the power of Satiſſaction is taken away, wherby they flatter thē ſelues, but ſurely ſhal neuer ſatiſſy God, to whō nothig is pleaſant or acceptable that procedeth frō his enemies. And his enemies are al they to whō he purpoſeth to impute ſinnes. Therefore our ſinnes muſt be couered & forgiuē, before that the lord haue reſpect to any worke of ours. Wherby ſoloweth that the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes is of fre grace, which they do wickedly blaſpheme that thruſt in any ſatiſſactiōs. Let vs therefore, after the exāple of y<sup>e</sup> Apoſtle, forgettig thoſe things that ar behind vs, and haſting forward to thoſe thinges that are before vs, run in our race, endeououring to the price of the highe calling. &c.

Gene. iiii. Phil. iij. But how doth the boſting of the workes of Supererogation agre with that rule which is taught vs, that whē we haue done all things that ar cōmaunded vs, we ſhould ſay that we are vnprofitable ſeruantes, & that we haue done no more then we ought. To ſay before God, is not to ſaine or to lye, but to determine with thy ſelf, that which thou arte aſſured of. The lord therefore cōmandeth vs vnfaignedly to think & conſider with our ſelues, that we do not any fre beneficiall doings to hi, but to render due ſeruiſe. And worthily. For we ar ſeruantes endetted in ſo many ſeruiſes, as we ar no able to diſcharge, although al our thoughts & all our members, wer turned into dutieſul deedes of the law. And therefore that which he ſaith, Whē ye haue done all things y<sup>e</sup> are cōmaunded you &c. is as much in effect, as if the righteousneſſe of one man were more thā al the righteousneſſe of men. How therefore may we (of whom there is none that is not moſte farre diſtant frō this marke) bee ſo bolde as to boſte that we haue added a heap to the ful meaſure. Neither is ther any cauſe why any mā may take exceptiō & ſay, that nothing withſtādeth but that his endeouour mai procede beyōd neceſſary duties, which in ſom behalf ceaſeth thoſe y<sup>e</sup> be frō neceſſary. For this we muſt altogether hold, that we cā imagin nothig that auailleth either to the worſhip or the loue of God, which is not comprehēded vnder the law of God. If it be a part of the law, let vs not boaste of voluntary liberalitie, where we are bound to neceſſitie.

15 And for this purpoſe that glorieng of Paul is out of ſeaſon alledged  
That



That among the Corinthians he did of his owne will yeld of his right, which otherwise he might haue vsed if he had wold, & that he hath employed vpon thē not only so muche as he ought of dutie, but also hath geuen them his free trauail beyond the boundes of duties. But they shold haue marked & reason there exprest, & he did this least he shold be an offense to the weake. For false & deceitful workemen did bolste thē selues with this alluring shew of liberalitie, wherby they might bothe procure fauour to their poisonous doctrines, & raise vp hatred is & Gospel, so that Paul was driue of necessitie either to bring the doctrine of Christ into danger, or to mete wth suche craftes. So to: if it be to a Christian man an indifferent thing, to runne into offense, when he may reframe it, then I graunt that the Apostle did something of Supererogation for & Lord. But if this were by right required of a wise distributor of the Gospel, then I say that he did that which was his dutie to doe. Finally although there appere no suche cause, yet this saying of Chrysostome is alway true, that al our thinges are in the same case wherin are the propre possessions of bondmen, which it is certaine by the law to be due to their Lord. And Christ hath vttered the same in the parable: for he asked what thanke we wil geue to a bondseruant when hauing ben all the day trauailed with sondry labours he returneth home to vs in the euening. But it is possible, that he hath labored with greater diligence than we durst haue required. Be it so: yet he hath done nothing but that which by his estate of bodage he ought, for he wth his whole abilitie is ours. I speake not of what sort their Supererogations are which these men wil bolste of to God: for they be trifles, suche as he neither hath at any tyme comanded, nor doth approue thē, nor wyl allowe thē when accōpt shalbe to be made before him. In this significatio only we will graunt that they are workes of Supererogation, namely of which it is spoken in the Prophet: who hath required these things at your handes: But let thē remēber what is in an other place also spoken of these thinges: Wherfore do ye wey your siluer & not in bread? Ye spend in labour & not in being satisfied. It is in dede not very hard for these idle Rabbines to dispute vnder the shadowe in a soft chaire: but when the soueraigne iudge shal sit in his iudgement seate, suche windy decrees shal of necessitie vanishe away. This, this was to be sought what affiāce of defense we may bring to his iudgemēt seate, not what we may talke of in scholes and corners.

In this behalfe there are cherefly two pestilences to be driuen out of our myndes: that we put no affiāce in the righteousnesse of workes. And that we ascribe no part of glorie to thē. The Scriptures do eucry where thrust vs from all manner of affiāce, when they teache that our righteousneses do stinke in & sight of God, vnlesse they receiue a good sauor from the innocencie of Christ, & that they can do nothing but prouoke the vengeance of God, vnlesse they be sustained by the tendernes of his mercie. Moreouer they so leaue nothing to vs, but that we shold craue the mercie of our iudge wth & confessio of Dauid, that none shall be iustificed before him, if he require accōpt of his seruantes. But wher Job saythe: If I haue done wickedly, wo to me: but if I doe righteously, yet I wyl not so lyte by my head: though he meane of that most hie righteousnes of God, wherunto the very Angels answer not: yet he therewithal sheweth that whē they come to & iudgement of God, there

1. Cor. 13. 6.

Luc. 14. vii.

Psal. 116.

Psal. 116. ii.

16

Psal. 136. ii.

Job. 7. xv.



there remaineth nothing for al mortal men, but to holde their peace as dū:ne. for it tēdeth not only to this purpose ȳ he had rather willingly yeld thā dāgerously strīue with ȳ rigorouſnes of God: but he meaneth that he felt no other righteousnes in him self, thā such as at ȳ first moment shold fall before ȳ sight of God. When affiance is driuen away, al glozieng must also necessarily depart. for who can geue the praise of righteousnes to these workes, ȳ affiāce wherof trēbleth before ȳ sight of God. We must therfore come whether Esaie calleth vs, ȳ al the seede of Israel may be praised & glorie in God: because it is most true whiche he saith in an other place, ȳ we ar ȳ planting of the glorie of God. Our mynde therfore shall then be rightly purged, whē it shall neither in any behalfe rest vpon the cōfidence of workes, nor reioise in the glory of thē. But this errour encouraged folish men to the puffing vp of this false & lying affiance, that they alway set the cause of their saluatiō in workes.

17 But if we loke to ȳ sower kindes of causes, which the phylosophers teache vs to cōsider in the effect of thinges, we shall find ȳ none of them doth accord with workes in ȳ stablishing of our saluatiō. for the Scripture doth euery where report that ȳ cause of procuring the eternall life to vs, is the mercie of the heauenly father & his free loue towarde vs: ȳ the Material cause is Christ with his obedience, by which he purchased righteousnesse for vs. What also shall we say to be the formal or instrumētall cause but faith. And these thre causes John cōprehendeth together in one sentēce, when he saith, God so loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten sonne, ȳ every one which beleueth in him may not perish, but may haue euerlastig life. Now the final cause ȳ Apostle testifieth to be both the shewing of ȳ righteousnesse of God & the praise of his goodnes: wher he reherceth also ȳ other thre in expresse wordes. for he saith thus to ȳ Romains: al haue sined & do nede ȳ glory of god: but they are iustificed frely by his grace. Here ȳ hast the head & first fountain, namely ȳ God embraced vs with his free mercie. Then foloweth. By the redēptiō which is in Christ Iesu. Here ȳ hast as it were ȳ matter wherof righteousnesse is made for vs through faith in his bloude. Here is shewed ȳ instrumētall cause, wherby ȳ righteousnes of Christ is applied to vs. Last of al he ioyneth the end, when he saith, vnto the shewyng of his righteousnesse that he may be righteous & the righteousmaker of him that is of the faithe of Christe. And (to touche by the way that this righteousnes standeth of reconciliatiō) he setteth expressly by name, ȳ Christ was geuen to vs for reconciliatiō. So in the first chap. also to the Ephesians he teacheth ȳ we are receiued of God into fauour by meare mercie: that the same is wrought, by the intercession of Christ: receiued, by faith: all to this ende, that the glorie of the goodnesse of God may fully thyne. When we see that all the partes of our saluation are so without vs, what cause is there that wee shoulde now either haue affiance or glorie in workes? Neither can euen ȳ most sworne ennemies of the grace of God moue any controuersie with vs about the efficient or synall cause, vnlesse they wyll denye the whole Scripture. In the Materiall and formall cause the caste a false colour, as though our workes haue a half place with faith and the righteousnesse of Christ. But this also they teache; the Scripture crynge out against them, whiche simply affirmeth both that Christ is to vs for  
righte



righteousnesse and life, and that this benefit of righteousnesse is possessed by only faith.

But where as the holy men do oftentimes strengthen and comforte them selues with remembrance of their owne innocencie and vprightnesse, and sometime also forbear not to report of it with prayse, that is done twoo wayes: either that in comparing their good cause with the euell cause of the wicked, they conceiue thereby assured trust of victoꝝ, not so muche for commending of their own righteousnes, as for þ̄ iust & deserved condemning of their aduersaries: or that euen without comparison of other, while thei recorde the selues before God, the purenesse of their own conscience bringeth to them both some comfort & affiance. Of the first of these two wayes, we shall se hereafter: now let vs bꝛeꝛly declare of the latter, how it agreeth with that whiche we haue aboue said, þ̄ in the iudgemēt of God we must rest vpon no affiance of workes, and glorie vpon no opinion of them. This is the agreement that the holy ones, when it concerneth the founding and stablishinge of their saluation, do without respect of workes bend their eyes to the only goodnesse of God. And they do not only bend them selues to it afore al thinges as to the beginning of blessednesse, but do rest therein as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised & stablished, is also stablished with consideration of workes: namely so far as they are þ̄ witnessings of God dwelling & reigning in vs. Sithe therfore this affiance of workes hath no place, vnlesse thou haue first cast the whole affiance of thy mynde vpon the mercie of God: it ought not to seme cōtrary to þ̄ wherupon it hangeth. Wherfore whē we exclude the affiance of workes, we meane only this þ̄ a Christian mind may not bowe to the merit of workes as to the succour of saluation, but should thoroughly rest in the free promise of righteousnesse. But we forbid it not to vnderprop & strengthen this faith with the signes of the good will of God toward it selfe. For if al the good giffes whiche God hath bestowed vpon vs, whē they be recorded in remēbrance, are to vs after a certaine mannēt as it were beames of the face of God, by whiche we ar enlightened to behold that soueraigne light of goodnesse: much more is the grace of good workes, whiche sheweth that the Spirit of adoption is geuen vs.

When therfore þ̄ holy ones do by innocēcie of cōscience cōfirme their faith, & gather matter of reioysing, they do nothing but cal to minde by the frutes of their calling, þ̄ they are adopted of þ̄ Lord into þ̄ place of children. This therfore that is taught by Salomon, þ̄ in the feare of þ̄ Lord is stedfast assurednesse: & this þ̄ sometime þ̄ holy ones vse this protestation, to the entent þ̄ they may be heard of þ̄ Lord, þ̄ thei haue walked before his face in vprightnes & simplicitie: haue no place in laying the fundatis of stablishing of cōscience: but are the only of valie, if they be taken of the ensuing effect: because both þ̄ feare is no where whiche may stablish a full assurednesse, & the holy ones are priue in their conscience of such an vprightnes, wherewith ar yet mingled many reūates of the flesh. But forasmuchē as of the frutes of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghost dwelling in them, they do there by not slenderly strengthen them selues to loke for the helpe of God in all their necessities, when they by experience finde hym their father in so great a matter. And euen this also they canne not doe, vnlesse they

18

19

Pro. xiii.

Gen. xxxi.

ii. Re. x.

iii.

they



Eph. iiii.  
viii.

thei haue first conceyued the goodnesse of God, sealed with no other assurednesse, than of the promyse. For if they beginne to weye yt by good workes, nothing shalbe more vncertaine nor more weake: forasmuche as if workes bee considered by them selues, thei shall no lesse by theyr imperfection shewe prose of the wrathe of God, than thei do with how soeuer vnperfect purenes testifie his good wil. Finally thei do so set out the benefites of God, that yet they tourne not awaie from the free fauoure of God, in which Paul testifieth that ther is the length, breadth, depth and heigth of them: as if he shoulde say, Whether soeuer the senses of the godly do tourne themselues, howe hie soeuer thei clyme, how farre and wide soeuer thei extend them, yet thei ought not to goe oute of the loue of Christe, but holde them selues wholly in the meditation therof, bicause it comprehendeth al kindes of measures in it. And therfore he saithe that it excelleth and surmounteth aboue all knowledge: and that when we acknowledge howe muche Christe hath loued vs, we are fulfilled into all the fulnesse of God. As in an other place, when he glorieth that all the Godly are vanquishers in battell, he by and by addeth a reason, bycause of him that loued vs.

Rom. viii.  
viii.

20

We see now that ther ys not in the holy ones that affiance of workes, whiche either geueth any thinge to the merite of them (forasmuche as thei regarde them none otherwise than as the giftes of God, whereby thei reknowledg his goodnesse none otherwise than as signes of their calling, whereby maie thinke vpon their election) or whiche withdraueth not any thing from the free righteousnesse whiche wee obtaine in Christe, forasmuche as it hangeth vpon it, and standeth not withoute it. The same thing doth Augustine in few wordes, but very wel set out where he writeth. I do not saie to the Lorde, despise not the workes of my handes, or I haue sought the Lorde with my handes and haue not been deceiued. But, I do not commend the workes of my handes: for I feare, least when thou haste loked vpon them, thou shalt finde moe sinnes than merites. Onli this I say, this I ask, this I desire, despise not thy workes of thy hands, beholde in me thy worke, not mine. For if thou beholdest mine, thou damnest me: if thou beholdest thine, thou crownest me. For also whatsoeuer good workes I haue, they are of thee. He setteth two causes, why he dare not boaste of his workes to God, bycause if he haue any good workes, he seeth therein nothing his owne: secondly, bycause the same is also ouerwhelmed wyth multytude of synnes. Whereupon commeth to passe that the conscience feleth thereby more feare and dismayeng than assurednesse. Therfore he woulde haue God no otherwise to loke on his well domges, than that reknowledging in them the grace of his calling, he maie make an ende of the worke which he hath begonne.

21

But furthermore wheras the scripture sheweth that the good workes of the faithfull, are causes why the Lorde doth good to them, that is so to be vnderstanded, that that which we haue before set may stand vnshaken, that the Effect of our saluation consisteth in the loue of God the father: the Mater, in the obedience of the Sonne: the Instrument, in the enlightning of the holy ghoost, that is to saie, in faith: that the end is the glorie of the so great kindenes of God. These thinges withstande not, but that the Lorde maye embrace workes as inferioure



riour causes. But whence cometh that? Namely, Whome the Lord of his mercie hath appointed to the inheritace of eternal life, them in his ordinarie dispensation he doth by good workes bring into the possessiō thereof. That which goeth befoze in order of dispensatiō, he calleth the cause of that which foloweth. After this māner he sometime deriueth eternal life frō workes: not for that is to be ascribed to thē: but bicause whome he hath chosen, them he doth iustifie, that he may at lēgth glorifie them, he maketh the grace y<sup>e</sup> goeth befoze which is a step toward that which foloweth, after a certaine māner the cause of it. But so oft as he hath occasiō to assigne the true cause, he biddeth vs not to flee to workes, but holdeth vs in the only thinking vpon y<sup>e</sup> mercie of God. For what manner of thing is this which he reacheth by the Apostle, The reward of sinne is death: the grace of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, is life euerlasting: Why doth he not set righteousnesse in cōparison against sinne, as he setteth life agaynst death: Why doth he not make righteousnesse the cause of life, as he maketh sinne the cause of death: for so should the comparison of contraries haue stand well together, which is much broken by this turning. But the Apostle meant by this cōparison to expresse that which was truth, that death is due to the deseruings of men: that life is reposed in the only mercie of God. Finally in these māners of speaking is rather expressed the order than the cause: bicause God in heaping graces vpon graces, taketh cause of the first to adde the second, that he may leaue nothing vndone to the enrichyng of his seruantes: and he so continually extēdeth his liberalitie, that yet he would haue vs alway to looke vnto the free election which is fountaine & beginning of it. For although he loueth the gistes which he dayly geueth, in so much as thei spring out of that fountaine: yet it is our part to holde fast that free acceptation, whiche alone is able to vpholde our soules: as for such gistes of his Spirit as he afterward geueth vs, so to adioyne them to the first cause, that they minish nothing of it.

### The. xv. Chapter.

¶ That those things that are commonly boasted concerning the merites of workes, do eueryhow as well the praise of God in geuing of righteousnesse, as also the assurednesse of saluation.



Now we haue declared that which is y<sup>e</sup> chese point in this matter: that bycause yf righteousnesse be vpholden with workes, it must needes by & by fall downe befoze the sight of God, it is contained in y<sup>e</sup> only mercie of God, the only cōmunicating of Christ, & therefore in only faith. But, let vs diligētly mark that this is the chese stay of the matter, least we be entangled with that general erroz, not only of the cōmon people, but also of learned mē. for so sone as question is moued of the iustificatiō of faith & workes, they flee to those places which seme to geue to workes some merit in the sight of God: as though the iustification of workes were fully wonne, if it be ones proued that they be of any value with God. But we haue aboue plainly shewed that the righteousnesse of workes consisteth only in the perfect and ful keeping of the law. Wherupon foloweth that no mā is iustified by workes but he that hauyng climbed vp to the hiest top of perfection can not be proued guilty of any offense be it neuer so litle. Therefore it is an other & a seueral questiō:



the true text, which is corrupted in the Latine translation, appereth both by the framing of these woordes, & by a longer ioyning together of the sentence goyng befoze. In the Epistle to the Hebrues, there is no cause why they should snare vs in one litle word, when in the Greke woordes of the Apostle is nothing els but y<sup>e</sup> such sacrifices do please & are acceptable to God. This alone ought largely to suffice to subdue & beate downe the outragiousnesse of our pride, y<sup>e</sup> we faine not any worthinesse to woorkes beyōd the rule of Scripture. Now y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of the Scripture is, that all our good woorkes are continually be sprinkled with many filthy spottes, wherewith God may be woorthily offended and be angry with vs: so far is it of, that they be able to winne him to vs, or to prouoke his liberalitie toward vs: yet bicause he of his tender kindenesse doth not examine them by extremitie of law, he taketh thē as if they were most pure, and therfoze though without merite, he rewardeth them with infinite benefites bothe of this present life and of the life to come. For I do not allow the distinctiō set by mē otherwise learned & godly: that good woorkes deserue the graces that are geuen vs in this life, & that eternal life is the reward of faith alone. For the Lord doth cōmonly alway set in heauen the reward of laboꝝ and the crowne of battell. Agayne to geue it so to the merit of woorkes, y<sup>e</sup> it be taken away from grace, that the Lord heapeth vs with graces vpon graces, is against the doctrine of the Scripture. For though Christ sayth that to him that hath, shall be geuen, & that the faithful and good seruant which hath shewed himself faithful in few thinges, shall be set ouer many: yet he also sheweth in an other place, that the encrease of the faithful are y<sup>e</sup> gistes of his free goodnesse. All ye that thirst (sayth he) come to the waters: & ye that haue not monie, come and bye milke and honye without monie and without any exchange. What so euer therfoze is now geuen to the faithfull for help of saluation, yea & blessednesse it selfe, is the mere liberalitie of God: yet bothe in this and in those he testifieth that he hath consideration of woorkes: bicause, to testifie the greatnesse of his loue toward vs, he vouchsaueth to graunt such honoz not only to vs, but also to y<sup>e</sup> gistes which he hath geuē vs.

5 If these things had in the ages past ben handled & disposed in such order as thei ought to haue bē, there had neuer arisen so many troubles & dissensions. Paul sayth y<sup>e</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> bulding of Christian doctrine, we must kepe stil that fundation which he had layed amōg the Corinthiās, beside which no other can be layed: & that the same fundation is Iesus Christ. What māner of fundatiō haue we in Christ: is it, that he was to vs the beginning of saluatiō: that the fulfillyng therof should follow of our selues: & hath he but only opened the way, by which we should goe forwarde of our own strēgth: Not so: but, as he sayd a litle befoze, when we acknowledge him, he is geuē to vs for righteousnesse. No mā therfoze is wel founded in Christ, but he y<sup>e</sup> hath full righteousnesse in him: for asmuch as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle sayth not y<sup>e</sup> he was sent to help vs to obtaine righteousnesse, but that he himself might be our righteousnesse. Namely, y<sup>e</sup> we are chosen in him frō eternitie befoze the making of the world, by no deseruyng of oures, but accoꝝdyng to the purpose of the good pleasure of God: y<sup>e</sup> by his death we are redemed frō the dānation of death, & deliuered frō destruction: that in him we are adopted of the heauenly

Mat. xxb.  
Pp. & Pp.

Esa. lv. 1.

1. Cor. iij.  
P.

1. Cor. i.  
Pp.

Eph. i. iij.

Col. i. p. iij.  
& P.



heauenly father into childzen & heires: that by his blood we are recō-  
 ciled to the father: that beyng geuen to him to be kept we are deliue-  
 red from peril of perishing & of beyng lost: that beyng so engraffed in *John. 1.*  
 him, we are alredy after a certaine manner partakers of eternall life. *xxvii.*  
 beyng entred into the kingdome of God by hope: and yet moze: that ha-  
 uing obtained such partaking of him, how so euer we be yet fooles in  
 our selues, he is wisdom for vs before God: howsoeuer we be sinners,  
 he is righteoulnesse for vs: howsoeuer we be vncleane, he is cleannesse  
 for vs: howsoeuer we be weake, howsoeuer vnarmed & lieng open in  
 danger of Satan, yet oures is the power which is geue him in heauē  
 & earth, whereby he may treade downe Satā for vs, & bzeake y gates  
 of helles: howsoeuer we stil cary about w vs the body of death, yet he  
 is life for vs: bzeafely that al his things are oures, & we in him haue all  
 things, in our selues nothing: vpo this foundation, I say, it behoueth  
 that we be bulded, if we wil encrease into a holy temple to the Lord.

But y world hath a long time bē otherwise taught. For there haue  
 ben found out I wote not what mozal good workes, by which mē may  
 be made acceptable to God before y thei be graffed in christ. As though *i. Th. v. p.*  
 the Scripture lieth, whē it sayth, that they are al in death which haue  
 not possessed y Sonne. If they be in death, how shold thei bzing forth  
 matter of life: As though it were of no moze force, that whatsoeuer is *Ro. iiii.*  
 done without faith, is sinne: as though there may be good frutes of an  
 euell tree. But what haue these mozte pestilent Sophisters left to  
 Christ wherin he may shewe forth his power: They saye that he hath  
 deserued for vs the first grace, namely the occasion of deseruyng: that  
 it is nowe our part not to faile the occasion offred. O desperate shame-  
 lesnesse of vngodlinesse. Whoe would haue thought that men profes-  
 sing the name of Christ, durst so strippe him naked of his power, & in a  
 manner treade him vnder footes: This testimonie is eche where spo-  
 ken of him, that all they are iustified that beleue in him: these felowes  
 teache, that there cometh from him no other benefit, but this, that the  
 way is opened to euery man to iustifie himselfe. But I would to God  
 they tasted what these sayenges meane: that all they haue life y haue  
 the Sonne of God: that whosoer beleueth, is already passed from *i. Th. v.*  
 death into life: that we are iustified by his grace, y we might be made  
 heires of eternal life: that the faithful haue Christ abidyng in them, by  
 whome they cleaue fast to God: that they whiche are partakers of his  
 life, do sit with him in heauēly places: that they are transplanted into  
 the kingdome of God, & haue obtained saluatiō: & innumerable other  
 such. For they do not declare, that there cometh by the sayth of Christ  
 nothing but the power to obtaine righteoulnesse oz saluatiō, but that  
 they are bothe geuen to vs. Therfoze so sone as thou art by sayth en-  
 graffed into Christ, thou art already made the sonne of God, y heire of  
 heauē, partaker of righteoulnesse, possessoz of life, and (that their lies  
 may be better cōfuted) thou hast not obteyned y lit abilitie to deserue,  
 but euen all y deseruinges of Christ: for they are cōmunicated to thee.

So y Sozbonical schooles, y mothers of al errozs, haue takē frō vs  
 y iustificatiō of faith which is y lūme of al godlinesse. They graūt ve-  
 rily in word, y mā is iustified by formed faith: but this they afterward  
 expound, vicause good workes haue of faith this that they auayle to



righteousnesse: y<sup>e</sup> thei seme in a manner to name faith in mockage, si<sup>th</sup>e  
 w<sup>o</sup>ut great enuiousnesse it could not be passed ouer in silence, seyng it  
 is so oft repeted of the Scripture. And not yet cōtēted, they do in the  
 prayse of good wo<sup>r</sup>kes p<sup>r</sup>iuilie steale frō God somwhat to geue away  
 to mā. Bicause thei see that good wo<sup>r</sup>kes litle auaille to aduaūce mā, &  
 that they can not be properly called Merites if they be accompted the  
 frutes of the grace of God: they picke them out of the strength of free  
 will, oyle forsothe out of a stone. And they denye not in deede that the  
 p<sup>r</sup>incipal cause of thē is in grace: but they affirme that thereby is not  
 excluded free will, by whiche is all merit. And this not only the later  
 Sopisters do teach, but also their Pythagoras, Lombard: whom if you  
 cōpare with these men, you may say to be sound witted and sobze. It  
 was truely a point of maruelous blindenesse, that whē they had Au-  
 gustine so oft in their mouth, thei saw not with how great carefulnesse  
 that mā p<sup>r</sup>ouided y<sup>e</sup> no pece of the glozie of good wo<sup>r</sup>kes were it neuer  
 so litle, wold be cōueyed to men. Here befoze whe we entreated of free  
 will, we recited certaine testimonies of his to his purpose, of whiche  
 sozt there are oftentimes found many like in his w<sup>r</sup>itings: as whē he  
 forbiddeth vs y<sup>e</sup> we should no where bo<sup>s</sup>te of our merites, bicause euē  
 thei also are the giftes of God: And when he w<sup>r</sup>iteth, y<sup>e</sup> all our merit is  
 only of grace, that it is not gotten by our sufficiency, but is al made by  
 grace &c. It is no maruell that Lombard was blinde at y<sup>e</sup> light of the  
 Scripture, in which it appereth that he was not so wel p<sup>r</sup>actised. yet  
 nothing could be desired moze plaine against him & his disciples, than  
 this wo<sup>r</sup>d of y<sup>e</sup> Apostle. For whē he forbiddeth Christiās al glozieng,  
 he adioyneth a reason why it is not lawfull to glozie: bicause we are y<sup>e</sup>  
 handywo<sup>r</sup>ke of God, created to al good wo<sup>r</sup>kes, that we should walk  
 in thē. Si<sup>th</sup>e therfoze there cōmeth out of vs no good thing, but in so  
 much as we be regenerate: & our regeneratiō is whole of God with-  
 out exceptiō: there is no right why we wold claime to our selues one  
 ounce in good wo<sup>r</sup>kes. Finally whereas they cōtinually call bpō good  
 wo<sup>r</sup>kes, in the meane time they so instruct cōsciēces, that they neuer  
 dare haue affiāce, that they haue God wel pleased & fauozable to their  
 wo<sup>r</sup>kes. But cōtrarywise we, without makyng any mētion of Merit,  
 do yet by our doctrine raise bp the courāges of the faithful w<sup>o</sup> singular  
 cōfozt, whē we teach them y<sup>e</sup> in their wo<sup>r</sup>kes they please God & are vn-  
 doubtedly accepted vnto him. yea & also here we require y<sup>e</sup> no mā attēpt  
 or goe about any wo<sup>r</sup>ke without faith, that is to say, vnlesse he do sit  
 with assured confidence of minde determine that he shall please God.

Wherfoze let vs not suffer our selues to be led so much as one heare  
 bredth away frō this only fundatiō: which beyng layed, wise builders  
 do afterward wel & ozderly bulde vpon it. For if there be neede of doc-  
 trine & exhortatiō, thei put men in minde, that the Sonne of God hath  
 appered to this end, that he may destroy the wo<sup>r</sup>kes of the deuēl: that  
 they should not sinne which are of God, that the time past is enough  
 for the fulfilling of the desires of the Gentiles: that the elect of God are  
 vessels of mercie chosen out vnto honour, whiche ought to be made  
 cleane from al filthinesse. But al is spoken at ones, when it is shewed  
 that Christ wil haue such disciples, which forsaking themselves, & ta-  
 king bp their crosse, do follow him. He y<sup>e</sup> hath forsakē himself, hath cut  
 of



of the roote of al euels, that he maye no moze seke those thinges y are his owne. He that hath taken by his crosse, hath framed himself to all patience & mildenesse. But the example of Christ containeth both these and al other duties of godlinesse & holinesse. He shewed himself obedient to his father, euen to the death: he was wholly occupied in Doyng the woorkes of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glozie of his father: he gaue his soule for his brethren: he bothe did good & wished good to his enemies. If there be neede of cōfort, these wil byng marvelous comfort, that we be in affliction, but we are not made careful: that we labour, but we are not forsaken: we are brought lowe, but we are not cōfounded: we are throwē downe, but we do not perish: alway bearing about with vs in our body the mortifieng of Iesus Christ, that y life of Iesus may be manifestly shewed in vs, that if we be dead with him, we shall also liue together with him: if we suffer with him, we shall also reigne together with him: that we be so fashioned like to his sufferings, till we atteyne to the likenesse of his resurrection: for asmuch as the father hath predestinate these to be fashioned like the image of his sonne, whome in him he hath chosen, that he maye be the first begotten among all his brethren: and therfoze that neyther death, noz present thinges, noz thinges to come, shall seuer vs from the loue of God which is in Christ: but rather all thinges shall turne to vs to good and to saluation. Loe, we do not iustifie a mā by woorkes before God: but we say that all they that are of God, are regenerate & made a newe creature, that they may passe out of the kingdome of sinne into the kingdome of righteousnesse, & that by this testimonie thei make their calling certayne, and are iudged as trees by the frutes.

### The. xvi. Chapter.

A confutation of the sleanders, whereby the Papistes goe about to byng this doctrine in hatred.



With this one word may the shamelesnesse of certayne vngodly men be confuted whiche sleander vs with sayeng that we destroy good woorkes, and doe draw men awaye from the followyng of the, when we say that they are not iustified by woorkes, noz do deserue saluatiō: and againe, that we make to easy waye to righteousnesse, when we teache that it lieth in the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, and that we do by this enticement allure men to sinne, whiche are of their owne will to much enclined thereto already. These sleanders (I say) are with that one word sufficiently confuted: yet I will briefly answer to them bothe. They allege that by the iustification of fayth, good woorkes are destroyed. I leaue vnspeaken, what manner of men be these zelous louers of good woorkes whiche doe so backbite vs. Let them haue licence as freely to rayle as they do licētiously infect the whole world with the filthinesse of their life. They saine that they be greued, that when fayth is so gloriously aduanced, woorkes are dryuen downe out of their place. What if they be moze rayled by, and stablished: for neyther doe we dreame of a fayth voyde of good woorkes, noz a iustification that is without them. This onely is the difference, that when we confesse that fayth and good woorkes do necessarily hange together, yet we set iustification in fayth, not in woorkes. For what reason we doe so,

ii. Cor. iij. vij.

ii. Tim. ii. Phil. iii. f.

Rom. viij. xij.

ii. Pet. i. p.



Of the manner how to receiue

We haue in readinesse easily to declare, if we do but turne to Christ vnto whome our saythe is directed, and from whome it recepueth her whole strength. Why therefore are we iustified by faith: because by faith we take holde of the righteousness of Christ, by which alone we are reconciled to God. But this thou canst not take holde of, but that thou must also therewithall take holde of sanctification. For he was geuen to vs, for righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, & redemption.

Cor. i. 17 Therefore Christ iustificieth none whome he doth not also sanctifie. For these benefites are coupled together with a perpetuall and vnseparable knot, that whome he enlighteneth with his wisdom, them he redemeth: whome he redemeth, he iustificieth: whom he iustificieth, he sanctifieth. But for asmuch as our question is only of righteousness and sanctifieng, let vs stave vpon these. We maye put difference betwene them, yet Christ containeth them bothe vnseparably in himself. Wilt thou therefore obtaine righteousness in Christ: Thou must first possesse Christ: & thou canst not possesse him, but that thou must be made partaker of his sanctification: because he can not be torne in peces. Sith therefore the Lord doth graunt vs these benefites to be enioyed none otherwise than in geuing himself, he geueth them bothe together, the one neuer without the other. So appereth how true it is, that we are iustified not without workes, and yet not by workes: because in the partaking of Christ, wherby we are iustified, is no lesse cōteined sanctification than righteousness.

That also is mosse false, that the mindes of men are withdrawen from the affection of weldoing, when we take from them the opinion of merityng. Here by the way the readers must be warned, that they foolishly reason frō reward to merit, as I shall afterward more plainly declare: namely because they know not this principle, that God is no lesse liberal when he assigneth reward to workes, than when he geueth power to do well. But this I had rather differre to the place fit for it. Now it shall be enough to touche howe weake their obiection is: whiche shall be done two wayes. For first whereas they say that there shall be no care of well framyng of life, but when hope of reward is set before them: they erre quite from the truth. For if this only be entēded when men serue God, that they loke to reward, or let out to hire or sell their labors to him, they litle pzenayle: for God will be freely worshipped, freely loued: he (I say) alloweth that worshipper, which when all hope of receyuing reward is cut of, yet ceaseth not to worshippe him. Moreover if men be to be pricked forward, no man can put sharper spurres vnto them, than those that are taken of the ende of our redemption and calling: such as the word of God spur reth men withal, when it teacheth, that it is to wicked vnhākefulnesse, not mutually to loue him agayne whiche first loued vs: that by the blood of Christ our consciences are cleansed from dead workes, to serue the liuyng God: that it is a haynous sacrilege, if beyng ones cleansed, we defile our selues with newe filthinesse, and prophane that holy blood: that we are deliuered from the handes of our enemies, that we maye without feare serue him in holincesse and righteousness before him all the dayes of our life: that we are made free from sinne, that we maye with a free Spirit follow righteousness: that our olde man is crucified, that we

may

Hebr. ix.

Luc. i.

Rom. vi.



May rise agayne into newnesse of life: agayne that if we be dead with Christ (as becommeth his members) we must seeke those thinges that are aboue, and must in the world be wayfaring men from home, that we may long toward heauen where is our treasure: that the grace of God hath appered to this end, that forsakyng al vngodlinesse & worldly desires, we maye liue soberly, holyly, and godlyly in this world, looking for the blessed hope and the appering of the glozie of the great God & sauioz: therefore that we are not apointed that we should stirre by wrath to our selues, but that we may obteyne saluation by Christ: that we are the temples of the Holy ghost, which it is not lawfull to be defiled: that we are not darknesse, but light in the Lord, whiche muste walke as childzen of light: that we are not called to vncleannesse, but to holinesse: bicause this is the will of God, our sanctificatio, that we absteyne from vnlawfull desires: that our calling is holy, that the same is not fulfilled but with purenesse of life: that we are for this purpose deliuered from sinne, that we should obey to righteousnesse. Can we be picked forward to charitie with any moze liuely argument thā that of John, that we should mutually loue one an other as God hath loued vs: that herein his childzen do differ from the childze of the Deuell, the childzen of light from the childzen of darknesse, bycause they abide in loue: Againe with y argument of Paule, that we if we cleaue to Christ, are the members of one body, which it is mete to be holpen one of an other with mutuall duties: Can we be moze strongly prouoked to holinesse, than when we heare agayne of John, that all they that haue this hope, do sacrifice theselues, bycause their God is holy: Agayne of the mouth of Paule: that hauyng the promise of adoptio, we should cleanse our selues from all the defilyng of the flesh & spirit: than when we heare Christ setting forth himself for an example vnto vs that we should follow his steppes:

And these fewe thinges I haue set forth for a taste. For yf I should entred to goe through all, I should be dyuened to make a long volume. The Apostles are all full of encouragements, exhortations and rebukynges, whereby they maye instruct the man of God to euery good worke, and that without any mention of merit. But rather they fetch their these exhortations from this that our saluation standeth vpon the only mercie of God and vpon no merite of oures. As Paule, after that he hath in a whole Epistle discoursed that there is no hope of life for vs but in the righteousnesse of Christ, when he cometh downe to mozell exhortations, he besecheth them by that mercie of God whiche he hath vouchsafed to extēd to vs. And truely this one cause ought to haue ben sufficient, that God may be glorified in vs. But if any be not so vehemently moued with the glozie of God, yet the remembrāce of his benefites ought to haue ben most sufficient, to stirre by such mē to do well. But these men, whiche do paraduenture with thrustyng in of merites beate out some seruile and constrayned obediences of the lawe, do falsly saye that we haue nothing whereby we maye exhorte men to good workes, bicause we goe not the same waye to worke. As though God were much delited with such obediences, whiche protesteth that he loueth a cherefull geuer, and forbiddeth any thyng to be geuen as it were of heauinesse or of necessitie. Neyther doe I speake

Col. 3.

Tit. 2.

i. Thel. 1.

ii. Cor. 10.

Eph. 4. &amp; 5. viii.

ii. Cor. 10.

i. Thel. 4.

ii. Tim. 1.

ii. Rom. 12.

i. Th. xiii. 1.

i. Th. ii. 1.

i. Cor. 10.

i. Th. iii. 1.

ii. Cor. 10.

i.

3

i. Ro. 12.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.

i. Th. 1.



Co. 4. this for that I doe epyther refuse or despise that kinde of exhortation, whiche the Scripture oftentimes bleth, that it maye leaue no meane vnattempted euery way to stirre by our mindes. For it rehearseth the reward which God will render to euery mā accordyng to his woꝝkes. But I denie that that is the only thing, yea or the these amōg many. And then I graunt not y we ought to take beginning therat. Moreouer I affirme that it maketh nothing to y setting by of such merites as these men boſte of, as we ſhal hereafter ſee. Laſt of all I ſaye that is to no profitable ble, vnleſſe this doctrine haue firſt taken place, that we are iuſtified by the only merit of Chriſt, which is cōcepyed by faith but by no merites of our woꝝkes, bicauſe none can be fit to the endeuour of holineſſe, vnleſſe they haue firſt digeſted this doctrine. Which thing alſo the Prophet very wel ſignifieth, when he thus ſpeaketh to  
 L. 6. 77. God: With thee is mercie, that thou mayeſt be feared. For he ſheweth that there is no woꝝhippyng of God, but whē his mercie is acknowledged, vpon which alone it is bothe founded and ſtabliſhed. Which is very woꝝthy to be noted, that we maye know not only that the beginning of woꝝhippyng God aright is the aſſiance of his mercie, but alſo that the feare of God (whiche the Papistes will haue to be meritorious) can not haue the name of merite, bicauſe it is grounded vpon the pardon and forgyuenelle of ſinnes.

4 But it is a moſte bayne ſclaunder, that men are allured to ſinne, when we affirme the free forgyuenelle of ſinnes, in whiche we ſaye that righteousneſſe conſiſteth. For, we ſaye that it is of ſo great value, that it can with no good of oures be recompensed, and that therefore it ſhould neuer be obteyned, vnleſſe it were freely geuen. Moreouer that it is to vs in deede freely geuen, but not ſo to Chriſt which bought it ſo derely, namely with his owne moſte holy blood, byſide whiche there was no price of value enough that might be payed to the iudgement of God. When menne are taught theſe thinges, they are put in minde that it is no thanke to them that the ſame moſte holy blood is not ſhed ſo oft as they ſinne. Furthermoze we learne, that our filthineſſe is ſuche, as is neuer waſhed awaye but with the fountaine of this moſte pure blood. Ought not they that heare theſe thynges, to conceyue a greater horrour of ſinne, than yf it were ſayd that it is wyped awaye with the ſpꝝynklyng of good woꝝkes? And yf they haue any thyng of God, howe can they but dꝛed beyng ones cleaned, to wallowe themſelues agayne in the myze, as muche as in them lieth to trouble and infect the pureneſſe of this fountayne: I haue waſhed my feete (ſayth the ſaythfull ſoule in Salomō) how ſhal I againe defile them: Now it is euident, whether ſort doe bothe moze abace the forgyuenelle of ſinnes, and do moze make vile the dignitie of righteousneſſe. They babble that God is appeaſed with their owne tryſling ſatiſſactions, that is, their donge: We affirme that the giltyneſſe of ſinne is moze greuouſ than can bee purged with ſo light triſtes: that the diſpleaſure of God is moze heauie than can be releaſed with theſe ſatiſſactions of no value, and that therefore this is the prerogatiue of the only blood of Chriſt. They ſay that righteousneſſe (if it fayle at any time) is reſtored & repaired by ſatiſſactozie woꝝkes: we thynke it moze pꝛecious than that it can be matched with anye  
 recont.



recompense of woꝝkes, and that therfoze for the restozpnyng thereof we must flee to the only mercie of God. As for the rest of those things that pertyne to the forgeuenesse of synnes, let them be sought out of the next chapter.

## The. xvii. Chapter.

The agreement of the promises of the lawe and the Gospell.



**N**ow let vs also goe through the other argumētes wherewith Satan by the soldiars of his garde, goeth about eyther to ouerthrowe or batter the iustification of sayth. This I thinke we haue already wꝝong frō the sclaundersers, that they can no moze charge vs as enemies of good woꝝkes. For, iustification is taken awaye from good woꝝkes, not that no good woꝝkes should be done, or that those which be done should be denied to be good, but that we should not put affiāce in them, not glorie in them, not ascribe saluatiō to them. For this is our affiāce, this is our glorie, and the only authour of our saluation, that Christ the sonne of God is oures, and we likewise are in him the sonnes of God, and heyers of the heauēly kingdome, beyng called by the goodnesse of God, not by our owne woꝝthinesse, into þ hope of eternal blessednesse. But bicause they do beside these assaile vs, as we haue sayd, with oꝝther engines, goe to, let vs goe forwarde in beatyng awaye these also. First they come backe to the promises of the lawe, which the Lord did set forth to the keepers of his law: and they aske whether we wil haue them to be vtterly voyde or effectuell. By cause it were an absurditie and to be scoꝝned to say that they are voyde, they take it for confessed that they are of some effectualnesse. Hereupon they reason that we are not iustified by only sayth. For thus sayth the Lord: And it shalbe, yf thou shalt heare these commaundementes and iudgementes, and shalt kepe them and do them, the Lord also shall kepe with thee his coveniant and mercie whiche he hath swoꝝne to thy fathers, he shall loue thee and multiplie thee, and blesse thee, &c. Agayne, If ye shall wel direct your wayes and your endeuoꝝrs, yf ye walke not after strange Gods, yf ye do iudgement betwene man and man, and goe not backe into malice, I will walke in þ middelt of you. I will not recite a thousand peces of the same soꝝte, whiche lithe they nothyng differ in sense, shalbe declared by the solutiō of these. In a sunnne, Moses testifieth that in the lawe is set forth blesyng and curse, death and life. Thus therfoze they reson, that eyther this blesyng is made idle & frutelesse, or that iustification is not of sayth alone. We haue already befoze shewed, how if we sticke faste in the lawe, ouer vs beyng destitute of al biessing, hangeth only curse which is thzetened to al transgressoꝝrs. For the Lord promiseth nothyng but to the perfect keepers of his law, such as there is none found. This therfoze remaineth, that all mankinde is by the lawe accused, and subiect to curse & the wꝝath of God: from whiche that they maye be loosed, they must needes goe out of the power of the law, and be as it were bzought into libertie from the bōdage therof: not that carnall libertie whiche should withdraue vs frō the keepyng of the law, should allure vs to thinke all thinges lawfull and to suffer our lust, as it were the stapes beyng bzoken & with loose reynes

Deut. b  
xij.

Ier. vii.  
and xviii

Deut. p  
xxi.



reynes to runne at riot: but the spiritual libertie, whiche may comfoze and rayse by a dismayed and ouerthrowen conscience, shewing it to be free from the curse and damnation wherewith the lawe helde it downe bond and fast tied. This deliuerance from the subiectiō of the law, and Manumission (as I may call it) we obteyne whē by fayth we take holde of the mercie of God in Christ, wherby we are certified and assured of the forgenesse of sinnes, with the selyng wherof the law did prick and bite vs.

2 By this reason euen the promises that were offered vs in the lawe, should be all vneffectuall & voyde, vnlesse the goodnesse of God by the Gospell did help. For, this condition that we kepe the whole law, by which the promises hang, and wherby alone they are to be performed, shal neuer be fulfilled. And the Lord so helpeth, not by leauyng part of righteousnesse in our workes, and supplyeng part by his merciful bearyng with vs, but when he setteth only Christ for the fulfillyng of righteousnesse. For the Apostle, when he had before sayd that he and other Jewes belened in Iesus Christ, knowing that man is not iustified by the workes of the lawe, addeth a reason: not that they should be holpen to fulnesse of righteousnesse by the sayth of Christ, but by it should be iustified, not by the workes of the law. If the saythfull remoue from the law into sayth, that they may in sayth finde righteousnesse which they see to be absent from the law: truely they forsake the righteousnesse of the lawe. Therefore now let him that list, amplifie the rewardinges whiche are sayd to be prepared for the keeper of the law, so that he therewithall consider that it cometh to passe by our peruersnesse, that we fele no frute thereof till we haue obteyned an other righteousnesse of faith. So Dauid, when he made mention of the rewardyng whiche the Lord hath prepared for his seruantes, by and by descendeth to the reknewledging of sinnes, wherby that same rewardyng is made voyde. Also in the xix. Psalme, he gloriouly setteth forth the benefites of the law, but he by & by crieth out: Whoe shall vnderstand his faultes: Lord cleanse me from my secret faultes. This place altogether agreeth with the place before, where when he had sayd that all the wayes of the Lord are goodnesse and truth to them that feare him, he addeth: For thy names sake Lorde, thou shalt be mercifull to my peruersnesse, for it is muche. So ought we also to reknewledge, that there is in deede the good will of God set forth vnto vs in the lawe, if we might deserue it by workes, but that the same neuer cometh to vs by the deseruyng of workes.

3 How then: Are they geuen that they should banish away without frute: I haue eue now already protested that the same is not my meaning. I say verily that they vtter not their effectualnesse toward vs, so long as they haue respect to the merit of workes, and that therfore if they be considered in themselves, they be after a certayne maner abolished. If the Apostle teacheth that this noble promise: I haue geuen you commaundementes, which who so shal do, shall liue in them, is of no value if we stand still in it, and shal neuer a whit more profit than if it had not ben geuen at all: because it belongeth not euen to the most holy seruantes of God, whiche are all far from the fulfillyng of the lawe, but are compassed about with many transgressions. But when  
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the promises of the Gospel are put in place of them, which do offer free forgiveness of sinnes, they bying to passe that not only we our selues be acceptable to God, but that our workes also haue their thank: and not this only that the Lord accepteth them, but also extendeth to them the blessings which were by covenant due to the keeping of the law. I graunt therefore, that those things which the Lord hath promised in his law to the followers of righteousness & holiness, are rendered to the workes of the faithful; but in this rendering, the cause is alway to be considered that povereth grace to workes. Now causes we see that there be three. The first is, that God turning away his sight from the workes of his seruantes, which alway deserue rather reproche than praise, embraceth them in Christ, and by the only meane of faith reconcileth them to himself without the meane of workes. The second, that of his fatherly kindness and tender mercifulness, he lifteth by workes to so great honour, not weighing the worthiness of them, that he accompteth them of some value. The third, that he receiveth the very same workes with pardon, not imputing the imperfectio, wherewith they al being defiled, would otherwise be rather reckened among sinnes than vertues. And hereby appereth how much the Sophisters haue ben deceived, which thought that they had gayly escaped all absurdities when they sayd that workes do not of their owne inward goodness auayle to deserue saluation, but by the forme of the covenant, because the Lord hath of his liberalitie so much esteemed them. But in the meane time they considered not, howe far those workes which they would haue to be meritorious, were from the conditio of the promises, vnlesse there went before bothe iustification grounded vpon only faith, and the forgiveness of sinnes, by which euē the good workes themselues haue neede to be wiped from spottes. Therefore of three causes of Gods liberalitie, by which it is brought to passe that the workes of the faithful are acceptable, they noted but one, & suppressed two, yea and those the principall.

They alleage saying of Peter, which Luke rehearseth in the Actes: I finde in truthe that God is not an accepter of persones: but in every nation he that doth righteousness is acceptable to him. And hereupon they gather that which seemeth to be vndouted, that if man doth by right endeuors get himselfe the fauor of God, it is not the beneficiall gift of God alone that he obteyneth saluation: yea that God doth so of his mercie help a sinner, that he is by workes bowed to mercie. But you can in no wise make the Scriptures agree together, vnlesse you note a double acceptyng of man with God. For, such as man is by nature, God findeth nothyng in him whereby he maye be inclined to mercie, but only miserie. If therefore it be certayne that man is naked and needy of all goodness, and on the other side full stuffed and laden with all kindes of euels, when God first receyueth them: for what qualitie, I pray you, shal we say that he is worthy of the heauēly calling? Away therefore with the vaine imaginynge of merites, where God so euidently setteth out his free mercifulness. For, that which in the same place is sayde by the voice of the Angell to Cornelius, that his prayers and almes had ascended into the sight of God, is by these men most lewdly wrested, that man by endeuor of good workes is prepared to receive



receiue the grace of God. For it muste needes be that Cornelius was already enlightened with þe Spirit of wisdom, sith he was endued with true wisdom, namely with þe feare of God: þe he was sanctified with the same Spirit, sith he was a follower of righteousnesse, which the Apostle teacheth to be a most certaine frute therof. All those things therefore which are sayd to haue pleased God in him, he had of his grace; so far is it of þe he did by his own endeouor prepare himself to receive it. Truly there can not one syllable of the Scripture be brought forth, that agreeth not with this doctrine, þe there is none other cause for God to accept man vnto him, but bicause he seeth that mā should be euery way lost, if he be left to himselfe; but bicause he will not haue him lost, he vseth his own mercie in deliueying him. Now we see how this accepting hath not regard to the righteousnesse of man, but is a mere token of the goodnesse of God toward men beyng miserable and mooste vnrworthy of so great a benefit.

5 But after that the Lord hath brought man out of the bottomlesse depth of destruction, and seuered him to himselfe by grace of adoption: bicause he hath newe begotten him and newely formed him into a newe life, he nowe embraceth him, as a newe creature with the giftes of his Spirit. This is that acceptyng whereof Peter maketh mention, by which the faythfull are after their vocation allured of God euen in respecte also of workes: for the Lord can not but loue and kisse those good thinges which he worketh in them by his Spirit. But this is alwaye to be remembred, that they are none otherwise acceptable to God in respect of workes, but in as much as for their cause and for their sakes, whatsoener good workes he hath geuen them in encreasynge of his liberalitie, he also vouchesaueth to accept. For whense haue they good workes, but bicause the Lord, as he hath chosen them for vessels vnto honoz, so will garnish thē with true godlinesse: Whereby also are they accompted good, as though there were nothing wanting in them, but bicause the kinde Father tenderly graungeth pardon to those defozmities & spottes that cleaue to them: Summarily, he signifieth nothing els in this place, but that to God his childzen are acceptable & louely in whom he seeth the markes and features of his owne face. For we haue in an other place taught that regeneratiō is a reparyng of the image of God in vs. For asmuch as therfoze wheresoener the Lord beholdeth his owne face, he both workethily loueth it and hath it in honoz: it is not without cause sayd, that the life of the faithful beyng framed to holinesse & righteousnesse pleaseth him, but bycause the godly beyng clothed with mortall flewe, are yet sinners, and their good workes are but begonne and sauoyng of the faultinesse of the flewe: he can not be fauozable neyther to those nor to these, vnlesse he moze embrace them in Christ than in themselves. After this manner are those places to be taken, which testify that God is kinde & mercifull to the followers of righteousnesse. Moses sayd to the Israelites, The Lord thy God kepeth couenant, to a thousand generations: which sentēce was afterward vset of the people for a common manner of speache. So Salomon in his solemne prayer, sayth, Lord God of Israel, which kepest couenant and mercie to thy seruātes which walke befoze thee in their whole heart. The same

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ut. vij.

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same wordes are also repeted of Nehemias. For, as in al ꝑ couenātes of his mercie, ꝑ Lord likewise on their behalues requirerh of his seruātes byꝑrightnesse & holinesse of life, that his goodnesse should not be made a mockerie, & that no man swelling with vaine reioysing by reason therof should blesse his owne soule, walking in the meane time in the peruersnesse of his owne heart: so his wil is by this way to kepe in their dutie them that are admitted into the cōmuniō of the couenāt: yet neuerthelesse the couenāt it self is both made at the beginnyng free, & perpetually remayneth such. After this māner Dauid when he glorieth ꝑ there was redꝑed to him reward of the cleannesse of his hādes, yet omitteth not that fountaine which I haue spoken of, that he was drawn out of the wombe, bicause God loued him: where he so setteth out the goodnesse of his cause, that he abateth nothyng from the free mercie whiche goeth befoze all giftes, whereof it is the beginning.

And here by ꝑ way it shalbe profitable to touch what these formes of speakyng do differ from the promises of the law. I cal promises of the law, not those which are eche where cōmonly wꝑttrē in the bookes of Moses: (for as much as in them also are found many promises of ꝑ Gospel) but those which properly belong to the ministerie of the law. Such promises, by what name so euer you list to cal them, do declare that there is reward redy vpon condition, if thou do that which is cōmaunded thee. But when it is sayd, that the Lord kepeth the couenāt of mercie to thē which loue him, therein is rather shewed what māner of men be his seruantes which haue faithfully receiued his couenant, than the cause is expꝑessed why the lord should do good to them. Now this is the manner of shewyng it. As the Lord vouchsaueth to graunt vs ꝑ grace of eternal life, to this end that he should be loued, feared, & honored of vs: so whatsoeuer promises there are of his mercie in the Scriptures, they are rightfully directed to this, and that we should reuerence and worshop the authoz of the benefites. So ofte therefore as we heare that he doth good to them that kepe his law, let vs remēber that the children of God are there signified by the durie whiche ought to be continual in them: that we are for this cause adopted, that we should honor him for our father. Therfoze lest we should disserite our selues from the right of adoptiō, we must alway endeuoz to this wherunto our calling tendeth. But let vs againe kepe this in minde, ꝑ the accōplishment of the mercie of God hangeth not vꝑ the workes of the faithfull: but that he therfoze fulfillerh the promise of saluation to them whiche answer to their callyng in byꝑrightnesse of life, bicause in them he acknowerh the natural tokes of his children which are ruled with his Spirit vnto good. Herunto let ꝑ be referred which is in ꝑ xv. Psalme spoken of the Citezens of ꝑ Church, Lord whoe shal dwel in thy tabernacle, and whoe shal rest in thy holy hill: The innocent in hādes & of a cleane heart, &c. A gayne in Claie, Whoe shal dwel with deuouring fire? He that doth righteousnesse, he that speaketh right thinges &c. For there is not described the staves wherupon the faythfull may stand befoze the Lord, but the manner wherewith the most merciful father byꝑringeth thē into his felowship, & therein defendeth & strēgheneth them. For, bicause he abhorreth sinne, he loueth righteousnesse: whō he ioyneth to himself, them he cleanseth wꝑ his spirit, ꝑ he may

Rebe. i. 1

Deut. xx  
viii.ii. Sam  
xxv. i.

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Esa. xxxi  
iii.



Of the manner how to receiue

may make the of like fashion to himself & his kingdome. Therfoze if y<sup>e</sup> question be of y<sup>e</sup> first cause wherby the entrie is made open to the holy ones into the kingdome of God, frō whence they haue y<sup>e</sup> thei may stand fast & abide in it, we haue this answer ready, bicause the Lord by his mercie both hath ones adopted them, & perpetually defendeth them. But if the question be of the manner, then we must come downe to regeneration and the frutes therof, which are reherſed in that Psalm.

7 But there seemeth to be much more hardnesse in these places, which do both garnish good workes with the title of righteousnesse, & affirme that man is iustified by them. Of the first sort there be very many places, where the obseruinges of the commaundementes are called iustifications or righteousnesſes. Of the other sort, that is an exāple which is in Moſes, This ſhalbe our righteousnesse, if we kepe all these commaundementes. And if thou take exception & say that this is a promise of the law, which being knit to a cōdition impossible, proueth nothing. There be other of which you cā not make y<sup>e</sup> same answer, as this. And y<sup>e</sup> ſhalbe to thee for righteousnesse befoze the Lord, to redeliuer to the pooze man his pledge &c. Againe, that which the Prophet sayth, y<sup>e</sup> the zeale in reuenging the name of Israell, was imputed to Phinees for righteousnesse. Therfoze the Pharisees of our time thinke y<sup>e</sup> here they haue a large matter to triūph vpon. For when we say, that when the righteousnesse of faith is set vp, y<sup>e</sup> iustificatiō of workes geueth place, by the same right they make this argument, If righteousnesse bee of workes, then it is false that we are iustified by faith only. Though I graunt that the commaundementes of the law are called righteousnesſes: it is no maruell: for they are so in deede. Howbeit we muste warne the readers that the Grecians haue not fittly translated the Hebrue word Hucmi, Dikaiomata, righteousnesſes for cōmaundemētgs. But for the worde, I willingly release my quarell. For neyther doe we denie this to the law of God, that it containeth perfect righteousnesse. For although, by cause we are detters of all the thinges that it commaundeth, therfoze euen when we haue perfozmed ful obedience therof, we are vnprofitable seruātes: yet bicause the lord hath vouchſaued to graunt it the honoz of righteousnesse, we take not away that whiche he hath geuen. Therfoze we willingly confesse that the full obedience of the lawe is righteousnesse: that the keypng of euery cōmaundement, is a part of righteousnesse, yf so be that the whole summe of righteousnesse were had in the other partes also. But we denie that there is any where any suche forme of righteousnesse. And therfoze we take away the righteousnesse of the law, not for that it is maymed and vnperfect of it selfe, but for that by reason of the weakenesse of our flesh it is no where seene. But y<sup>e</sup> Scripture not only calleth simply the cōmaundemētes of the Lord, righteousnesſes: but it also geueth this name to the workes of the holy ones. As when it reporteth that Zacharie & his wife walked in the righteousnesſes of the Lord: truely whē it so speaketh, it weyeth workes rather by y<sup>e</sup> nature of y<sup>e</sup> law, thā by their owne propre estate. Howbeit here againe is that to be noted, which I eue now sayd, that of the negligence of the Greke translator is not a law to be made. But for asmuch as Luke wold alter nothing in y<sup>e</sup> receiued translation, I will also not strue about it. For God hath



commaunded these thinges that are in the lawe to men for righteousnesse: but this righteousnes we performe not but in keeping the whole lawe: for by euery transgression it is broken. Wheras therfore the lawe doth nothing but prescribe righteousnesse: if we haue respecte to it, all þe general commaundementes therof are righteousnes: if we haue respect to men of whome thei are done, thei do not obtaine the praise of righteousnesse by one worke, beinge trespassers in many, and by that same worke whiche is euer partly faulty by reason of imperfection.

But now I come to the second kinde, in which is the chefe hardnes. Paul hath nothing more strong to proue the righteousnesse of faith, than that whiche is written of Abraham, that his faith was imputed to him for righteousnesse. Sith therfore it is said that the acte done by Phinees was imputed to him for righteousnesse: what Paule affirmeth of faith, the same may we also conlude of works. Wherbypon our aduersaries, as though thei had wonne the victorie, determine that we are in dede not iustified without faith, but that we are also not iustified by it alone, and that workes accomplish our righteousnesse. Therfore here I beseeche the godly, that if thei knowe that the true rule of righteousnesse is to be taken out of the Scripture only, thei will religiously and earnestly weie with me, how the Scripture may without cauillations be rightly made to agree with it selfe. For asmuch as Paul knewe þe iustificatio of faith is þe refuge for them þe ar destitute of their own righteousnesse, he doth boldly cōclude þe al thei þe ar iustified by faith, ar excluded from the righteousnesse of works. But sith it is certayne that the iustification of faith is common to all the faithfull, he dothe thereof with like boldenesse conlude that no man is iustified by works, but rather contrariwise that men are iustified without any helpe of workes. But it is one thing to dispute of what value workes are by themselves, and an other thing what accompt is to be made of them after the stablishing of the righteousnesse of faith. If we shal set a price vpon workes according to their worthinesse, we saie that thei are vnworthy to come into the sight of God: and therfore that man hath no workes whereof he may glorie before God: then, that being spoiled of al helpe of workes he is iustified by only faith. Now we define righteousnesse thus, that a sinner being receiued into the communion of Christ, is by hys grace reconciled to God, when being cleansed with his bloode he obtineth forgiveness of sinnes, and being clothed with his righteousnesse as with his own, he standeth assured before the heauenly iudgment seate. Whē the forgiveness of sinnes is set before, the good workes which folowe haue now an other valuation than after their own deseruing: bycause whatsoeuer is in them vnperfect, is couered with þe perfectio of Christ: whatsoeuer spottes or fylthinesse there is, it is wyped away wyth hys cleannesse, þe it maye not come into þe examination of the iudgement of God. Therfore when the giltines of al trespasses is blotted out, whereby men are hindered þe thei can bring for the nothing acceptable to God, and when the faulte of imperfection is buried, whiche is wonte also to defile good workes: þe good workes which the faithfull do, are compted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteousnesse.

Now if any man object this against me to assaile the righteousnesse of faith, first I will aske whether a man be compted righteous for one



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or two holy works, being in the rest of the works of his life a trespasser of the law. This is more than an absurditie. Then I will aske if he be compted righteous for many good works, yf he be in any parte founde guilty. This also he shal not be so bolde to affirme, when the penal ordinance of the law crieth oute against it, & proclameth al them accursed which haue not fulfilled al the comaundementes of the lawe to the vttermost. Moreover I wil go further & ask, whether ther be any work that deserueth to be accused of no vncleannesse or imperfection. And howe could there be any such before those eies, to whom euē the very starres are not cleane enough, nor the Angeles righteous enough. So shal he be compelled to graunt that there is no good worke which is not so defiled with transgressions adioyned with it, & with y<sup>e</sup> corruptnesse of it selfe, that it can not haue the honoure of righteousnesse. Howe if it be certaine that it proceedeth from the righteousnesse of faith y<sup>e</sup> woorkes which are otherwise vnpure, vncleane, and but halfe woorkes, not worthy of y<sup>e</sup> sight of God, much lesse of his loue, are imputed to righteousnesse, why do thei w<sup>th</sup> boasting of the righteousnesse of woorkes destroye the iustificatiō of faith, wheras if this iustificatiō were not thei shold in vaine boaste of that righteousnes. Wyll thei make a bipers birth for therto end the saiengs of the vngodly mē. Thei can not denie that the iustificatiō of faith is the beginning, foundatiō, cause, matter, & substance of y<sup>e</sup> righteousnesse of woorkes: yet thei cōclude y<sup>e</sup> man is not iustified by faith, by cause good woorkes also are accōpted for righteousnesse. Therefore let vs let passe these follies & confesse as the truthe is, y<sup>e</sup> if the righteousnesse of woorkes of what sort soeuer it be accōpted, hangeth vpon the iustificatiō of faith, it is by this not onely nothing minished but also cōfirmed, namly wherbi the strength therof appeareth more mighty. Neither yet let vs think y<sup>e</sup> woorkes ar so cōmēded after fre iustificatiō, y<sup>e</sup> thei also afterward come into y<sup>e</sup> place of iustificieng a mā, or do parte y<sup>e</sup> office betwene them & faith. For vnlesse the iustificatiō remaine alway whole, the vncleannes of woorkes shalbe vncouered. And it is no absurditie, y<sup>e</sup> a man is so iustified by faith y<sup>e</sup> not only he himself is righteous, but also his woorkes are esteemed righteous aboue their worthynesse.

10 After this māner we wil graūt in woorkes not only a righteousnes in parts (as our aduersaries theselues wold haue) but also y<sup>e</sup> it is allowed of God as if it wer a perfect & ful righteousnesse. But if we remēbre vpon what foundatiō it is vpholdē, al y<sup>e</sup> difficultie shalbe dissolved. For then & not til thē it beginneth to be an acceptable worke, whē it is receiued w<sup>th</sup> pardō. Now whense cometh pardō, but bicause God beholdeth both vs & al our thinges in Christe. Therefore as we, when we are graffed into Christ, do therefore appeare righteous before God, bicause our wickedneses are couered with his innocence, so our woorkes are & be taken for righteous, bicause whatsoeuer faultines is othertwise in thē, being buried in y<sup>e</sup> cleannesse of Christe, it is not imputed. So we may rightfully sai, y<sup>e</sup> bi onli faith not oly we but also our woorkes ar iustified. Now if this righteousnes of woorkes of what sorte soeuer it be, hangeth vpon faith & free iustificatiō, & is made of it: it ought to be included vnder it, and to be sette vnder it as the effect vnder the cause therof, as I may so cal it: so farre is it of that it oughte to bee rayfed vpon either to destroy or darken it. So Paule, to dryue men to confesse y<sup>e</sup> oure blessednesse consisteth

Deut. xviii

Job. liii.  
xviii.



of y<sup>e</sup> mercy of God, not of works, chesli enforceih that saying of David, Blessed are thei whose iniquities are forgeuen, and whose sinnes are couered. Blessed is he to whom y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath not imputed sinne. If any mā do thrust in to y<sup>e</sup> contrary innumerable sayings wherin blessednesse seemeth to be geuen to works: as are these: Blessed is the man whiche feareth the Lord, whiche hath pitie on the poore, which hath not walked in the counsell of the wicked, which beareth temptation: Blessed are they which kepe iudgement, the vndefiled, the poore in Spirit, the meeke, the mercifull. &c. they shall not make but that it shall bee true which Paul saith, for bicause those thinges that ar ther cōmended are neuer so in man, that he is therfore allowed of God, it foloweth y<sup>e</sup> man is alwai miserable, vnlesse he be deliuered from misery by forgeueneesse of sinnes. for asmuch as therfore all the kindes of blessednes which ar extolled in the scriptures, do fal down void, so y<sup>e</sup> man receiueth frute of none of thē, til he haue obtained blessednes by forgeueneesse of sins, which mai afterward make place for thē: it foloweth y<sup>e</sup> this is not only y<sup>e</sup> hiest & the chese but also the only blessednes: vnlesse paradventure you will haue that it be weakned of those which consist in it alone. Now ther is much lesse reason why the calling of mē righteous shoulde trouble vs, which is cōmonli genē to y<sup>e</sup> faithful. I graūt verili y<sup>e</sup> thei ar called righteous of y<sup>e</sup> holines of lif: but for asmuch as thei rather endeuor to y<sup>e</sup> solowig of righteousness, than do fulfil righteousness it self, it is mete y<sup>e</sup> this righteousness suche as it is, giue place to the iustification of faith, from whence it hath that which it is.

But thei say that we haue yet more busines with James, namelye which w<sup>o</sup> opē voice fighteth against vs. for he teacheth both y<sup>e</sup> Abrahā was iustified by works, and also that al we are iustified by workes, not by faith only. What then: wil thei draw Paul to fight with James: If thei hold James for a minister of Christ, his saying must be so take that it disagre not frō Christ speakig by the mouth of Paul. The holy ghost affirmeth by the mouth of Paul, that Abrahā obtained righteousness by faith, not by workes: & we also do teach that all are iustified by faith without the works of y<sup>e</sup> law. The same holy ghost teacheth by James that both Abrahams righteousness and ours consisteth of workes, not of only faith. It is certain that the holy ghost fighteth not w<sup>o</sup> himselfe. What agreement shall ther be therfore of these two: It is enough for y<sup>e</sup> aduersaries, if thei pluck by the righteousness of faith which we wolde haue to be fastened with most depe rootes: but to render to consciences their quietnesse, thei haue no great care. Whereby verily you may see y<sup>e</sup> thei gnaw y<sup>e</sup> iustificatio of faith, but in y<sup>e</sup> meane tim do apoint no mark of righteousness wher cōsciences may stay. Therfore let them triumph as thei list, so y<sup>e</sup> thei may boaste of no other victorie than y<sup>e</sup> thei haue taken away all certaintie of righteousness. And this wretched victorie thei shall obtaine, where y<sup>e</sup> light of truth being quenched, y<sup>e</sup> lord shall suffer thē to ouerspred y<sup>e</sup> darknes of lies. But whersoener y<sup>e</sup> truth of God shall stand, thei shall nothing preuaile. I deny therfore y<sup>e</sup> the saying of James which thei still cōtinually hold by against vs as it wer y<sup>e</sup> helde of Achilles doth any thing at al make for thē. That this may be made plaine, first we must loke at y<sup>e</sup> mark y<sup>e</sup> the apostle shooteth at: & then we must note wher thei be deceiued. Bicause there were thē many (whiche

Pl. xxi.

Pl. cxi.

Pl. cxi. ii  
& cxi. i.  
Dat. b. ii

ii

Jam. i. xii



mischiefe is wont to be continual in y<sup>e</sup> Church) which openly bewraied their infidelitie, in neglecting & omitting al y<sup>e</sup> prope<sup>r</sup> works of y<sup>e</sup> faith: & yet celled not to boaste of y<sup>e</sup> false name of faith: James doth here mock y<sup>e</sup> folish boldnes of such mē. Therfore it is not his purpose in any point to diminish y<sup>e</sup> force of true faith, but to shew how fondly those trifles did challenge so much y<sup>e</sup> vaine image of it, y<sup>e</sup> being contented herw<sup>it</sup> thei carelessly ranne dissolutely abroade into all licentiousnesse of vices. This ground being cōceined, it shalbe easy to perceave where oure aduersaries do misse. For thei fal into two deceites in y<sup>e</sup> word, the one in y<sup>e</sup> name of faith, y<sup>e</sup> other in y<sup>e</sup> word of iustificieng. Whereas the Apostle nameth faith a vaine opinion farr distant from y<sup>e</sup> truth of faith, it is spokē by waie of graunting, which is no derogation to the matter: whych he sheweth at y<sup>e</sup> beginning in these words. What profiteth it, my brothre, If any man say y<sup>e</sup> he hath faith, & hath no works. He doth not say, if any haue faith wout workes, but, If any man boast. More plainly also he speaketh a little after, where he in mockerie maketh yt worse than the deuills knowledg: last of al, when he calleth it dead. But by the definition you maye sufficiently perceave what hee meaneth. Thou beleeuest (saith he) y<sup>e</sup> there is a God. Truly if nothing be contained in thys faith but to beleue that there is a God, it is now no maruel if it do not iustifie. And when this is taken from it, let vs not think that any thing is abated from the Christian faith, the nature whereof ys farre otherwise. For after what manner doth true faith iustifie vs, but when it cōioyneth vs with Christ, that being made one w<sup>it</sup> him, we may enjoy the partakynge of hys righteousness. It dothe not therefore iustifie vs by this that it conceiveth a knowledge of the beinge of God, but by thys that it resteth vpon the assurednesse of the mercy of God.

12

We haue not yet the work, vnlesse we examine also the other deceite in the word, for asmuche as James setteth part of iustificatiō in works. If you wil make James agreing both w<sup>it</sup> the rest of the Scriptures, & w<sup>it</sup> himself, you must of necessitie take the word of Iustificieng in an other significatiō thā it is takē in Paul. For Paul saith y<sup>e</sup> we ar iustified, whē y<sup>e</sup> remēbrance of our vnrighteousnes being blotted out, we ar accōpted righteous. If James had ment of y<sup>e</sup> takinge, he had wrongefully alleged y<sup>e</sup> out of Moses, Abraham beleued God. &c. For he thus frameth it together: Abraham bi works obtained righteousness, bycause he sticket not at y<sup>e</sup> cōmaudemēt of God, to offer vp his sonne. And so the Scripture was fulfilled whiche saith, that hee beleued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. If it be an absurditie, that the effect is before hys cause, eyther Moses dothe in that place falsely tellisie, that saythe was imputed to Abraham for righteousness: or he deserued not righteousness by that obedience whiche he shewed in offering vp of Isaac. Abraham was iustified by his faith, when Ismael was not yet conceined, whych was nowe growen past childehode before that Isaac was borne. How therefore shal we saie, that he got to himself righteousness by obedience which folowed long afterward. Wherefore either James did wrongfully misturne the ord<sup>r</sup> (which it is a wickednesse to thinke) or he meant not to say that he was iustified, as though he deserued to be accompted righteous. How then. Truly it appeareth that he speaketh of the declaration of righteousness and not the imputation: as yf he



he had saide. Whoso are righteous by true faith, thei doe proue their righteousnesse w<sup>th</sup> obediēce & good workes, not w<sup>th</sup> a bare & imagelike vi-  
sor of faith. In a sūme, he disputech not by what meane we ar iustificied,  
but he requireth of y<sup>e</sup> faithful a working righteousnesse. And as Paule  
affirmeth y<sup>e</sup> mē be iustificied w<sup>th</sup>out y<sup>e</sup> help of workes: so James doth here  
suffer thē to be accōpted righteous which want good workes. The cō-  
sidering of this end, shal deliuer vs out of al dout. for our aduersaries  
are hereby chefely deceiued, y<sup>e</sup> thei think y<sup>e</sup> James defineth y<sup>e</sup> māner of  
iustificieng, wheras he trauaileth about nothing els but to ouerthrowe  
their peruerse carelesnes, which did vainly pretend faith to excuse their  
despisinge of good workes. Therefore into howe manye waies soeuer  
thei wrest y<sup>e</sup> words of James, thei shal bring out nothing but two sen-  
tences: y<sup>e</sup> a vaine bodilesse shewe of faith doth not iustifie, & y<sup>e</sup> a faithful  
man not cōtented w<sup>th</sup> such an Imaginatiue shew, doth declare his righ-  
teousnesse by good workes.

As for y<sup>e</sup> which thei allege out of Paule the same meaning, y<sup>e</sup> the doers 73  
of y<sup>e</sup> law, not y<sup>e</sup> hearers, ar iustificied, it nothing helpeth them. I will not 20. ii. tit.  
escape away w<sup>th</sup> the solutiō of Ambrose, y<sup>e</sup> that is therfore spokē bicause  
the fulfilling of the law is faith in Christe. for I see y<sup>e</sup> it is but a meare  
starting hole, which nothing nedeth where there is abroad way open.  
There y<sup>e</sup> Apostle throweth down y<sup>e</sup> Jewes frō foolish cōfidence, whyche  
boasted thēselues of the only knowledg of the law, when in the meane  
time thei were the greatest despisers of it. Therfore that thei shold not  
stand so much in their own conceite for the bare knowledg of y<sup>e</sup> lawe he  
warneth thē, y<sup>e</sup> if righteousnesse be sought out of the law, not y<sup>e</sup> know-  
ledg but y<sup>e</sup> obseruing of it is required. We verily make no doubt of this  
y<sup>e</sup> the righteousnesse of the law standeth in workes: nor yet of this also,  
that the righteousnesse consisteth in the worthinesse & merites of workes.  
But it is not yet proued, y<sup>e</sup> we are iustificied by workes, vnlesse thei bring  
forth some man y<sup>e</sup> hath fulfilled y<sup>e</sup> lawe. And y<sup>e</sup> Paule meant none other  
wise, y<sup>e</sup> hanging together of y<sup>e</sup> text shalbe a sufficient testimonie. After  
that he had generally cōdemned the Gentiles & the Jewes of burigh-  
teousnesse, then he descendeth to the particular shewing of it, & saith y<sup>e</sup>  
thei which sinned w<sup>th</sup>out the Law, do perish w<sup>th</sup>out the law: which is spo-  
ken of y<sup>e</sup> Gentiles: but thei whiche haue sinned in y<sup>e</sup> law, are iudged by  
y<sup>e</sup> law: which pertaineth to the Jewes. Now bicause they winkinge at  
their own trespassinges, proudly gloried of the onely law: he adioyneth  
y<sup>e</sup> which most fitly agreed, y<sup>e</sup> the law was not therfore made, y<sup>e</sup> mē shold  
be made righteous by only hearing of y<sup>e</sup> voice therof: but then & not til  
then when thei obeyed: as if he shold say: Seekest thou righteousnesse in  
the law: allege not y<sup>e</sup> hearing of it, which of it self is of small importāce:  
but bring workes, by whiche y<sup>e</sup> maiest declare y<sup>e</sup> the lawe was not set for  
thee in vaine. Of these workes bicause thei were all destitute, it solō-  
wed y<sup>e</sup> thei wer spoiled of gloriēg of y<sup>e</sup> law. Therfore we must of y<sup>e</sup> mea-  
ning of Paule rather frame a contrary argument. The righteousnes of  
the law consisteth in y<sup>e</sup> perfectiō of workes. No man can boast y<sup>e</sup> he hath  
by workes satisfied y<sup>e</sup> law. Therfore there is no righteoung by y<sup>e</sup> law.

Now thei allege also these places, wherin y<sup>e</sup> faithful do boldly offer 14  
their righteousnesse to y<sup>e</sup> iudgmente of God to be examined, & require y<sup>e</sup>  
sentēce be geue of them according to it. Of which sort are these: Judge 19sa. vii. i



me O lord according to my righteousnes, & according to my innocencie,  
 which are in me. Again, Heare my righteousnesse, O God. Thou haste  
 proued my heart, & hast visited it in the night, & there was no wicked-  
 nesse founde in me. Againe, The Lorde shall rendre to me according to  
 my righteousnesse, & he shall recompense me according to þe cleannesse of  
 my hands. Bicause I haue kept þe waies of þe Lord, & haue not wicked-  
 ly departed frō my God. And I shall be vnspotted & shall kepe me frō my  
 iniquitie. Again, Iudge me, Lorde, bicause I haue walked in mine in-  
 nocence. I haue not sit w<sup>th</sup> lieng men, I wil not entre in w<sup>th</sup> thē þe do w<sup>ro</sup>-  
 ked things. Destroy not my soule w<sup>th</sup> þe vngodly, my life w<sup>th</sup> men of blood:  
 in whose hands ar iniquities: whose right hand is filled w<sup>th</sup> giftes. But  
 I haue walked innocently. I haue aboue spokē of the affiance which þe  
 holy ones do seme simply to take to thēselues of works. As for these tes-  
 timonies þe we haue here alleged, thei shall not much accōbre vs if they  
 be vnderstāded according to their compasse, or (as thei cōmonly call it)  
 their circumstance. Now þe same is doble. For neither would thei haue  
 them to be wholly examined, þe thei shold be either cōdēned or acquitted  
 according to þe continual course of their whole life: but thei bringe into  
 iudgment a special cause to be debated. Neither do thei claime to them-  
 selues righteousnes in respect of þe perfectiō of God, but by comparison  
 of naughty & wicked mē. First when þe iustifieng of man is entreated of,  
 it is not only required þe he haue a good cause in some particular mater,  
 but a certaine perpetual agreement of righteousnesse in his whole life.  
 But þe holy ones, when thei cal vpo þe iudgmēt of God to approue their  
 innocencie, do not offer thēselues free frō al guiltinesse & in euery behalfe  
 faultlesse: but verily whē thei haue fastned their affiance of saluation  
 in his goodnesse onely, yet trusting þe he is þe reuenger of þe poore afflic-  
 ted against right & equitie, thei cōmend to him þe cause wherein þe inno-  
 cent are oppressed. But when thei set their aduersaries w<sup>th</sup> thē before þe  
 iudgment seate of God, thei boast not of such an innocēce as shall aun-  
 swer to þe puruesse of God if it be seuerely searched, but bicause in cōpa-  
 rison of þe malice, obstinacie, fittletie & wickednesse of their aduersaries  
 thei know þe their plainnes, righteousnes, simplicitie, & cleanes is know-  
 wē & pleasing to God: thei feare not to cal vpo him to be iudge betwene  
 thēselues & thē. So when David said to Saul: The lorde rendre to euery  
 mā according to his righteousnesse & truth: he meant not that the  
 lord shold examine by himself & reward euery man according to his de-  
 seruings, but he toke þe lord to witnesse, how great his innocēcy was in  
 cōparisō of þe wickednes of Saul. And Paul himself, whē he boasteth w<sup>th</sup>  
 this gloryng þe he hath a good witnesse of cōscience, þe he hath trauay-  
 led w<sup>th</sup> simplicitie & bprightnesse in þe Church of God, meaneth not þe he  
 stādeth vpo such gloryng before God: but being cōpelled w<sup>th</sup> þe sclaunders  
 of þe wicked, he defendeth his faithful & honest dealing, which he knew to  
 be pleasing to þe merciful kindnes of God, against al euel speaking of mē  
 whatsoeuer it be. For we se what he saith in an other place, that he know-  
 weth no euel by himself, but þe he is not therby iustified: namly bicause  
 he knew þe the iudgment of god shal surmūter þe bleareyed sight of mē,  
 Howsoeuer therfore þe godly do defend their innocēce against þe hypocri-  
 tie of þe vngodly, by þe witnessing & iudgmēt of God: yet when thei haue  
 to doe wyth God alone, they all crye oute wyth one mouthe: If thou



marke iniquitie, Lorde, Lorde who shall abide it: Entre not into iudgement with thy seruantes: bycause euery one that liueth shall not be iustificied in thy sight: and distrusting their owne workes, thei gladly sing, Thy goodnesse is better than life.

There are also other places not vnylike to these before, in whiche a man may yet tarry. Salomon saith, that he whiche walketh in his vprightnesse, is righteous. Againe, That in the path of righteousnesse is life, and that in the same is not death. After whiche manner Ezechiell reporteth that he shall liue life that doth iudgment and righteousnesse. None of these do we either denye or darken. But let there come forth the one of the sonnes of Adam with such an vprightnesse. If ther be none, either thei must perishe at the sighte of God, or flee to the sanctuarie of mercie. Neither do we in the meane time denie but that to the faithfull their vprightnesse, though it be but halfe & vnperfect, is a step toward inmortalitye. But whence cometh that but bicause whome the Lord hath taken into the couenant of grace, he searcheth not their workes according to their deseruings, but kisseth them w fatherly kindenes. Wherby we do not only vnderstand þ which the scholemen do teache, þ workes haue their value of þ accepting grace. For thei meane, þ workes which are otherwise insufficient to purchase righteousnesse by þ couenant of þ law, are by þ accepting of God auanced to the value of equalitye. But I saie þ thei being defiled bothe w other trespassinges & with their owne spottes, are of no other value at al, than in so muche as the lord tenderly graunteth pardõ to bothe: þ is to say, geueth free righteousnesse to mā. Neither are here those praiers of the Apostle seasonably thrust in place, wher he wissheth so great perfectio to þ faithful, that thei may be faultlesse & vnblamable in the day of þ lord. These wordes in deede þ Celestines did in olde time turmoile, to affirme a perfectio of righteousnes in this life. But, which we thinke to be sufficient, we answer bresely after Augustine, that al the godly oughte in dede to endeuoure toward this mark, þ thei may one day appeare spotlesse & faultlesse before þ face of God: but bicause the best & most excellent māner of this life is nothing but a going forward, we shall then & not til then atteine to this mark, when being vnclorhed of this flesh of sinne we shall fully cleaue to þ lord. yet wil I not stiffely strue w him which will geue the title of perfectio to the holy ones, so þ he also limit the same w the words of Augustine himselte. Whan (saith he) we wil cal þ vertue of the holy ones, perfect: to the same perfectio also belongeth the acknowledging of imperfection bothe in trueth and in humilitie.

The. xviii. Chapter.

That of the reward, the righteousnesse of workes is ill gathered.

**N**ow let vs passe ouer to those saiengs which affirme, þ God wil rendre to euery man according to his workes: of whiche sort are these. Euery man shall beare away þ which he hath done in þ body, either good or euil. Glozy & honoure to him that worketh good: trouble & distresse bpõ euery soule of him that worketh euil. And thei whiche haue done good thinges, shall goe into the resurrection of life: thei which haue done euell, into the resurrection of iudgement. Come ye blessed of my father: I haue hungred, & ye gaue me

Pl. c. xxx.  
ii. & c. li. i  
Pl. xxxvii  
iii.

15  
Pro. ix. vi  
& xiii. xv  
Ez. xlii.  
ix. & xxxii  
xv.

Eph. i. iiii  
i. Thel. ii  
xiii.

Lib. ad Ro  
3. cap. 7.

Mat. xvi.  
xxvii.  
ii. Co. v. i  
Ro. ii. vi.  
John. v.  
xxx.  
Mat. xxv.  
xxiiii.



me meate: I haue thirsted, & ye gaue me drinke. &c. And w<sup>th</sup> the let vs al-  
 so ioine these saiengs, which cal eternal life & reward of works. Of whi-  
 che sort ar these. The rendring of y<sup>r</sup> handes of a man shalbe restored to  
 him. He y<sup>r</sup> feareth y<sup>r</sup> comaundemēt, shalbe rewarded. Be glad & reioise,  
 behold, your reward is plentiful in heauen. Euery man shal receiue re-  
 ward according to his labore. Wher it is said y<sup>r</sup> God shal rendre to eue-  
 ry man according to his works, y<sup>r</sup> same is easily assoiled. For, y<sup>r</sup> manner  
 of speaking doth rather shew y<sup>r</sup> ordre of folowing, than y<sup>r</sup> cause. But yf  
 is out of dout, y<sup>r</sup> the lord doth accōplish our saluatiō by these degrees of  
 his mercy whē those whom he hath chose he calleth to him: those whōc  
 he hath called, he iustifieth: those whom he hath iustified, he glorifieth.  
 Although therfore he do by his only mercie receiue them y<sup>r</sup> be his into  
 life, yet bicause hee bringeth them into y<sup>r</sup> possession therof by the race of  
 good works, y<sup>r</sup> he may fulfil his work in them by such ordre as he hath  
 apointed: it is no maruel if it be said y<sup>r</sup> thei be crowned accordig to their  
 works, by which w<sup>th</sup>out doubt they are prepared to receiue the crowne  
 of immortalitye. Yea & after this manner it is sittyly said that thei worke  
 their own saluatiō, when in applieng themselves to good works, they  
 practise theselues toward eternall lie: namly as in an other place thei  
 are comaunded to work y<sup>r</sup> meate which perisheth not, when bi beleving  
 in Christ thei get to theselues life: & yet it is by & by afterwarde added:  
 Which y<sup>r</sup> sonne of man shal geue you. Wherby appeareth y<sup>r</sup> the word of  
 Working is not set as contrary to grace, but is referred to endeuoure: &  
 therfore it foloweth not, y<sup>r</sup> either y<sup>r</sup> faithful ar theselues authozs of their  
 own saluatiō, or y<sup>r</sup> thesame proceedeth frō their works. How then? So  
 sone as thei are taken into the felowship of Christ, by the knowlodge of  
 the Gospell, & the enlightning of the holy ghoſt, eternal life is begone  
 in them. Now the same good worke which God hath begonne in them,  
 must also be made perfect vntil the day of the lord Jesu. And it is made  
 perfect, when resembling the heauenly father in rightousnesse & holi-  
 nesse, thei proue theselues to be his children not swarued out of kinde.

2

There is no cause why we hold of y<sup>r</sup> name of reward gather an ar-  
 gument y<sup>r</sup> our works ar y<sup>r</sup> cause of saluatiō. first let this be determined  
 in our hearts, y<sup>r</sup> the kingdome of heauē is not a reward of seruants, but  
 an inheritance of childrē, which thei only shal enioy, y<sup>r</sup> ar adopted of the  
 lord to be his children: & for no other cause, but for this adoptiō. For, the  
 sonne of y<sup>r</sup> bond womā shal not be heir, but y<sup>r</sup> sōne of y<sup>r</sup> fre woman. And  
 in y<sup>r</sup> very same places, in which y<sup>r</sup> holy ghoſte promisseth to works eter-  
 nal glozie for reward, in expressing y<sup>r</sup> inheritance bi name, he sheweth y<sup>r</sup>  
 it cometh frō els where. So Christ rehearseth works, which he recom-  
 penseth w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> rewarding of heauē, when he calleth y<sup>r</sup> elect to y<sup>r</sup> possessiō  
 therof: but he therwal adioyneth y<sup>r</sup> it must be possessed by right of inhe-  
 ritance. So Paul biddeth seruantes, which do their duerie faithfully,  
 to hope for reward of y<sup>r</sup> lord: but he addeth, of inheritance. We see how  
 thei do as it were by expresse wordes proued y<sup>r</sup> we impute not eternall  
 blessednes to works, but to y<sup>r</sup> adoptiō of god. Why therfore do thei ther-  
 wal together make mentiō of works? This questiō shalbe made plaine  
 w<sup>th</sup> one exāple of scripture. Before y<sup>r</sup> birth of Isaac, ther was promised  
 to Abraham a seede in which al y<sup>r</sup> nations of y<sup>r</sup> earth shold be blessed: &  
 a multiplieng of his seede, which shold match y<sup>r</sup> starres of y<sup>r</sup> skie, and the  
 sandes



landes of the sea, & other like. In many yeares afterwarde, Abraham, as he was comaunded bi þ̄ oracle, prepared himself to offer vp his sone in sacrifice. When he had performed this obedience, he receyued a promise. I haue Sworne by my selfe (saith þ̄ lord) bicause þ̄ hast done thys thing, & hast not spared thine owne only begottē sonne, I wil blesse thee and multiplie thy seede as þ̄ starres of the skie, & the landes of þ̄ sea: thy seede shal possesse þ̄ gates of their enemies, & al the nations of the earth shal be blessed in thy seede, bicause þ̄ hast obeyed my voice. What heare we? Hath Abraham by his obedience deserued the blessing, the promise wherof he had receiued before þ̄ the comaundemēt was geuen: Here verily we haue it wout circūstances shewed, þ̄ the lord rewardeth þ̄ workes of þ̄ faithfull w̄ those benefites which he had already geuen thē before þ̄ the workes were thought of, hauing yet no cause why he shoulde do good to them but his owne mercie.

Yet doth the Lord not deceiue nor mocke vs, when he saith that he rewardeth for rewarde to workes the same thing which he hadde before workes freely geuen. For, bicause he will haue vs to be exercised wyth good workes, to thinke vpo the deliuerie or enioyng (as I may so call it) of these things which he hath promised, and to runne through them to the blessed hope set before vs in heauen, the frute of the promises is also rightly assigned to thē, to the ripenesse wherof thei do not bring vs. The Apostle very littly expressed both these points, when he said þ̄ the Colossians applie themselues to the duties of charitie, for the pope which is laied by for them in heauen, of which thei had before heard by the word of the true speaking Gospel. For whē he saith þ̄ thei knew by the Gospel, þ̄ there was hope layed by for them in heauen, he declareth þ̄ the same is by Christ only, not vnderpropped w̄ any workes. Wherew̄ accordeth þ̄ sayeng of Peter, þ̄ the godly are kept by the power of God, through faith, vnto the saluatiō which is ready to be manifestli shewed at the time appointed for it. When he sayth þ̄ thei labor for it, he signifieth that the faithfull must runne all the time of their life, that thei may atteine to it. But least we shoulde thinke that the rewarde whiche the lord promiseth vs, is not reduced to the measure of merit, he did putte forth a parable, in which he made himselfe a householder, whiche sent al them that he met, to the trimming of his vineyarde, some at the first houre of the daye, some at the second, some at the thirde, yea & some also at the xi. At euening he payed to euery one egall wages. The expolitio of whiche parable, that same olde writer what soeuer he was, whose booke is carried abroadē vnder the name of Ambrose of the callinge of the Gentiles, hath brefely and truely sette oute. I wyll vse rather his woordes than myne owne. The Lord (saith hee) by the rule of thys comparison, hath stablised the dyuersitie of manifolde calling, belonging to one grace: where without doubt thei whiche beinge lette in in to the vineyard at þ̄ xi. houre, are made egal w̄ them þ̄ had wrought the whole day, do represent þ̄ estate of thē, whom for the aduancig of the excellency of grace, the tender kindenes of the lord hath rewarded at the waning of the day, and at the ending of their life: not paieng wages for their labore, but pouring out þ̄ richesse of his goodnes vpo thē whome he hath chosen w̄ out workes, þ̄ euen thei also which haue sweet in great labour, & haue receiued no more than the last, may vnderstand þ̄ they

Se. xii. ii  
& xiii.

3

Col. i. xii.

i. Pet. i. v.

Mat. xii. a

Li. i. c. d. 30



haue receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of works. Last of al, this also is worthy to be noted in these places, wher eternal life is called þ reward of works, þ it is not simply take for þ communicating which we haue w God to blessed immortalitie, whē hee embraceth vs w fatherly good wil in Chyriste: but for the possessing or enioying (as thei cal it) of blessednesse, as also þ very words of Chyrist do sound, In time to come life euerlasting. And in an other place, Come & possesse þ kingdom. &c. After this manner Paul calleth adoptiō, þ reueling of þ adoptiō which shalbe made in þ resurrection: & afterward expoudereth it þ redēptiō of our body. Otherwise as estranging frō God is eternal death, so when man is receiued of God into sauour, þ he may enioye þ cōmunicating of him & be made one w him, hee is receiued frō death to life: which is done by the beneficiall meane of adoption onely. And if, as thei are wonte, thei stiffely enforce the reward of works, we maie tourne against them that sayeng of Peter, that eternall life is the reward of faith.

4

Therefore let vs not think, þ the holy ghoste doth w such promise set forth þ worthinesse of our works, as if thei deserued such reward. For the scripture leaueth nothing to vs, wherof we may be aduanced in þ sight of God. But rather it wholly endeuozeeth to beate down oure arrogance, to humble vs, to throwe vs downe, & altogether to breake vs in peces. But our weaknes is so succoured, which otherwyse wold by & by slippe & fal down, vnlesse it did susteine it self w this expectation, & mitigate her tedious greues w cōfort. first how harde it is for a man to forsake & deny not only al his things, but also himselfe, let euery man consider for himself. And yet w this introduction Chyrist traineth his scholars, þ is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life he so instructeth thē vnder the discipline of the crosse, þ thei may not set their hearte eyther to the desire or cōfidēce of present good things. Brefely he so handleteth them for the most part, þ which way so euer they tourne their eyes throughout þ whole widenesse of þ worlde, thei haue on every side nothing but desperation present before thē: so þ Paul saith, þ we are more miserable then al mē, if our hope be only in this world. That thei shold not faint in these so great distresses, þ lord is present w them, whyche putteth them in minde to lift vp their heade hyer, to cast their eyes further, þ thei find w him þ blessednes which thei se not in þ world. Thys blessednes he calleth, reward, wages, recompense, not weying þ merit of workes, but signifieng þ it is a recōpensing to their troubles, sufferinges, sclaunders. &c. Wherfore nothing wstādeth, but þ we may after þ example of the scripture, cal eternal life a rewarding, bicause in it the lord receiueth his from labors into rest, from afflictiō in to prosperous & happy state, from sorowe into gladnesse, from pouertie into flowing wealth, from shame into glorie, & changeth al þ euels whiche thei haue suffered for greater good things. So it shal also be no incōuenience, yf we think holines of life to be a way, not which openeth an entrie into þ glorie of þ heauēly kingdom, but wherby þ elect ar led of their God in to þ disclosing of it: forasmuche as this is his good wil, to glorifie them whome he hath sanctified. Onely let vs not imagine a cauiliatiō of merite & reward, wherein the Sophisters do fondly stick fast, bicause thei cōsider w this end which we set forth. But how vnordzely is it, when þ lord calleth vs to one end, for vs to loke to an other: Nothing is more

euidente

Mat. f.

ff.

Mat. pfb.

pff.

Rom. viii

viii

Pet. t. ij

Cor. v.

ff.

Rom. vii.

ff.



the weakenesse of our flesh with some comfort, not to pisse by our mindz wyth glorie. Whosoever therefore dothe thereby gather the merit of workes, or doth in one balance weie worke with rewarde, he erreth far from the right marke of God.

Wherfore when the Scripture sayth that God the iust iudge wyll one day rendre to his a crowne of righteousnesse, I do not onli take exception with Augustine, & say. To whome should he being a iust iudge, render a crowne, if he had not beinge a mercifull father geuen grace: & how should there be righteousnesse, vnlesse grace went before whiche iustificieth the vnrightheous. How should these due thinges be rendred, vnlesse these vndue thinges were first geuen. But also I adde an other thing. Howe should he impute righteounesse to our workes, vnlesse his tender mercifulnesse did hide þ vnrightheousnesse that is in them. Howe should he iudge them worthy of reward, vnlesse he did by immeasurable bountifulnesse take away that which is worthy of punishment. For he is wont to call eternal life, grace: bicause it is rendred to the free giftes of God when it is repaid to workes. But the Scripture doth further humble vs, & therewithal raise vs by. For beside this þ it forbiddeth vs to glorie in workes, bicause thei are the free giftes of God, it therewithal teacheth that thei are alwaye defiled with some dregges, that thei can not satisfie God, if thei be examined by the rule of his iudgmente: butte least our courage should faint, it teacheth that thei please by only pardõ. But although Augustine speaketh somwhat othervise than we do: yet that he doth not so disagree in the matter, shall appeare by hys wordz in his thirde boke to Boniface. Wher when he had compared two men together, þ one of a life euen miraculously holy & perfect, the other honest in dede and of vncorrupt maners, but not so perfect but that much wanteth in him: at the last he concludeth thus. Euen this man which in manners semeth much inferioure, by reason of the true faith in God wherof he liueth & according to which he accuseth himselfe in al his offenses, in al his good workes praiseth God, geuing to himselfe the shame, & to him þ glorie, & taking from himselfe both þ pardon of sinnes, & the loue of weldoings, when he is to be deliuered out of this life, he passech into the feloship of Christe. Wherfore, but bicause of faith. Which although it saue noman wout workes (for it is it, which worketh by loue, not a reprobate faith) yet by it also sinnes are releasid, bicause þ righ-  
 teous man liueth of faith: but without it euen the same whiche seeme good workes are turned into sinnes. Here verily he doth plamely cõfesse þ which we so muche traual to proue, that the righteousnesse of good workes hangeth herebpon, that thei are by pardon allured of God.

A very neare sense to the places aboue recited, haue these: Make to your selues friends of the Hammon of wickednes, that when you shall faile, thei may receiue you into euerlasting tabernacles. Comaund the riche men of this worlde not to be proudly minded, nor to trust in vncertaine riches but in the liuing God, to do well, to become riche in good workes, to laye by in store for themselues a good foundation against the time to come, that thei maye obtaine eternal life. For good workes are cõpared to þ riches, which we may enioy in þ blessednes of eternal life. I answer, þ we shall neuer come to þ vnderstandinge of thẽ, vnlesse we turne our eies to the mark whereunto the holy ghoſte directeth his  
 wordes,

5  
 ii. Cl. iiii.  
 viii.  
 Aug ad Va  
 lent. de gr.  
 & lib. arb.

Cap. 5.

Habac. 2.  
 iiii.

8  
 Luk. xxi.  
 i.  
 Tim. vi.  
 viij.



words. If it be true which Christ saith, that oure minde abydeeth there where oure treasure is, as the children of the world are wont to be earnestly bent to the getting of those things which serue for the delites of this present life: so the faithfull muste loke, siſthe thei haue learned that this life shall by & by vanishe awaie like a dreame, that thei sende those thinges whiche thei woulde enioye, thether where thei shall haue perfect life. We must therefore do as thei do which purpose to remoue into any place, where thei haue chosen to rest their whole lyfe. They sende their goods before, & do not discontentedly want thē for a time: bicause thei thinke them selues so much more happy, how much more goodes thei haue wher thei shall tarry longe. If we beleue þ heauen is our coue tree, it behoueth vs rather to sende away our richesles thether than to kepe thē here where we must lose them w sodeine remouing. But how shall we sende them thether? If we cōmunicate to the necessities of the poore: to whome whatsoener is geuen, the lord accompteth it geuen to himself. Wherebpon cometh that notable promise. He that geueth to the poore, lendeth for gaine to the Lorde. Agayne: He that liberally soweth, shall liberally reape. For those thinges are deliuered into the hand of the lord to kepe, which are bestowed vpon our brotʰren by the duetic of charitie. He, as he is a faithfull keper of þ whiche is deliuered to him, will one daie restore it with plentiful gaine. Are thē our dutiefull doinges of so greate value with God, that thei be as richesles laied vp in store for vs in his hand? Whoe shall feare so to saie, when the Scripture dothe so ofte and plainely witnesse it? Butte if any man will leape from the mere goodnesse of God to the worthinesse of workes, he shall be nothing holpen by these testimonies to the stablishing of his errour. For you cā gather nothing rightly therof but þ mere inclinatio of Gods tendernes towarde vs: soasmuche as to encourage vs to wel doinge, although the seruices whiche we do to him are not worthy of so muche as his onely loking vpon them, yet he suffreth none of them to be losse.

7 But thei more enforce the wordes of the Apostle, whiche when hee comforteth the Chessalomans in troubles, teacheth that the same are sent to them, þ thei maye be accōpted worthy of the kingedome of God, for whiche thei suffer. For (saith he) it is righteous with God, to render trouble to thē that trouble you: but to you, rest with vs when the lorde Iesus shall be shewed from heauen. But the authore of the epistle to the Hebrewes saith, God is not vnrighteous, þ he shoulde forget your work, & þ loue which you haue shewed in hys name for þ you haue ministred to the saintes. To the firste place I answer, that there is no worthinesse of merit spoken of: but bycause God the father willetʰ that we whome he hath chosen to be hys chyldren, shoulde be made like to Christe his firste begotten sonne: as it behoued that hee shoulde firste suffer, and then entre into the glorie apointed for him: so muste we also by manye tribulations entre into the kingdome of heauē. Therefore when we suffer tribulations for the name of Christe, there are as it were certayne markes printed vpon vs, wherew God bleseth to marke the shepe of hys flock. After this māner therefore we are accōpted worthy of þ kingdome of God, bicause we beare in oure body the markes of oure lord & master which ar þ signes of þ childrē of God. To this purpose make these sayings. That we beare about in our body þ mortificatio of Ies<sup>us</sup> Christ þ hys

Mat. xxi.  
xl.  
xxo. xii.  
xvii.  
ii. Cor. ix.  
vi.

1. The. i.  
v.

Heb. vi. r.

Ro. i. viii.  
xii.  
Luc. xiiii.  
xxvi.  
Act. ii. f.  
xvi.

Gal. vi.  
vii.

1. Co. iii. r

hys



his life maye bee shewed in vs. That we bee fashioned like to his sufferings, that we may come to the likenesse of his resurrection from the dead. The reason whiche is adioined serueth not to proue any worthinesse, but to confirme y<sup>e</sup> hope of y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of God: as if he had said, As it agreeth w<sup>th</sup> the iust iudgmente of God, to take vengeance of your enemies for the vexations that thei haue done to you: so agreeth it also to geue to you release and reste from vexations. The other place, which teacheth that it so becommeth the righteousnesse of God not to forgett the obediences of them that be his, that it declareth it to be in a maner vnrightheous if he should forget them, hath this meaning: God to quicken our slouthfulnesse, hath geuen vs assurance y<sup>e</sup> the labour shall not bee vaine which we shall take for his glorie. Let vs alwaye remembre that this promise, as all other should bring vs no profit, vnllesse the free couenaunt of mercie went before, wherevpon the whole assurednesse of our saluacion should rest. But standing vpon that couenant, we ought assuredly to trust, there shall also not want rewarde of the liberalitie of God to oure workes howsoeuer thei be vnworthy. The Apostle, to confirme vs in y<sup>e</sup> expectation, affirmeth y<sup>e</sup> God is not vnrightheous, but wil stand to his promise ones made. Therefore thys righteousnesse is rather referred to the truth of Gods promise, than to his iustice of rendring due. Accordyng to which meaning there is a notable saienge of Augustine, which as y<sup>e</sup> holy mā sticketh not to reherse often as notable, so I think it not vnworthy y<sup>e</sup> we should continually remembre it. The lord (saith he) is faithfull, which hath made himself decter to vs, not by receyuing any thinge of vs, but by promising all thinges to vs.

There are also alleged these saienges of Paul. If I haue al faithe, so that I remoue mountaines out of their place, but haue not charitie, I am nothing. Again, Nowe there remaine hope, faith & charitie, but the greatest amōg these is charitie. Again, Aboue all things haue charitie, which is y<sup>e</sup> bōd of perfectiō. By y<sup>e</sup> first two places our Pharises affirme that we are rather iustified by charitie than by faith, namely by y<sup>e</sup> chefer vertue as thei saie. But this sond argument is easily wyped away. For we haue in an other place already declared, y<sup>e</sup> those things whyche ar spoke in y<sup>e</sup> first place pertaine nothing to true fayth. The other place we also expound of true fayth, thā which he saith y<sup>e</sup> Charitie is greater: not y<sup>e</sup> it is moze meritorious, but bicause it is moze frutefull, bicause it extendeth further, bicause it serueth mo, bicause it remaineth alway i force, wheras the vse of faith cōtinueth but for a time. If we haue regard to excellence, y<sup>e</sup> loue of God should worthily haue the chefe place, of whiche Paul here speaketh not. For he enforceth this thing onely, y<sup>e</sup> we should w<sup>th</sup> mutuall charitie edifie one an other in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, but let vs imagine y<sup>e</sup> charitie dothe euery waie excell faithe: yet what man of sounde iudgement, yea or of sound braine, wil gather thereof y<sup>e</sup> it doth moze iustifie. The power of iustificieng which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthinesse of y<sup>e</sup> worke. Our iustification standeth vpon y<sup>e</sup> onely mercie of God & the deseruing of Christ, which iustificatiō when faith taketh holde of, it is said to iustifie. Now if you aske our aduersaries in what cense they assign iustification to charitie, thei wil answer y<sup>e</sup> bicause it is a dutiefull doing acceptable to God, therefore by y<sup>e</sup> deseruing therof righteousnesse is imputed to vs bi the acceptatiō of the goodnes of God. Here you see

In psal. 32.  
v. 109.

8  
1. Cor. viii.  
Colof. iii.  
viii.

howe



how wel the argument procedeth. We say y<sup>e</sup> faith iustificeth, not bicause by y<sup>e</sup> worthinesse of it selfe it deserueth righteousnes to vs, but bicause it is an instrument by whyche we freely obtaine the ryghteousnesse of Christ. These men, omitting the mercy of God, and passing ouer Christ, (where the summe of righteousnesse standeth) do affirme that we are iustificed by the benifite of charitie bicause it excelleth aboue faith: euen as if a man wolde reason that a king is fitter to make a shooe than is a shooemaker, bicause he is an infinite way more excellent. This only argument is a plaine example that all the Sorbonicall schooles doo not so much as taste with the vtermoste part of their lippes what y<sup>e</sup> iustification of faith is. But if any wrangler do yet carpe and aske, why in so small distance of place we take the name of faith in Paul so diuersly: I haue a weightie cause of this exposition. For sith those giftes whyche Paul rehearseth are after a certaine maner vnder faith & hope, bicause thei pertain to y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of God, he contemneth them al by way of recapitulation vnder y<sup>e</sup> name of faith & hope: as if he wold say by y<sup>e</sup> prophetic, & tonges, & the grace & knowledg of interpretation tend to this mark to leade vs to y<sup>e</sup> knowlege of God. And we know God in this life none otherwise but by hope & faith. Therefore when I name faith and hope, I comprehend al these things together. And so ther remain these three, Hope, faith, Charitie: y<sup>e</sup> is to say, how great diuersitie of gifts so euer ther be, thei ar al referred to these. Among these y<sup>e</sup> chiefe is charitie, &c. Out of y<sup>e</sup> third place thei gather, If Charitie be the bond of perfection, then it is also y<sup>e</sup> bond of righteousnesse which is nothing els but perfection. first, to speake nothing howe Paul ther calleth perfection, when y<sup>e</sup> membres of y<sup>e</sup> Churche wel set in ordre do cleaue together, & to graunt y<sup>e</sup> we are by charitie made perfecte before God: yet what newe thing bring thei forth: For I will alwaie on y<sup>e</sup> contrarie side take exceptio<sup>n</sup> & sai y<sup>e</sup> we neuer come to this perfectio<sup>n</sup>, vnlesse we fulfil al y<sup>e</sup> parts of charity, & therupō I wil gather, y<sup>e</sup> sith all mē ar most farr frō y<sup>e</sup> fulfilling of charitie, therfore al hope of perfection is cutt of from them.

6 I wil not go through al y<sup>e</sup> testimonies which at this day y<sup>e</sup> solish Sorbonistes rashly snatch out of y<sup>e</sup> scriptures, as thei first come to hande, & do throw them against vs. For, some of thē are so worthi to be laughed at, y<sup>e</sup> I my selfe also can not rehearse them, vnlesse I wold worthily be compted fond. Therefore I wil make an end, when I shal haue declared the saieng of Christ, wherw<sup>th</sup> thei maruelously please theselues. For, to y<sup>e</sup> lawyer which asked him what was necessarie to saluatio<sup>n</sup>, he answered: if y<sup>e</sup> wilt entre into life, kepe y<sup>e</sup> comaundemēt<sup>s</sup>. What wold we more (sai thei) when we are comaunded by y<sup>e</sup> autho<sup>r</sup> of grace himselfe to get y<sup>e</sup> kingdom of God by y<sup>e</sup> keping of his comaundemēt<sup>s</sup>. As though forsoth it were not certain, y<sup>e</sup> Christe tēpered his answeres to thē w<sup>th</sup> whom he saw y<sup>e</sup> he had to do. Here a doctor of y<sup>e</sup> law asketh of y<sup>e</sup> meane to obtaine blessednes, & not y<sup>e</sup> onely, but w<sup>th</sup> doing of what thing men maye attein vnto it. Bothe y<sup>e</sup> person of him y<sup>e</sup> spake & the question it self led y<sup>e</sup> Lord so to answer. The lawyer being filled w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> persuasio<sup>n</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> righteousnes of y<sup>e</sup> law, was blinde in conscience of works. Againe, he sought nothing els but what wer y<sup>e</sup> works of righteousnes, by which saluatio<sup>n</sup> is gottē. Therefore he is worthily sēt to y<sup>e</sup> law, in which ther is a perfect mirrore of righteousnes. We also do w<sup>th</sup> a loude voice pronounce y<sup>e</sup> the commaundementes



comāndemētis must be kept, if life be sought in workes. And this doctriu is necessary to be knowē of Christiāis. For how shold thei see to Christ if thei did not acknowledg ꝑ thei ar fallē frō ꝑ way of life into ꝑ hedlōge Downefal of Death. But how shold thei vnderstand how far they haue straided frō ꝑ way of life, vnlesse thei first vnderstande what is ꝑ way of life. For the thei are taughte ꝑ the sanctuarie to recouer saluacion, is in Christ, whē thei see how great difference there is betwene their life & ꝑ righteousnesse of God whiche is contained in ꝑ keping of the law. The summe is this, that if saluacion be sought in workes, we muste kepe ꝑ comāndemētis by whiche we are instructed to perfect righteousnes. But we must not stick fast her, vnlesse we wil faint in our midde course: for none of vs is able to kepe ꝑ comāndemētis. Sith therfore we are excluded frō ꝑ righteousnesse of ꝑ law, we must of necessity resort to an other helpe, namly to ꝑ faith of Christ. Wherefore as here ꝑ lord calleth back ꝑ doctor of the law whom he knew to swel w vaine confidence of workes, to the lawe wherby he may learne ꝑ he is a sinner subiect to the dreadful iudgement of eternal death: so in other places, wout making mention of ꝑ law, he cōforteth other ꝑ are already humbled with suche knowledge, with promise of grace, as, Come to mee all ye ꝑ labour & are loden, & I wil refresh you, & ye shal finde rest for your soules.

Matt. 11.  
117.

10

At the laste when thei are weary w wresting the Scripture, thei fall to subtleties & sophisticall argumentes. Thei cauil vpon this that faith is in some places called a worke, & therupon thei gather ꝑ we do wrongfully set faith as contrarie to workes. As though he so to the faith in ꝑ it is an obeying of the will of God, do the with her own deseruing procure vnto vs ryghteousnesse, and not rather by cause by embracing the mercie of God, it sealeth in oure heartes the righteousnesse of Christe offered to vs of it in the preaching of ꝑ Gospell. The readers shal pardō me if I do not tarry vpon confuting of suche follies, for thei themselues without any assaulte of other, are sufficiently ouerthrowen with theyz owne feeblenesse. But I will by the way confute one obiection whyche seemeth to haue some shewe of reason, least it shold trouble some that are not so well practised. Sith comon reason teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular sinnes are imputed to vs for vnrighteousnesse, thei say it is meete that to al particular good workes be geuē the praise of righteousnesse. Thei do not satisfie me which answer, that the damnation of men proprely proceedeth from only vnbelefe, not frō particular sinnes. I do in dede agree to them, that vnbelefe is the fountaine & roote of all euels. For it is the firste departinge from God, after which do folow the particular trespassinges against ꝑ law. But wheras they seeme to set one selfe same reason of good and euell workes in weleng of righteousnesse or vnrighteousnesse, therein I am compelled to disagree from them. For the righteousnes of workes is the perfecte obedience of the lawe. Therefore thou canst not be righteous by workes, vnlesse thou do folow it as a streight line in the whole cōtinuall course of thy life. From it so sone as thou haste swarued, thou arte fallen into vnrighteousnesse. Hereby appeareth that righteousnesse commeth not of one or a fewe workes, but of an vnswaruing and vnweried obseruing of ꝑ wil of god. But ꝑ rule of iudging vnrighteousnesse is most cōtrari. For he ꝑ hath comitted fornicatio, or hath stolen, is by one offence gylty

Ihou. vi.  
17.



## Of the manner howe to receiue

of death, bicause he hath offended against the maiestie of God. Therefore these our suttile arguers do stumble, for that thei mark not this saying of James, that he which sinneth in one, is made gylty of al, bicause he that hath forbidden to kil, hath also forbidden to steale. &c. Therefore it ought to seeme no absurditie when we saie that death is the iuste rewarde of euery sinne, bicause thei are euery one worthy of the iuste displeasure and vengeance of God. But thou shalt reason foolishly, if on the contrarie side thou gather that by one good worke man may be reconciled to God, whiche with many sinnes deserueth his wrath.

### The. xix. Chapter.

Of Christian libertie.



**N**ow we must entreate of Christian libertie: the declaration whereof he must not omit whose purpose is to comprehend in an abridgment the summe of the doctrine of the Gospel. For it is a thing principally necessarie, & without the knowledge wherof conscience dare in a manner enterprise nothing without doubting, thei stumble and start back in many things, thei alway stagger & tremble: but specially it is an appendant of iustification, and auasleth not a little to the vnderstanding of the strength thereof. Yea thei that earnestly feare God, shall hereby receiue an incomparable frute of that doctrine which the wicked & Lucianicall men do pleasantly taunt with their scoffes, bicause in the spiritual darkenesse wherby they be taken, euery wanton railing is lawfull for them. Wherfore it shall now come forth in fitt season: & it was profitable to differ to this place the plainer discoursing of it, (for we haue already in diuers places lightly touched it) bicause so sone as any mention is brought in of Christian libertie, then either filthy lustes do boyle, or mad motions do arise, vnlesse these wanton wittes be timely met withall, whiche doe otherwise most naughtily corrupte the beste thinges. For, some men by pretense of this libertie, shake of all obedience of God, and breake forth into an vnbridled licentiousnesse: and some men disdain it, thinking that by yet all moderation, order and choise of thinges is taken awaie. What hold we here do, beinge compassed in suche narrowe streights: Shall wee bidde Christian libertie farewell, and so cutt of all fitt occasion for suche periles: But, as we haue saide, vnlesse the be fast holden, neither Christ, nor the truthe of the Gospel, nor the inward peace of the soule is rightly knowen. Rather we must endeouore that so necessarie a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the meane time those sonde objections may be mette withall whiche are wont to rise thereupon.

**C**hristian libertie (as I think) consisteth in three partes. The firste, that the consciences of the faithfull, when the affiance of their iustification before God is to be sought, may raise & aduance themselves aboue the lawe, and forget the whole righteousnesse of the lawe. For si the lawe (as we haue already in an other place declared) leaueth no man righteous: either we are excluded from all hope of iustification, or we muste be loosed from the lawe, and so that there be no regarde at all hadde of workes. For whoso thinketh that he must bring somwhat be it neuer so little of good workes to obtaine righteousnesse, he can not appointe any ende or measure of them, butte maketh him selfe detter to the whole lawe.

Jam. ii.

Lactan, a  
godlesse  
man.

2



law. Therfore taking away al mention of the law, and layinge aside al thinking vpon woꝝkes, we must embrace the onely mercye of God; when we entreate of iustification: and turning away our sighte from our selues, we must behold Christ alone. For ther the question is not how we be righteous: but how although we be vnrigheteous and vnwoꝝthy, we be taken for woꝝthy. Of which thinge if consciences wyll atteine any certaintie, thei must geue no place to y<sup>e</sup> lawe. Neither can any man hereby gather that the law is superfluous to the faithfull, whom it doth not therfore cease to teache, and exhorte, and pꝛicke for warde to goodnesse, although befoze the iudgmentseate of God it hath no place in their consciences. For these two thinges, as they are most diuerse, so must be wel and diligently distinguished of vs. The whole life of Christians ought to be a certaine meditation of godlinesse, by cause they are called into sanctification. Herein standeth the offyce of the law, y<sup>e</sup> by putting them in mind of their duetie, it hold stric them by to the endeuoz of holynesse & innocencie. But when cōsciēces are carefull how they may haue God mercifull, what they shall answer, & vpon what affiance they shall stand if they be called to his iudgement, there is not to be reckened what y<sup>e</sup> law requireth, but onely Christ must be set forth for righteousness, whiche passeth all perfection of the lawe.

Upon this point hangeth almost al the argumēt of the Epistle to the Galathians. For, that thei be fond expositers which teach that Paule there cōtendeth only for the libertie of ceremonies, may be pꝛoued by the places of the argumēt. Of which sort are these. That Christ was made a curse for vs, that he might redeme vs frō the curse of the law. Again, Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, & be not againe entangled with the yoke of bondage. Beholde, I Paule say, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall nothing pꝛofit you. And he which is circumcised is dettoz of the whole law. Christ is made idle to you whosoeuer ye be y<sup>e</sup> are iustified by the law: ye are fallē away frō grace. Wherin truely is conteyned some hier thing than the libertie of ceremonies. I graūt in deede y<sup>e</sup> Paule there entreateth of ceremonies, bicause he cōtendeth with y<sup>e</sup> falle Apostles, which wēt about to bzing againe into the Christian Church y<sup>e</sup> old shadowes of law which were abolished by y<sup>e</sup> cōming of Christ. But for the discussing of this questiō, there were hier places to be disputed, in which the whole controuersie stood. First bicause by those Jewish shadowes y<sup>e</sup> brightnesse of y<sup>e</sup> gospel was darkened, he sheweth that we haue in Christ a ful geuing in deede of al those thinges whiche were shadowed by the ceremonies of Moses. Secondly, bicause these deceiuers filled y<sup>e</sup> people with a most noughty opiniō, namely y<sup>e</sup> this obediēce auailed to deserue y<sup>e</sup> fatiōz of God: Here he standeth much vpon this point, that the faithfull should not thinke y<sup>e</sup> thei cā by any woꝝkes of the law, much lesse by those litle pꝛinciples, obtaine righteousness befoze God. And therewithal he teacheth, y<sup>e</sup> thei are by the crosse of Christ free frō the dānatiō of the law, which otherwise hangeth ouer al men, y<sup>e</sup> they should with ful assurednesse rest in Christ alone. Which place pꝛopzely pertaineth to this purpose. Last of al he mainteineth to the cōsciēces of the faithfull their libertie, that they should not be bound with any religion in thinges not necessarie.

The second part, which hangeth vpon that sozmer part, is that cō-

Eph. i. iiii.  
i. Thes. iii.  
v.

3

Gal. iii.  
iii. & v. 13

Gal. iiii.  
iii.



Deut. xl. v

sciences obey the law, not as compelled by the necessitie of the law: but beyng free frō the yoke of the law it self, of their owne accōrd thei obey the wil of God. For, bicause they abide in perpetual terroz, so long as they be vnder the dominio of the law, thei shal neuer be with chereful rediuesse framed to y obediēce of God, vnlesse thei first haue this libertie geuen thē. By an exāple we shal both moze bziefly & moze plainly perceiue what these things meane. The cōmaudemēt of the law is, y we loue our God w al our heart, with al our soule, w al our strēgths. That this may be done, our soule must first be made boide of all other sense & thought, our heart must be cleāsed of al desires, al our strēgths must be gathered by & drawē together to this only purpose. Thei which haue gone most far befoze other in the way of the Lord, are yet bery far from this marke. For though they loue God with their minde, and with sincere affection of heart, yet they haue still a great part of their heart and soule possessed with the desires of the fleche, by which they are drawn back and stayed from goyng forward with hasty course to God. They do in deede trauayle forward with great endeuoꝝ: but the fleche partly febleth their strengthes, and partly draweth them to it self. What shal they here do, when they fele that thei do nothing lesse thā perfoꝝme the law: They wil, thei couet, they endeuoꝝ, but nothing with such perfection as ought to be. If they loke vpon the law, they see that whatsoeuer woꝝke they attēpt oz purpose, is accursed. Forther is there any cause why any man should deceiue himself with gathering that the woꝝke is therefoze not altogether euell, bycause it is vnperfect: and therfoze that God doth neuerthelesse accept that good which is in it. For, the law requiring perfect loue, condēneth al imperfection, vnlesse y rigor of it be mitigated. Therfoze his woꝝkes should fal to nought which he wold haue to seme partly good: & he shal finde y it is a transgression of the law, euen in this bicause it is vnperfect.

5     Loe, how al our woꝝkes are subiect to the curse of the law, if thei be measured by y rule of y law. But how shold thē vnhappy soules cherefully applie thēselues to woꝝk, for which thei might not trust that they colde get any thing but curse: On the otherside, if beyng deliuered frō this seuerer exacting of the lawe, oz rather from the whole rigor of the lawe, thei heare that they be called of God with fatherly gentlenesse: thei wil meryly & with great cherefulnesse answer his calling & folow his guiding. In a summe, they which are boūd to the yoke of y law, ar like to bōdseruāts, to whō are apointed by their lozdes certain taskes of woꝝk for euery day. These seruāts thinke y thei haue done nothing, noꝝ dare come into y sight of their lozdes, vnlesse they haue perfoꝝmed the ful talke of their woꝝkes. But childzē, which are moze liberally & moze freemālike handled of their fathers, stick not to pꝛesent to them their begonned & half vnperfect woꝝkes, yea & those hauing some fault, trusting y they wil accept their obediēce & willingnesse of minde, although thei haue not exactly done so much as their good wil was to do. So must we be as may haue sure affiāce, y our obediēces shal be allowed of our most kinde father, how little soeuer, & how rude & vnperfect soeuer thei be. As also he assureth to vs by y pꝛophet: I wil spare thē (saith he) as y father is wont to spare his sonne y serueth him. Where this woꝝd Spare, is set for to beare wal, oz gētly to winke at faultes,

Mal. iii.  
viii.



fozasmuch as he also maketh ment'ion of seruice. And this affiance is not a litle necessarie for vs, without which we shall go about all thinges in vaine. For God accompteth himselfe to be worshipping with no worke of ours but which is truly done of vs for the worshipping of him. But how can that be done among these terrors, where it is doubted whether God be offended or worshipping with oure worke?

And that is the cause why the authoz of the Epistle to the Hebzuers, referreth all the good workes y<sup>e</sup> are red of in the holy fathers, to faith, and weyeth thē only by fayth. Touching this libertie there is a place in the Epistle to the Romaines, where Paule resoneth y<sup>e</sup> some oughte not to haue dominion ouer vs, bicause we are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. For when he had exhorted the faithfull that sinne should not reygne in their mortall bodie, and that they should not geue thei<sup>r</sup> members to be weapons of wickednesse to sinne, but should dedicate them selues to God, as they that are alyue from the deade, and thei<sup>r</sup> members, weapons of righteousnes to God: and whereas they might on the other side obiect that they do yet carry with them the fleshe full of lustes, and that sinne dwelleth in them, he adioyneth that comfote by the libertie of the law, as if he should say. Though they doo not yet thzoughly fele sin destroyed & y<sup>e</sup> righteousnes yet liueth not in thē, yet ther is no cause why they should feare & be discouraged as though they had ben alwaie displeas'd w<sup>th</sup> thē for the remnantes of sin. forasmuch as they ar by grace made free from the law, that thei<sup>r</sup> workes should not be examined by the rule of the law. As for them th<sup>a</sup>. gather y<sup>e</sup> we may sinne because we ar not vnder the law, let thē know that this libertie pertaineth nothing to them, the ende wherof is to encourage to God.

The third part is, that we be bound with no conscience befoze God of outward thinges which are by them selues indifferent, but that we may indifferently sometime vse thē, and sometime leaue them vntised. And the knowledge of this libertie also is very necessary for vs: for if it shall be absent, there shall be no quiet to our consciences, no ende of superstitions. Many at this daye do thinke vs tonde to moue disputa- tion about the free eating of fleshe, about the free vse of dayes, and garmentes and suche other smale trifles as they in dede thinke them: but there is moze weight in them than is commonlye thoughte. For when consciences haue ones cast thē selues into the snare, they entre into a long and combersome waye, from whence they can afterwarde finde no easy way to get oute. If a man beginne to doubt whether he maye occupye linnen in shetes, shertes, hankercheifes, and napkines, neither wil he be out of doubt whether he may vse hempe, and at the last he wil also fal in doubt of maters, for he will waye with himselfe whether he can not suppe without napkins, whether he maye not be without handkerchifes. If any man thinke depyntye meate to be vn- lawful, at length he shall not with quietnesse befoze the Lorde eate ei- ther bzounebreade or common meates, when he remembzeth that he may yet susteine his body with bacer fode. If he doute of pleasaunte wyne, afterwarde he will not drinke deade wine with good peace of conscience, last of al he wyl not be so bolde to touche sweter and clea- ner water than other. Finally at the length he wil come to this point, to thinke it vnlawfull (as the common sayinge is) to treade bypon a strawe lying a crosse. For here is begonne no lyghte streyle, but this is



in question, whether God will haue vs to vse these or those thinges, whose will ought to guide al our counsels and doynge. Her by some must needes be carried with desperatiō into a confuse deuouring pit: some must, despising God, and casting away his feare, make theselues away through destruction when they haue no redy way. For whoso euer are entangled with such doubting, which way soeuer they turne themselves, they see euery where present offense of conscience.

8

1. xiii.

I know (sayth Paule) that nothyng is cōmon (meaning by cōmon, vnholly) but who so thinketh any thing cōmon, to him it is cōmon. In which wordes he maketh al outward thinges subiect to our libertie, prouided alway þ our mindes haue the assurance of þ libertie befoze god. But if any superstitious opiniō cast into vs any dout, those things which of their own nature were cleane, are defiled to vs. wherfoze he addeth: Blessed is he þ iudgeth not himself in þ which he alloweth. But he þ iudgeth, if he eate, is condēned, bicause he eateth not of faith. And þ which is not of faith, is sinne. Amōg such narrow streightes, who so neuerthelesse w carelesly venturing on al things them theselues bold, do thei not asmuch turne theselues away frō god: But thei which are throughly pearced w some feare of God, when thei theselues also are cōpelled to do many things against their cōsciēce, are discouraged & do fal downe w feare. Al that are such, do receiue none of þ giftes of God with thākesgeuing, by which aboue yet Paule testifieth þ thei al are sanctified to our vse. I meane the thankesgeuing þ procedeth frō a heart þ acknowlegeth þ liberalitie & goodnesse of God in his giftes. For, many of them in deede do vnderstand that those are þ benefites of God which they vse, & thei prayse God in his workes: but sith thei are not perswaded that thei are geuen to theselues, how shold thei thank God as þ geuer of them? Thus in a summe we see, whereto this libertie tendeth, namely that we shold vse the giftes of God to such vse as he hath geue thē vnto vs, without any scruple of cōsciēce, without any trouble of minde: by whiche confidente our soules maye both haue peace w him & acknowlege his liberalitie toward vs. For here are cōprehēded al ceremonies þ are at libertie to be obserued, þ our cōsciēces shold not be bound w any necessitie to kepe thē, but shold remēber þ the vse of thē is by Gods benefite subiect to theselues vnto edification.

9

But it is diligently to be noted, that Christian libertie is in all the partes of it a spiritual thing, þ whole strēgth whereof cōsisteth in appealing fearful consciences befoze God, if either they be vnquieted or careful for þ forgeuenesse of sinnes, or if thei be pensiue whether our imperfect workes & defiled with þ faultes of our flesh do please God, or if thei be troubled about the vse of indifferēt thinges. wherfoze thei do wrogfully exponē it, which either do make it a cloke for their own desires, þ thei may abuse the giftes of God to their own lust, or which do thinke that there is no libertie but that which is vled befoze men, & therfoze in vling it haue no regard of the weake bryethē. In the first kinde, men do at this day much offend. There is almost no mā which may by his abilitie of wealth be sumptuous, which deliteth not in excessive gozgioufnesse in furniture of banbers, in apparel of body, in building of houses, which hath not a wil to excel other in al kinde of state-linesse: whiche doth not maruellously flatter himself in his finenesse. And al these things ar defended vnder þ pretense of Christiā libertie.

They



They say that they are thinges indifferent: I graunt, so that a man indifferently vse them. But when they are to greedily coueted, whē they are prouidely boasted, whē they are wastefully spent, it is certaine that those thinges which otherwise were of theselues lawfull, are by these faultes defiled. This sayeng of Paule doth very wel put differēce betwene thinges indifferent: All thinges are cleane to y<sup>e</sup> cleane: but to the defiled & vnbeleuing, nothing is cleane, bicause their minde & cōsciēce is defiled. For why are accursed the riche men, they which haue their cōfort, which are satisfied w<sup>th</sup> meate, which do now laugh, whiche slepe in bedes of iuozy, whiche ioyne land to land, whose bankets haue lute, harp, taber & wyne: Merily both iuozie, & golde, & richesse, are the good creatures of God, permitted yea & apointed by the prouidence of God for men to vse. Neither is it any where forbiddē eyther to laugh, or to be satisfied with meate, or to ioyne new possessions to their owne olde possessions or of their aūcesters, or to be delited with musicial melodie, or to dzynke wine. This is true in deede. But when they haue plentie of thinges, to wallow in delites, to glut theselues, to make their wit & minde dzonke with pzesent pleasures & alway to gape for newe, these doynges are most far frō the lawfull vse of y<sup>e</sup> giftes of God. Therfore let them take away immeasurable desire, let them take away unmeasurable wasting, let them take away banitie & arrogance, y<sup>e</sup> they may with a pure conscience purely vse the giftes of God. When the minde shalbe framed to this sobzietie, they shal haue a rule of y<sup>e</sup> lawfull vse. On the other side let this moderation be wanting, euen base and common delicates are to much. For this is truely sayd, that ostentimes in frise and course cloth dwelleth a purple heart, and somtime vnder silk and purple, lieth simple humilitie: Let euery man in his degree so liue eyther poozely, or meanely, or plentifullly, that they al remember that they are fed of God to liue, not to be riotous: & let them thynke, y<sup>e</sup> this is the lawe of Christian libertie, if they haue learned with Paule to be contented with those thinges whiche they pzesently haue: if they can skill bothe to be humble and to excell: yf they be taught in all places and in all thinges to be both full and hungry, to haue plentie and to suffre want.

Herin also many men do erre, bycause as though their libertie shold not bee sounde and safe vnlesse it had men witnesses of it, thei do vndiscretly & vnwisely vse it. By which vnseasonable vsing thei many times offend the weake brothzen. you may see at this day some, whiche thinke that theyz libertie can not stande, vnlesse thei take possession of it by eating of fleshe on fryday. I blame not that they eate: butte this false opinion muste be dzpuen out of their myndes. For thei oughte to thynke that by theyz lybertie they obteyne no newe thing in the sight of menne but befoze God, and that it standeth as well in absteinyng as in vsyng. If they vnderstande that yt maketh no matter befoze God, whether they eate fleshe or egges, whether thei weare redde or blacke garments, that is enough. The cōsciēce is nowe free, to whyche the benefite of suche lybertie was due. Therefore although they do afterward absteyne al theyz life long from fleshe, & weare alway but one coloz, yet thei are no lesse free. yea therefore bicause thei are free, thei do with a free cōsciēce absteyne. But thei do most hurtfully offend

Tit. 1.

Luke.  
xxiii.  
Amos  
Esa. v

Ish. 1.

10



bicause they nothyng regard the weakenesse of their bzethzen, which we ought so to beare with, that we rashly comit nothing with offense of them. But somtime also it behoueth that our libertie be set forth before men. And this I graunt. But there is a measure most heedefully to be kept, that we cast not away the care of the weake of whome the Lord hath so earnestly geuen vs charge.

I will in this place therefore speake somewhat of offenses, in what differēce they are to be takē, which are to be auoided, & which to be neglected: wherupō we may afterward determine what place there is for our libertie among men. I like well that comon diuision, whiche teacheth ȳ there is of offenses one sort geuē, an other takē: for as much as it both hath a plaine testimonie of the Scripture, & doth not vnfitly expresse that which it meaneth. If thou do any thing by vnseasonable lightnesse, or wantonnesse, or rashnesse, not in order, nor in fit place, whereby the ignorant & weake are be offended, ȳ same may be called an offense geuē by thee: bicause it came to passe by thy fault ȳ such offense was stirred vp. And it is alway called an offense geuen in any thing, ȳ fault wherof came from ȳ doer of ȳ thing it self. It is called an offense taken, whē a thing which is otherwise not euelly done nor out of time is by euell will or by some wroḡfull maliciousnesse of minde drawē to occasion of offense. For in this case was not offense geuen, but these wroḡfull construers do without cause take one. With ȳ first kinde of offense none are offended but the weake: but with this. ij. kinde sowre natures & Pharisaical scornful heads are offēded. Wherfore we shal cal ȳ one, the offense of the weake: the other of the Pharisees: & we shal so temper the vse of our libertie, that it ought to geue place to the ignorance of the weake bzethzē, but in no wise to ȳ rigorosnesse of ȳ Pharisees. For, what is to be yelded to weaknesse, Paule sheweth in very many places. Beare (sayth he) the weake in faith. Againe, Let vs not herafter iudge one an other: but this rather, let there not be laied before our bzother any offense or occasiō of falling: & many other sayengs to ȳ same entent, which are moze fit to be red in ȳ place it self, thā to be here rehearsed. The summe is, ȳ we which are strōḡ shold beare with ȳ weakenesses of our bzethzē, & not please our selues, but euery one of vs please his neighboz vnto good for edifieng. In an other place, But see ȳ your libertie be not in any wise an offense to thē ȳ are weake. Againe, Eate ye al things ȳ are sold in the shābles, asking no questiō for conscience: of your conscience (I say) not an other mans. Finally be ye such, that ye geue no offense, neither to the Jewes, nor to the Grekes, nor to ȳ Church of God. Also in an other place, ye are called, bzethzē, into libertie: only geue not your libertie to be an occasion to the flesh, but by charitie serue ye one an other. Thus it is. Our libertie is not geuē toward our weake neighbours, whose seruātes charitie maketh vs in al thinges: but rather, that hauing peace w̄ God in our mindes, we may also liue peaceably among men. As for the offense of the Pharisees, how much it is to be regarded, we learne by the wordes of the Lord, wherby he biddeth them to be let alone, bicause they are blinde, & guides of the blinde. The disciples had warned him, that ȳ Pharisees were offended with his sayengs: he answered that they were to be neglected, and the offendyng of them not to be cared for.

But



But yet still the matter hangeth doubtfull, vlesse we know who are to be taken for weak, & whoe for Pharisees: which difference beyng taken away, I see not among offenses what vse at al of libertie remaineth, which might neuer be vled without great danger. But it semeth to me that Paule hath moste playnely declared both by doctrine & by examples, how far our libertie is either to be tempered, or to be defended though with offenses. When he toke Timothee into his cōpanie, he circumcised him: but he could not be brought to circumcise Titus. Here were diuerse doynge, & no change of purpose nor of minde: namely in circumcising Timothee, when he was free from all men, he made himself seruaunt to all men: and he was made to the Jewes, as a Jew, that he might winne the Jewes: to them that were vnder the law, as if he himself were vnder the law, that he might winne them which were vnder the law: al things to al mē, y he might saue many, as he writeth in an other place. Thus we haue a right moderation of libertie, if it may be indifferētly restrained with some profit. What he had respect vnto when he stoutely refused to circumcise Titus, he himself testifieth, writing thus, But neither was Titus, whiche was with me, although he was a Grecian, cōpelled to be circūcised, because of the false brethren which were com in by the way, whiche had priuily crept in to espie our libertie which we haue in Christ Iesus, that they might bring vs into bōdage, to whom we gaue not place by subiectiō so much as for a time, y the truth of y gospel might cōtinue with you. There is also a time when we must of necessitie defend our libertie, if the same be in weake consciences endāgered by the vniust exactinges of false Apostles. We must in euery thing studie to p̄serue charitie, & haue regard to the edifieng of our neighbour. All things (sayth he) are lawful for me, but not al things are expediēt al things are lawful for me but not al things do edifie. Let no mā seke y which is his owne, but y which is an others. There is nothing now plainer by this rule, thā y we must vse our libertie, if it may turne to the edifieng of our neighbor: but if it be not so expediēt for our neighbor, then we must forbear it. There be some which counterfeit y wisdom of Paule in forbearing of libertie, while they do nothing lesse thā applie tye same to y duties of charitie. For, so y they may prouide for their owne quietnesse, they with al mētion of libertie to be buried, wheras it is no lesse behoueful for our neighbors, somtime to vse libertie for their benefit & edificatiō, than in fit place to restraine it for their cōmoditie. But it is the parte of a godly man to thinke, that free power in outward things is therfore graūted him, that he may be the freer to all duties of charitie.

But whatsoeuer I haue spokē of auoiding of offenses, my meaning is y it be referred to meane & indifferent things. For, those things y are necessarie to be done, are not to be left vndone for feare of any offense. For as our libertie is to be submitted to charitie, so charitie it self likewise ought to be vnder the purenesse of faith. Merily here also ought to be had regarde of charitie, but so far as to y altars, y is, that for our neighbours sake we offende not God. Their intemperance is not to be allowed, whyche doe nothyng but with troublesome turmoilyng, and whiche had rather rashely to rend all things, than leysurely to rippe them, Neither yet are they to be harkened to,



which when they be leaders of men into a thousand sortes of vngod-  
 liness, yet doe saie that they must behaue themselues so that they be  
 no offense to their neighbours. As though they do not in the meane e-  
 difie the consciences of their neighbors to euell, specially wheras they  
 sicke fast in the same myze without any hope of getting out. And the  
 pleasant me forsothe, whether their neighbor be to be instructed with  
 doctrine oz example of life, say that he must be fed with milke, whome  
 they fill with most euell and poisonous opiniōs. Paule reporteth that  
 he fed the Corinthiās with drinking of milke: but if the popish Masse  
 had then ben among them, would he haue sacrificed to geue them the  
 drinke of milke: But milke is not poison. Therfoze they lie in sayeng  
 that they feede them whome vnder a shew of flattering alluremētes  
 they cruelly kill. But, grauntyng that such dissemblyng is for a time  
 to be allowed, how long yet will they feede their children with milke:  
 For if they neuer growe bigger, that they maye at the least be able to  
 beare some light meate, it is certaine that they were neuer brought  
 vp with milke. There are two reasons that moue me why I doe not  
 nowe moze sharply contend with them: first, bicause their follies are  
 scarcely worthy to be confuted, sithe they worthly seme filthy in the  
 sight of all men that haue their sounde wit: secondly, bicause I haue  
 sufficiētly done it in peculiar booke, I will not nowe do a thing alrea-  
 dy done. Only let the readers remēber this, that with whatsoeuer of-  
 fenses Satan and the worlde goe about to turne vs awaye from the  
 ordinances of God, oz to stay vs from folowynge that which he apoin-  
 teth, yet we must neuerthelessse goe earnestly forwarde: and then, that  
 whatsoeuer daungers hange vpon it, yet it is not at our libertie to  
 swarue one heare bredth from the commaūdemēt of the same God,  
 neyther is it lawefull by any pretense to attempt any thyng but that  
 whiche he geueth vs leaue.

Now therfoze sithe faithfull consciences hauyng receyued suche  
 prerogatiue of libertie as we haue aboue set forth, haue by the bene-  
 fit of Christ obtayned this that they be not entangled with any snares  
 of obseruations in those thinges in whiche the Lord willed that they  
 should be at libertie: we conclude that they are exempt from al power  
 of men. For it is vnmete, that either Christ should lose the thāke of his  
 so great liberalitie, oz consciences their profit. Neyther ought we to  
 thinke it a slight matter, which we see to haue cost Christ so deare: na-  
 mely whiche he valued not with golde oz siluer, but with his owne  
 bloud: so that Paule sticketh not to say, that his death is made boide,  
 yf we yeld our selues into subiection to men. For he trauaileth about  
 nothing els in certaine chapters of the Epistle to the Galathians, but  
 to shew that Christ is darkened oz rather destroyed to vs, vnlesse our  
 consciences stand fast in their libertie, whiche verily they haue loste if  
 they maye at the will of men be snared with the bondes of lawes and  
 ordinances. But, as it is a thyng most worthy to be knowen, so it ne-  
 derth a longer and plainer declaration. For so sone as any word is spo-  
 ken of the abzogating of the ordināces of men, by and by great trou-  
 bles are rayled vp partly by seditious men, partly by sclaunderers,  
 as though the whole obedience of men were at ones taken away and  
 ouerthrowen.



Therefore, that none of vs maye stumble at this stone, first let vs consider, that there are two sortes of gouernement in man: the one spirituall, whereby the conscience is framed to godlinesse & to the worship of God: the other ciuile, whereby man is trayned to the duties of humanitie and ciuilitie whiche are to be kept among men. They are commonly by not vnfit names called the Spirituall and Temporall iurisdiction, whereby is signified, that the first of these two formes of gouernement pertaineth to the life of the soule, and the later is occupied in the thinges of this present life: not only in fedyng and clothing; but in setting forth of lawes whereby a man may spend his life among men holyly, honestly, and soberly. For, that first kinde hath place in the inward minde, this later kinde ordereth only þ outward behauiours. The one we may call the Spirituall kingdome: the other, the Ciuile kingdome. But these two, as we haue diuided them, must be eyther of them alway seuerally considered by themselves: and when the one is in considering, we must withdraw and turne away our mindes from thinking vpon the other. For there are in man as it were two worldes, whiche both diuerse Kinges and diuerse lawes may gouerne. By this putting of difference shall come to passe, that that whiche the Gospell teacheth of the spirituall libertie, we shall not wrongfully draw to the ciuile order, as though Christians were accor dyng to the outward gouernement lesse subiect to the lawes of men, bicause their consciences are at libertie befoze God: as though they were therefore exempt from all bondage of the fleshe, bycause they are free accor dyng to the Spirit. Againe, bicause euen in those ordinances whiche seme to pertaine to the spirituall kingdome, there maye be some errour: we must also put difference betwene these, whiche are to be taken for lawfull as agreable to the worde of God, and on the other side whiche ought not to haue place amonge the godly. Of the ciuile gouernement there shall be els where place to speake. Also of the Ecclesiastical lawes I omit to speake at this time, bicause a moze full entreating of it shall be fit for the fowerth booke, where we shall speake of the power of the Church. But of this discourse, let this be the conclusion. The question being (as I haue sayd) of it selfe not very darke or entangled doth for this cause accobze many, bicause they do not suttelly enough put difference betwene the outward court as they call it, and the court of conscience. Moreouer this encreaseth the difficultie, that Paule teacheth þ the Magistrate ought to be obeyed, not only for feare of punishment, but for conscience. Whereupon toloweth that consciences are also bound by the ciuile lawes. If it were so, all should come to naught which we both haue spoken and shall speake of the spirituall gouernement. For the losyng of this knot, firste it is good to knowe what is conscience. And the definition therof is to be fetched from the propre deriuatiõ of the word. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstandyng conceyue the knowlege of thinges, they are thereby sayd (Scire) to know, wherupon also is deriued the name of science, knowlege: so when they haue a felyng of the iudgemēt of God, as a witnesse ioyned with them whiche doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes but þ they be drawen accused to the iudgemēt seate of God, that same felyng is called Conscience, for it is a certayne meane betwene God and man, bicause it



m. h. xv
ber. 19.
b. f. ii.
 suffreth not man to suppress in himselfe that whiche he knoweth, but pursueth him so farre till it byzng him to guiltinesse. This is it whiche Paule meaneth, where he sayth that conscience doth together witnesse with me, whē their thoughtes do accuse or acquite them in the iudgement of God. A simple knowledge might remaine as enclosed within man. Therefore this felyng whiche presenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were a keper ioyned to man, to marke and espie al his secretes, that nothing may remaine buried in darknesse. Whereupon also cometh that olde Proverbe, Conscience is a thousand witnesses. And for the same reason Peter hath set the examination of a good conscience for quietnesse of minde, when beyng persuaded of the grace of Christ, we do without feare present our selues befoze God. And the authoz of the Epistle to the Hebzues, setteth to haue no moze conscience of sinne, in steede of to be deliuered or acquitted that sinne may no moze accuse vs.

16
Tim. i.
t. p. llii.
Cor. i.
vii.
 Therefore as workes haue respect to men, so conscience is referred to God, so that a good Conscience is nothing els but the inward purenesse of the heart. In whiche sense Paule writeth that charitie is the fulfillng of the law out of a pure conscience and faith not fained. Afterward also in the same chapter he writeth howe muche it differeth from vnderstanding, sayeng that some had suffred shipwrecke frō the faith, bicause thei had forsakē good Conscience. For in these wordes he signifieth that it is a liuely affection to worchip God, & a sincere ende, or to liue holyly and godlyly. Somtime in deede it extendeth also to men, as in Luke where the same Paule protesteth that he endeouored himselfe to walke with a good conscience toward God and men. But this was therfoze sayd, bicause the frutes of good conscience do flowe and come euen to men. But in speakynge properly, it hath respect to God only, as I haue already sayd. Hereby it cometh to passe that the law is sayd to binde the conscience, which simply bindeth a mā without respect of men, or without hauing any consideration of them. As for example. God comaundeth not only to kepe the minde chaste and pure from al lust, but also forbiddeth al māner of filthinesse of wordes & outward wantonnesse whatsoeuer it be. To the keepng of this law my conscience is subiect although there liued not one mā in the world. So he that behaueth himself intemperantly, not only sinneth in this y he geueth an euell exāple to the brethren, but also hath his conscience bound with guiltinesse befoze God. In thinges that are of themselves meane, there is an other consideratiō. For we ought to absteyne from them if they byede any offense, but the conscience still beyng free. So Paule speaketh of flesh consecrate to Idoles. If any (sayth he) moue any doubt, touch it not for conscience sake: I say for conscience, not thine but the others. A faithfull mā should sinne, which beyng first warned should neuerthelessse eate such flesh. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it is necessarīe for him to absteyne as it is prescribed of God, yet he celsseth not to kepe still y libertie of conscience. Thus we see how this law bindyng the outward worke, leaueth the conscience vnbound.

### The. xx. Chapter.

Of prayer, which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and whereby we daily receiue the benefites of God.





If these thinges that haue ben hether to spoken, we plaine-  
 ly perceyue how needy and boyde mā is of al good thinges,  
 and how he wanteth al helpes of saluation. Wherefoze if he  
 seke for relefes wherby he may succour his needinesse, he  
 must goe out of himselfe and get them els where. This is  
 afterward declared vnto vs, that the Lord doth of his owne free will  
 and liberally geue himself to vs in his Christ, in whom he offreth vs  
 in steede of our miserie all felicitie, in steede of our neede welthinnesse, in  
 whome he openeth to vs the heauenly treasures: that our whole faith  
 should behold his beloued sonne, that vpon him our whole expectatiō  
 should hang, in him our whole hope should sticke fast and reste. This  
 verily is the secret and hidden Philosophie, whiche can not be wrong  
 out with Logiciall argumentes: but they learne it whose eyes God  
 hath opened that they may see light in his light. But sins that we are  
 taught by sayth to acknowledge that what so euer we haue neede of,  
 whatsoeuer wāteth in vs, the same is in God and in our Lord Iesus  
 Christ, namely in whome the Lord willed the whole fulnesse of his  
 largesse to rest, that from thense we should all drawe as out of a most  
 plentifull fountaine: now it remayneth that we leke in him, and with  
 pzaiers craue of him that which we haue learned to be in him. Other-  
 wise to know God to be the Lord and geuer of all good thinges, which  
 allureth vs to pray to him: and not to goe to him & praye to him: hold  
 so nothing profit vs, that it should be alone as if a man should neglect  
 a treasure shewed him buried and digged in the ground. Therfoze the  
 Apostle, to shewe that true sayth can not be idle from calling vpon  
 God, hath set this order: that as of the Gospell spryngeth sayth, so by it  
 our heartes are framed to cal vpon the name of God. And this is the  
 same thyng which he had a litle befoze sayd, that the Spirit of adop-  
 tion, which sealeth in our heartes the witness of the Gospell, rayleth  
 by our spirites that they dare shewe forth their desires to God, stirre  
 by vnspeakable gronynge, and crie with confidence Abba, Father. It  
 is mete therfoze that this last poynt, bycause it was befoze but only  
 spoken of by the waye and as it were lightly touched, should nowe be  
 moze largely entreated of.

Rom. viii  
ppoi.

This therfoze we get by the benefit of prayer, that we atteyne to  
 those richesses whiche are layed by for vs with the heauenly father.  
 For there is a certayne communicatyng of men with God, wherby  
 they entryng into sanctuarie of heauen, do in his owne pzeence cal to  
 him touchyng his promises: that the same thyng whiche they beleued  
 him affirmyng only in word not to be bayne, they maye when neede so  
 requireth finde in experience. Therfoze we see that there is nothing  
 set forth to vs to be loked for at the hande of the Lord, whiche we are  
 not also comaunded to craue with pzaiers: so true it is that by prayer  
 are digged by the treasures, which our sayth hath loked vpon beyng  
 shewed to it by the gospell of the Lord. Now how necessarie and how  
 many wayes profitable this exercise of prayer is, it can by no wordes  
 be sufficiently declared. Andoutedly it is not without cause that the  
 heauenly father testifieth, that the only fortresse of saluation is in the  
 calling vpon his name, namely wherby we call to vs the pzeence  
 bothe of his pzovidence, by whiche he watcheth to take care of our  
 matters:



matters: and of his power, by which he susteineth vs beyng weake & in a manner fayntyng: and of his goodnesse, by which he receiuet vs into fauor beyng miserably loden with sinnes: finally whereby we cal him al whole, to geue himself present to vs. Hereby groweth singular rest and quietnesse to our consciences. For when we haue disclosed to the Lord the necessitie whiche distressed vs, we largely rest though it were but in this onely that none of our euils is hidden from him, whō we are perswaded bothe to be most well willyng toward vs, and most able to prouide well for vs.

3

But (will some man saye) did not he know without any to put in minde of it, bothe in what part we be distressed, and what is expedient for vs: so that it maye seme after a certayne manner superfluous, that he should be troubled with our prayers, as though he winked or slept, vntill he were awaked with our voice. But they which so reason, marke not to what ende the lord hath instructed them that be his to pray: for he ordeined it not so much for his owne cause as rather for oures. He willeth in deede, as right it is, y<sup>e</sup> his due be rendred to him, when they acknowledge to come from him whatsoever men require, or doe perceiue to make for their profit, and doe testifie the same with wishynges. But the profit also of this sacrifice wherewith he is worshipped, commeth to vs. Therefore how much moze boldly the holy fathers gloriouly talked bothe to theselues and other of the benefites of God, so much the moze warply they were pricked forward to pray. The only example of Elias shalbe enough for vs, whiche beyng sure of the counsell of God, after that he not rashely had promised raine to Achab, yet busily prayeth betwene his knees, and sendeth his seruant seuen times to espie it: not for that he dyd discredit the oracle of God, but bycause he knew that it was his dutie, least his faith should waxe drowsy and sluggish, to laye vp his desires with God. Wherefore although while we lye senselesse & so dull that we perceiue not our owne miseries, he waketh and watcheth for vs, and sometime also helpeth vs vnderired, yet it much behoueth vs, that he be continually called vpon of vs, that our heart maye be enflamed with earnest and feruent desire to seke, loue, and worship him, while we accustome our selues in euery necessitie to flee to him as to our hoothe anchare. Againe, that no desire and no wishe at all maye entre into our minde, whereof we should be ashamed to make him witnesse, while we learne to present our wishes, yea & to poure out our whole heart befoze his eyes. Then, y<sup>e</sup> we may be framed to receiue al his benefites with true thāksfulnesse of minde, yea & with outward thankesgeuyng, of which we are put in minde by our prayer y<sup>e</sup> thei come to vs frō his hād. Moreover, y<sup>e</sup> when we haue obtained y<sup>e</sup> whiche we desired, beyng perswaded that he hath answered to our prayers, we may be therby y<sup>e</sup> moze seruētly carried to thinke vpō his kindenesse, & therewithal embrace w<sup>th</sup> greater pleasure those thinges which we acknowledge to haue ben obtained by prayer. Laste of all, that very vse and experience maye accozdyng to the measure of our weakenesse assure our mindes of his prouidence, when we vnderstand that he not only promiset that he will neuer faile vs, and that he doth of his owne accozd open vs the entrie to cal to him in the very point of necessitie, but also hath his hand alway stretched out to helpe



help them that be his, and that he doth not seade them with wordes, but defendeth them with present help. For these causes, the most kinde father, although he neuer slepeth or is sluggishe, yet oftentimes maketh a shew as though he slept & were sluggish, that so he maye exercise vs, which are otherwise sloughtfull & sluggish to come to him, to aske of him, to require him to our owne great benefit. Therfoze they do to foolishly, which to cal away the mindes of men frō prayer, babble that the prouidence of God, which maketh for the safekeeping of all thinges, is in vaine worried with our callinges vpon him: whereas the lord cōtrariwise not in vaine testifieth that he is nie to al thē that call vpon his name in truth. And of none other sort is that which other do trifflingly say, that it is superfluous to aske those thinges whiche the Lord is of his owne will ready to geue: whereas euen the very same thinges which flowe to vs from his owne free liberalitie, he wil haue vs acknowledge to be graunted to our prayers. Whiche thing that notable sentēce of the Psalm doth testifie, wherewith many like sayenges do accord. The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, & his eares vnto their prayers. Whiche sayeng so setteth out the prouidence of God bent of his own accord to prouide for the safetie of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exercise of faith, wherby sloughtfulnesse is wiped frō the mindes of men. The eyes of God therfoze do wake, that he may succour the necessitie of the blinde: but he will againe on our behalues heare our groninges, that he maye the better proue his loue toward vs. And so bothe are true, that the watchman of Israell slepeth not, nor slombzeth, and yet that he sitteth still as hauynge forgotten vs when he seeth vs dull and dummie.

Psa. cxi.  
vii.Psa. cxxv.  
vi.Psa. cxxv.  
vi.

Now, to frame prayer rightly & well, let this be the first rule, that we be no otherwise framed in minde and heart, than becōmeth them that entre into talke with God. Whiche verily we shall atteyne as touchyng the minde, of the same beyng free from fleshely cares and thoughtes wherewith it may be called away or withdrawē frō þ right & pure beholding of God, do not only bend it self wholly to prayer, but also so much as is possible be lifted by & carried aboue it self. Neither do I here require a minde so at libertie, that it be pricked & nipped w no care, wheras cōtrariwise the seruētnesse of praiet must by much carefulnesse be kindled in vs (as we see þ the holy seruāts of God do sometime declare great tormentes, much moze carefulnesse, when they say that thei vtter to the lord a bewayling voice out of the depe depth, and out of the middest of the iawes of death) But I say that al strāge and fozevne cares must be dziuen away, wherewith the minde it selfe wandring hether and thether is carried about, and beyng drawn out of heauen is pressed downe to the earth. I meane by this that it must be lifted by aboue it selfe, that it maye not byyng into the sight of God any of those thinges whiche our blinde and foolish reason is wont to imagine, nor may holde it self bound within the compasse of her owne vanitie, but rise by to purenesse worthy for God.

Bothe these thinges are specially worthy to be noted, þ whofoener prepareth himself to pray, shold thereto applie al his senles and endeuous, & not (as men are wont) be diuersly drawn with wandering thoughtes: bicause there is nothyng moze contrarie to the reuerēce of God, thā such lightnesse which is a witnessse of to wāton licētiousnesse

AND



Of the manner how to receiue

and lose from al feare. In which thing we must so much moze earnestly labor, as we find it moze hard, for no man can be so bent to praye, but that he shal fele manye biethoughtes to crepe vpon him, either to breake of, or by some bowing and swaruing to hinder the course of his praiser. But here let vs cal to minde, how great an vnworthines it is, when God receiueth vs vnto familiar talke with him, to abuse his so great gentelnesse, with minglyng holy and profane thinges together, when the reuerence of him holdeth not our mindes fast bounde vnto him: but as if we talked with some meane man, we do in the middlest of our praiser, forsaking him, leape hether and thether. Let vs therfore know that none do rightly and wel prepare the selues to praye, but they whom the maiestie of God pearceth, that they come to it vncumbrd of earthly cares and affections. And that is ment by the ceremonie of lifting vp of handes, that men should remeber that they be farre distant from God, vnlesse they lifte vp their senses on hie. As also it is said in the Psalm. To thee haue I lifted vp my soule. And the Scripture oftentimes bleseth this maner of spech, to lift vp praiser: that they which desire to be heard of God, should not sit stil in their dregges. Let this be the summe: that how much moze liberallye God dealeth with vs, gently alluring vs to vnlode our cares into his bosome, so muche lesse excusable ar we vnlesse his so excellent and incomparable benefit do with vs ouerwey al other thinges and draw vs vnto it self, that we may earnestly apply our endeouors & senses to pray: which can not be done vnlesse our mind be strögly wrastring with the hinderances do rise vp aboue the. An other point we haue set forth. y we aske no moze than God geueth leaue. For though he biddeth vs to poure out ours hartes, yet he doth indifferently geue loose reynes to folye and forward affections: and when he promiseth that he will do accordyng to the wil of the Godly, he procedeth not to so tender bearing with them that he submitteth himself to their wil. But in both these pointes men do commonly much offend. For not onely the most part of me presume without shame, without reuerence, to speake to God for their follies, and shamelesly to present to his throne whatsoeuer liked the in their dreame: but also so great foliwenes or senselesse dulnesse possesseth the, that they dare thrust into the hearing of God, euen al their most filthy desires, wherof they would greatly be ashamed to make men priuie. Some profane men haue laughed to scozne, yea and detested this boldnesse, yet the vice it selfe hath alwaye reigned. And hereby it came to passe that ambitious men haue chosen Jupiter to be their Patrene: couetous men, Mercurie: the desirous of learning, Apollo and Minerva: warriers, Mars: and Echozors folke, Venus. Like as at this day (as I haue euen now touched) men do in prayers graunt moze licence to their vnlawful desires, than when they sportinglye talke with their Egalles. But God suffreth not his gentlenes to be so mocked: but claiming to himselfe his right, maketh our prayers subiect to his antheozite, & restraineth the with a bzidle. Therfore we must kepe fast this saying of Ihon, This is our affiance, y if we aske any thyng accordyng to his wil, he heareth vs. But forasmuch as our abilitics ar far frö being sufficient to perfozme so great perfection, we must seeke a remedie to helpe vs, As we ought to bend the sight of our mind to god

1a. p. 1

1a. p. 15

1hon. 5.  
219



so the affection of the heart ought also to followe to the same ende. But bothe doe stave far benethe it, yea rather doe faynt and fayle oz be carried a contrarie waye. Therefore God, to succour this weaknesse, in our prayers geueth the spirite to be our Scholemaster, to instruct vs what is right, and to gouerne our affections. for bicause we knowe not what we ought to praye as we ought, the spirit cometh to our succour, and maketh intercession for vs with vnspeakeable gronings, not that it in deede eyther prayeth oz groneth, but stirreth vp in vs affiance, desires, and sighynges, whiche the strength of nature were not able to conceyue. And not without cause Paule calleth them vnspeakeable gronings which so the faithfull send forth by the guidyng of the Spirit, bicause they whiche are truely exercised in prayers, are not ignozant that they be so holden in perplexitie with blinde cares, that they scarcely finde what is profitable for them to speake: yea while they goe about to vtter stammering wordes, they sticke fast encombred. Wherupon it foloweth, that the gift of prayeng rightly is a singular gift. These thinges are not spoken to this purpose, that we fauorng our owne slouthfulnesse should gene ouer the charge of prayeng to the Spirit of God, & lie dull in that carelesnesse, to whiche we are to muche enclined: (as there are heard the wicked sayenges of some, that we must lie negligently gapyng to wayte vntill he preuent our mindes occupid els where) but rather that we lothng our owne slouthfulnesse and sluggishnesse, should craue suche helpe of the Spirit. Neyther doth Paule, when he biddeth vs to pray in Spirit, therefore cesse to exhort vs to wakefulnesse: meanyng that the instinct of the Spirit so bleth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothyng hindereth oz slacketh our owne endeuor: bicause God will in this behalfe proue how effectually fayth moueth our heartes.

Let also an other lawe be, that in prayeng we alway fele our owne wante, and that earnestly thinkyng howe we stande in neede of those thinges that we aske, we ioyne with our prayer an earnest yea feruent affection to obtaine. for many do slightly for manners sake recite prayers after a prescribed forme, as though they rendzed a certayne taske to God: and although they confesse that this is a necessarie remedie for their euels, bicause it is to their destructio to be without the help of God which they craue: yet it appereth that they do this dutie for custome, for asmuch as in the meane time their mindes are colde, and do not weye what they aske. The generall and confuse felng in deede of their necessitie leadeth them hereunto: but it dothe not stirre them as it were in a present case to aske reliefe of their neede. Nowe what thynke we to be moze hatefull oz moze detestable to God than this saynyng, when a manne asketh forgeueneesse of sinnes, in the meane tyme eyther thynkyng that he is not a sinner, oz not thynkyng vpon this that he is a sinner: euen wherewith God himselfe is playnely mocked: But of suche peruersnesse (as I haue sayde) mankinde is full, that for manners sake they many tymes aske many thynges of God, whyche they certaynely Iudge that without his liberalitie to come to them from some other where, oz that they haue them already remaynyng with them. The faulte of some other semeth to bee lighter and yet not tolerable, that they

Rom. 8  
xxvi.II. Cor. 12  
xxvi.

6

whiche



Whiche haue only conceyued this principle that we muste sacrifice to God with prayers, doe mumble by prayers without any musyng of minde vpon them. But the Godly muste principally take heede, that they neuer come into the sight of God to aske any thyng, but bycause they doe both boyle with earnest affection of heart, and do therewithall desire to obteyne it of him. yea and also though in those thinges which we aske only to the glozie of God, we seme not at the first sight to prouide for our owne necessitie, yet the same ought to be asked with no lesse feruentnesse and behementnesse of desire. As, when we praye that his name be hallowed, we must (as I maye so speake) feruently hunger and thirst for that hallowyng.

7 If any man object, that we are not alway dyuen with like necessitie to praye, I graunt the same in deede: and this difference is profitably taught vs of James: Is any man heauy amonge you? Let him praye. Whoe so is mery, let him sing. Therfore euen common selyng teacheth vs, that bicause we are to slouthfull, therfore as y<sup>e</sup> matter requireth we are the moze sharply pricked forward of God to pray earnestly. And this Dauid calleth the fit time, bicause (as he teacheth in many other places) how much moze hardly troubles, Distrommodities, feares, and other kindes of tentations do presse vs, so much freer access is open for vs, as though God did call vs vnto him. But yet no lesse true is that sayeng of Paule, that we muste pray at all times: bicause howsoeuer things prosperously flowe according to our heartes desire, and matter of mirth doth compasse vs on euery side, yet there is no minute of time wherein our neede doth not exhorte vs to praye. If a man haue abundance of wine and wheate: yet sithe he can not enioye one morsel of bread but by y<sup>e</sup> cōtinual grace of God, whole cellars oz barnes ful shal be no let why he should not craue dayly bread. Nowe yf we call to minde howe many daungers doe euery moment hange ouer vs, the very feare it selfe wil teache vs y<sup>e</sup> we haue no time free from prayer. But this we may better perceiue in spiritual things. For, when shall so many sinnes, whereof we knowe our selues guilty, suffer vs to sit still without care and not in humble wise craue pardon bothe of the fault and the peine? When do tentations graunt vs truce, so that we neede not to halt vnto helpe? Mozeouer the desire of the kingdome and glozie of God ought so to plucke vs to it selfe, not by fittes but continually, that it should alwaye bee fit time for vs. Therfore not without cause we are so oft commaunded to pray continually. I doe not yet speake of perleuerance in prayer, wherof mention shalbe made herafter: but when the Scripture warneth vs that we ought to pray continually, it accuseth our slouthfulnesse, bicause we do not perceiue howe necessaric this care and diligente is for vs. By this rule all hypocrisie & craftinesse of lyeng to God, is dbarred, yea dyuen far away from prayer. God promiseth that he will be nere to al them that cal vpon him in truth, & he pronounceth that thei shal finde him which seke him with their whole heart. But they aspire not thether which please themselues in their owne filthinesse. Therfore a right prayer requireth repētāce. wherupō this is cōmonly said in the scriptures, y<sup>e</sup> God heareth not wicked doers, & y<sup>e</sup> their prayers are accursed, like as their sacrifices also be: bicause it is rightfull y<sup>e</sup> thei find y<sup>e</sup> earcs

as. v. pill.

ca. xxxi.

phe. vi.

iii.



eares of God shut, which do lock by their own hearts: & that they shold not finde God easy to bow, which do with their own hardnesse prouoke his stiffenesse. In Esaie he threatheth after this maner. When ye shal multiplie your prayers, I will not heare you: for your hands are full of bloode. Againe in Jeremie: I haue cried, & they haue refused to heare: thei shall likewise crie, and I will not heare: bycause he taketh it for a most hie dishonoure, that wicked men shold boast of his couenant, whiche do in al their life defile his holy name. Wherfoze in Esaie he cōplayneth, that when the Jewes come neare to him with their lippes, they heart is farre from him. He speaketh not this of only prayers, but affirmeth that he abhorreth sayninge in al the partes of worshippinge him. To which purpose maketh that saieng of James. ye ask, & receiue not: bicause ye aske it, that ye may spende it vpon your pleasures. It is true in dede (as we shal againe shewe a little herafter) that the prayers of godly which thei poure out, do not rest vpon their own worthinesse: yet is not s<sup>t</sup> admonition of Ihon superfluous: If we ask any thing, we shal receiue it of him, bicause we kepe his commaundements: forasmuch as an euil conscience shutteth the gate againste vs. Wherbypon soloweth that none do rightly praie, nor are hearde, but the pure worshippers of God. Therefore whosoever prepareth himself to praie, let him be lothful to himself in his owne euels, & (whiche can not be done wout repentance) let him put on the person and minde of a begger.

Hereunto let the third rule be ioyned, that whosoever presenteth himself before God to praie, shold forsake al thinking of his owne glorie, put of al opinion of worthinesse, & finally gene ouer al trust of himselfe, geuing in the abacing of himself s<sup>t</sup> glorie wholi to God: least if we take any thing be it neuer so little to our selues, we do w our owne swellinge fal away from his face. Of this submission which throweth downe all heighth, we haue often exammples in the seruantes of God: amonge whom the holier s<sup>t</sup> euery one is, so much the more he is throwe downe when he commeth into the sight of the Lord. So Daniel, whome the Lord himself commended w so great a title of praise, saide: Wee poure not out our prayers before thee in our righteousnesse, but in thy great mercies. Heare vs Lord, Lord be mercifull to vs: Heare vs, & doe these things that we aske, for thine owne sake: bycause thy name is called vpon ouer the people, & ouer thy holy place. Neither doth he by a crooked figure (as men sometime speake) mingle him selfe w the multitude as one of the people, but rather seuerally confesseth his owne gyltinesse & humbly fleeth to the sanctuarie of forgiveness, as he expressely sayth: When I cōfessed my sinnes & the sinnes of my people. And thys humblenesse Dauid also setteth out with his owne example, when he saith: Entre not into iudgement with thy seruant, bicause in thy sight euery one that liueth shall nat bee iustified. In suche manner Esaie prayeth: Loe, thou art angry bicause wee haue sinned: the worlde is founded in thy waies, therefore we shalbe saued: And we haue been all filled with uncleannesse, & al our righteousnesse as a defiled cloth: and wee haue al withered away as a lease, & our iniquities do scatter vs abroad as the winde: and there is none that calleth vpon thy name, that rapseth vpon himselfe to take holde of thee: bycause thou hast hidde thy face from vs, and hast made vs to pine abwaie in the hande of oure wyckednesse. Now therfore O Lord, thou art our father, we are claye, thou art our

Esa. v. 26

Jer. xi. viii  
& xi.Esa. xlii.  
xxxix.Jam. iiii.  
in.i. Ihon. iiii.  
xxii.Daniel. ix.  
xviii.

Ps. c. lxxv.

Ec. ix. xiiii.

v.



Of the manner howe to receiue

faſhioner, & we are the worke of thy hand. Be not angry O Lord, nei-  
ther remembre wickednes for euer. Behold, loke vpon vs, we ar al thy  
people. Loe, how thei ſtand vpo no affiance at al, but vpon this onely;  
that thinking vpon this that thei be Gods, thei deſpire not that he wil  
haue care of them. Likewise Jeremie: If our iniquities anſwer againſt  
vs, do thou for thy names ſake. for it is bothe moſt truely & moſt holy-  
ly written, of whome ſocuer it be, which being written by an vnknowe  
author is fathered vpon y<sup>e</sup> Prophet Baruch: A ſoule heauy & deſolate  
for y<sup>e</sup> greatnes of euil, croked, & weake, a hungry ſoule, & fainting eies  
geue glorie to thee O Lord. Not according to y<sup>e</sup> righteouſnesſes of our  
fathers doe we poure out praiers in thy ſight, & aſke mercie before thy  
face O Lord our God: but bicauſe thou art merciful, haue mercie vpon  
vs, bicauſe we haue ſinned before thee.

9 Finally the beginning & alſo y<sup>e</sup> preparing of praieng rightly, is tra-  
uing of pardō, w<sup>th</sup> an humble & plaine confeſſion of fault. For neither is  
it to be hoped, that euen y<sup>e</sup> holieſt man may obtaine any thinge of God,  
vntil hee bee freely reconciled to him: neither is it poſſible that God  
may be fauourable to any but thē whom he pardoneth. Wherefore it is  
no maruel if the faithfull do w<sup>th</sup> this keie opē to theſelues y<sup>e</sup> dore to pray.  
Which we learne out of many places of y<sup>e</sup> Pſalmes. For Dauid whē he  
aſketh an other thing, ſaith: Remembre not y<sup>e</sup> ſinnes of my youthe, re-  
member me according to thy mercie for thy goodnesſes ſake O lord. A-  
gain, Loke vpo my afflictio, & my labore, & ſorg eue al my ſinnes. Where  
we alſo ſee y<sup>e</sup> it is not enough, if we euery ſeueral day do cal our ſelues  
accept for our new ſinnes, if we do not alſo remēbre thoſe ſinnes which  
might ſeeme to haue been long agoe forgotten. For, y<sup>e</sup> ſame Prophet in  
an other place, hauing cōfeſſed one haynous offense by this occaſio re-  
turneth euē to his mothers wombe wherein he had gathered y<sup>e</sup> infectio:  
not to make y<sup>e</sup> faulte ſeme leſſe by y<sup>e</sup> corruptio of nature, but y<sup>e</sup> heaping  
together y<sup>e</sup> ſinnes of his whole life, how much more rigorous he ys in  
cōdemning himſelf, ſo much more eaſy he maye finde God to entreate.  
But although y<sup>e</sup> holy ones do not alwaye in expreſſe woordes aſke for-  
geuenelle of ſinnes, yet if we diligently weie their praiers whiche the  
Scripture rehearſeth, we ſhal eaſily finde y<sup>e</sup> which I ſay, y<sup>e</sup> thei gather-  
ed a minde to praiſe of y<sup>e</sup> only mercy of God, & ſo alwaye toke their be-  
ginning at appeaſing him: bicauſe if euery man examine his owne con-  
ſcience, ſo far is he frō being bold to open his cares familiarlie w<sup>th</sup> God,  
y<sup>e</sup> he trembleth at euery cōming toward him, except y<sup>e</sup> he ſtandeth vpo  
truſt of mercie & pardon. Ther is alſo an other ſpecial confeſſion, wher  
thei aſke releaſe of peines, that thei alſo praiſe to haue their ſinnes for-  
geuen: bicauſe it weare an abſurditie to will that the effecte to be takē  
awaye while the cauſe abideth. For we muſte beware that God be fa-  
uourable vnto vs, before that he teſtiſye hys fauoure w<sup>th</sup> outwarde  
ſignes: bycauſe boothe hee hymſelfe wyl keepe thys ordie, and y<sup>e</sup>  
ſhould lytle profyte vs to haue hym benefyciall, vnleſſe oure conſcience  
feelynge hym appeaſed ſhoulde througely make hym louelye vnto vs.  
Whyche wee are alſo taughte by the anſwere of Chriſte. For when  
hee hadde decreed to heale the manne ſycke of the Palfey, hee ſayde,  
Thy

Je. xlii.  
vii.

Pla. xlv.  
vi. & xvii.

Pla. li.  
vi.

Mat. ix. ii



Thy sinnes are forgiven thee: lifting vp our mindes therby to þ which is chesely to be wished, that God first receiue vs into fauoure, and then shew forth the frute of reconciliation in helping vs. But byside þ speciall confession of present gyltynesse, wherby the faithfull make supplication to obtaine pardon of euery speciall faulte & pcine, that general presence, which procureth fauour to praters, is neuer to be omitted, bicause vnlesse thei be grounded vpon the free mercie of God, they shall neuer obtaine any thing of God. Whereunto maye be referred that sayeng of Ihon: If we confesse oure sinnes, he is faithfull & righteous to forgive vs, and cleanse vs from al iniquitie. For which cause it behoued praters in the time of the law to be hallowed with expiatio of bloode, that they might be acceptable, and that so the people sholde be put in minde that thei are vnworthy of so great a prerogotiu of honour, til being cleansed from their defilinges thei shold of the onely mercie of God conceiue affiance to praye.

But wheras þ holy ones seme somtyme for þ entreating of God to allege þ helpe of their owne righteousnes (as when Dauid saith: Kepe my soule, bicause I am good. Again Ezechias: Remembre lord I beseeche thee, þ I haue walked befoze thee in truthe, & haue done good in thyne eyes) by such formes of speaking thei meane nothing els than by their very regeneratio to testifie thēselues to be þ seruants & childrē of God, to whom he himselte pronounceth þ he wil be mercifull. He teacheth by þ prophet (as we haue already seen) þ his eies are vpon þ righteous, & his eares vnto their praters. Againe by þ apostle, that we shal obtaine whatsoeuer we ask, if we kepe his cōmaundemēt. In which sayenges he doth not value prater by þ worthines of works: but his will is so to stablish their affiance, whose owne cōsciēce wel assureth thē of an vnfaigned vprightnes & innocēci, such as al þ faithful ought to be. For þ same is taken out of þ very truth of God, which þ blindeman þ had his sight restored, saith in Ihon, þ God heareth not sinners: if wee vnderstād sinners after þ cōmō vse of þ scripture, for such as wout al desire of righteousness do altogether slepe & rest vpō their sinnes: forasmuch as no heart can euer breake forth into vnfaigned calling vpō God which dothe not also aspire to godlines. Therfore w such promises accord þ praters of þ holy ones, wherin thei make mentio of their owne purenes or innocēci þ thei may fele þ to be geuen thē which is to be loked for of al the seruants of God. Againe it is then cōmōly found þ thei vse this kinde of prater, when thei do in þ presence of þ lord cōpare them selues w theyr enemies, frō whose vniust dealing thei wished them selues to be deliuered by his hande. In this comparison it is noe maruel if thei broughte forth their righteousness & simplicite of hearte to moue hym þ rather by þ rightfulness of their cause to helpe thē. This therfore we take not away frō the godli heart of a good man, but þ he may vse the purenesse of his conscience befoze the Lord, to strengthen himself in the promises wherwith the Lord comforteth & vpholdeth his true worshippers: but our meaning is, that the trust of obtaining stand vpon the only mercye of God, laieng away al thincking of their owne deseruing.

The fourth rule is, þ being so thzowen down & subdued w true humilitie, we shold neuerthelesse w certain hope of obreining be encouraged to praye. These be things in dede contrarie in thew, to ioynē w the

i. Ihon. i.  
ii.10  
ps. lxxvii  
ii. kin. xx.  
ii.ps. lxxvii  
vi.  
i. Ihs. iii.

Ih. ix. xxi

11



Of the manner howe to receiue

feeling of þ̄ iust vengeāce of God sure affiance of fauour: which things do yet very wel agree together, if þ̄ onely goodnesse of God raise vs by being oppressed w̄ our owne euels. For, as we haue before taught that repentance & faith are knite as companiōs together w̄ an vnseparable bond: of whiche yet þ̄ one afraieþ vs, þ̄ other chereth vs: so in praier thei must mutually meete together. And this agreement Dauid expreth in fewe words: *I* (saith he) wil in þ̄ multitude of thy goodnesse enter into thy house: *I* wil worship in the temple of thy holinesse w̄ feare. Under þ̄ goodnes of God he cōprehendeth faithe, in þ̄ meane time not excluding feare: bicause not only his maiestie driueth vs to reuerence, but also our owne vnworthinesse holdeth vs in feare forgetting al pride & assurednesse. But *I* meane not such an affiance which shoulde stroke þ̄ minde losed from al feling of carefulnesse w̄ a swete & ful quietnesse. For, to rest so peasably is the doing of thē which hauing al thinges flowing as thei wold w̄ the it, are touched w̄ no care, are kindled with no desire, do swel w̄ no feare. And it is a very good spurre to þ̄ holi ones to cal vpon God, whē being distressed w̄ their owne necessitie, thei ar vexed w̄ most greate vnquietnesse, & are almost dismaied in themselues, til faith come in fit time to their succours, bicause in such distresses þ̄ goodnesse of God so shineth to them, that they do in dede grone being wearied w̄ weight of presēt euels, thei ar also in paine & greued w̄ feare of greater, yet being so vpholdē by it, thei bothe releue & cōfort þ̄ hardnes of bearing thē, & do hope for escape & deliuerance. Therefore þ̄ praier of a godly man must arise out of both affections, & must also containe and shewe bothe: namely to grone for present euels, & to be carefully afraide of newe, & yet therw̄al to fle to God, not douting þ̄ he is readi to reache his helping hande. For God is maruelously prouoked to wraþe by our distrustfulnes, if we aske of hym þ̄ benefites whiche we hope not to obtaine. Therefore ther is nothing more agreable w̄ þ̄ nature of praier, thā þ̄ this law be prescribed & apointed to thē, þ̄ thei breake not forthe rashly, but folow faith going before thē. To this principle Christ calleth vs all w̄ this saieng: *I* say vnto you, whatsoeuer things ye require, beleue þ̄ ye shal receiue them, & thei shal happen to you. The same also he cōfirmeth in an other place. Whatsoeuer ye aske in praier beluing, ye shal receiue. Wherewith agreeth James saieng, *If any nede wise dome, let hym aske yt of hym whyche geueth to al men freely, and by braydeth not: butte let hym aske in faithe not doubtinge.* Wherein setting doubtinge as contrarie to faithe, he dothe moste fitly expresse the nature of it. And no lesse ys that to bee noted which he addeth, þ̄ they obteyne nothyng whyche call vpon God in waueringe and doubte, and doe not determine in their heartes whether they shal be hearde or noe. Whome hee also compareth to waues whyche are dyuersly tossed & driuen about of the winde. Wherupon in an other place hee calleth a right praier, the praier of faith. Againe when God so oft affirmeth that he wil geue to euery one accordinge to his faith, he signifieth that wee obtaine nothing without sayth. Finally it is faith that obtaineth what soeuer ys graunted by prayer. Thys ys meante by that notable sayenge of Paule, whyche the foolyshe menne doe take noe heede vnto. Howe shall any manne call vpon hym, in whome hee hathe not beleued? Butte whoe shall beleue, vnesse hee haue hearde.

But

Eccl. v. viii.

Matth. xi.  
xiii.  
Matt. xxi.  
xii.  
Iam. v. x.

Co. r. xiii



But faith commeth of hearing, and hearing of the worde of God. For, conueying by degrees the beginning of praiier from faith, hee plainly affirmeth that God can not be sincerely called vpon of any other, than thē to whom by the preaching of the Gospell his mercifulnesse & gentleness hath ben made knowen, and familiarly declared.

This necessitie our aduersaries do not thinke vpon. Therefore when we bidde y<sup>e</sup> faithful to holde w<sup>th</sup> assured cōfidence of minde y<sup>e</sup> God is favourable & beareth good wil to thē, thei thinke that we speake a most great absurditie. But if thei had any vse of true praiier, thei wold truely vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> God can not be rightly called vpo<sup>s</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out y<sup>e</sup> stedfast feeling of Gods good wil. Sith no mā can wel perceiue y<sup>e</sup> force of faith, but he which by experiēce feleth it in his heart: what may a man profit by disputing w<sup>th</sup> such men which do openly shew, y<sup>e</sup> thei neuer had any thinge but a vaine imagination: for of what force, & how necessarīe is y<sup>e</sup> assurednes which we require, is chesely learned by inuocation. Which who so seeth not, he bewraiet y<sup>e</sup> he hath a very dul cōscience. Let vs therefore, leauing this kinde of blindemen, stick fast in y<sup>e</sup> saienge of Paule, y<sup>e</sup> God can not be called vpo<sup>s</sup> of any other, but thē y<sup>e</sup> know his mercie by y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, & ar surely perswaded y<sup>e</sup> it is ready for thē. For what manner of saieng wold this be: O Lord, I am verily in doubt whether thou wilt heare me: but because I am distressed w<sup>th</sup> carefullnes, I flee to thee, that y<sup>e</sup> maiest helpe me if I be worthy. This was not y<sup>e</sup> wonted māner of al y<sup>e</sup> holi ones, whose praiers we reade in y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures. Neither hath y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost thus taught vs by y<sup>e</sup> Apostle which biddeth vs to goe to y<sup>e</sup> heavenly throne w<sup>th</sup> cōfidence, y<sup>e</sup> we may obtaine grace: & when in an other place he teacheth y<sup>e</sup> we haue boldnesse & accesse in cōfidence by the faith of Christ. We must therefore holde fast w<sup>th</sup> bothe handes thys assurednesse to obtaine what we ask (sith both y<sup>e</sup> lord w<sup>th</sup> his own voice so cōmaūdeth vs, & al y<sup>e</sup> holi ones teache it by thei example) if we wil praiie w<sup>th</sup> frute. For, y<sup>e</sup> only praiier is pleasing to God, whiche springeth oute of such a presumptio<sup>n</sup> of faith (as I may so call it) & is groundēd vpo<sup>s</sup> a diuellesse certaintie of faith. He might haue ben cōtent w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> bare name of faith, but he not onely added cōfidence, but also furnished y<sup>e</sup> same w<sup>th</sup> liberty or boldnesse, by this marke to put differēce betwoene vs & vnbelieuers, which do in dede also praiie to God as we do, but at aduenture. For which reaso<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> whole Church praieth in y<sup>e</sup> psalme: Let thi mercy be vpo<sup>s</sup> vs, as we put our trust in thee. The same cōdition is also spoken of in an other place by y<sup>e</sup> prophet: In what day I shal crie, this I know y<sup>e</sup> God is w<sup>th</sup> me. Again, In y<sup>e</sup> morning I wil direct my self to thee, & I wil watch. For of these words we gather, y<sup>e</sup> praiers ar in vaine cast into the ayre, vnlesse hope be adioyned, fro<sup>m</sup> whence as out of a watchtoure wee may quietli waite for y<sup>e</sup> lord. Wherw<sup>th</sup> agreeth y<sup>e</sup> ordre of Pauls exhortatio. For before y<sup>e</sup> he moue y<sup>e</sup> faithful to praiie in spirit at al times w<sup>th</sup> wakefulness & diligence, he first of al biddeth thē to take y<sup>e</sup> held of faith, y<sup>e</sup> helmet of saluatio, & y<sup>e</sup> sword of the spirit, whiche is the word of God. Now let y<sup>e</sup> readers here cal to remēbrance which y<sup>e</sup> I haue before said, y<sup>e</sup> faith is not ouerthrowē where it is ioyned w<sup>th</sup> acknowleging of our miserie, needinesse, & filthines. For w<sup>th</sup> how heauy weight so euer of euell doings y<sup>e</sup> faithful fele thēselues to be overloden or greued, & y<sup>e</sup> thei bee not only voide of al things which may procure fauoure w<sup>th</sup> God, but

12

Deb. tit.  
v.  
Ep. iii. p. 1

Ps. lxxiii.

Ps. lxxv. p.  
Ps. v. p.

Eph. vi.  
p. i.



## Of the manner howe to receiue

also þ thei be burdened w<sup>th</sup> many offenses which may woorthily make him dreadfull to the: yet thei cesse not to present theselues, neither doth this feling make the so afraid but þ thei still resort to him, forasmuche as ther is no other waie to come to him. For, praier was not ordeined, wherby we shold arrogantli aduance our selues before God, or esteeme at great value any thing of our own, but wherbi cōfessing our gyltines, we shold bewaile our miseries to him, as childrē do familiarli opē their cōplaints to their parētis. But rather þ vnmeasurable heape of our euels ought to be ful of spurres or prickes to prick vs forward to praie. As also þ prophet teacheth vs by his exāple, saieng. Heale my soule, b<sup>ca</sup>use I haue sinned against thee. I grant in dede that in such saiengs shold be deadli prickings vnlesse god did helpe: but þ most good father of his incōparable tender kindnes hath brought remedie in fit season, wherby appeasing al trouble, assuaging al cares, wiping awaye feares, he mighte gently allure vs to hym, yea and takinge awaie all doubties (much more all stoppes) he might make vs an easy waie.

13 And first whē he cōmaunderth vs to pray, he doth by þ very same cōmaundement accuse vs of wicked obstinacie, vnlesse we obey him. No-thing could be more precisely cōmaunded, than þ which is in þ psalme: Cal vpō me in þ day of trouble. But forasmuch as amonge all þ dueties of godlines, þ scripture cōmendeth none more often, I nede not to tar-ry longer vpō this point. Ask (saith our master) & ye shal receiue: knock, it shal be opened to you. Howbeit here is also w<sup>th</sup> þ cōmaundement ioy-ned a promise as it is necessarie. For though all men cōfesse þ the cōmaundement ought to be obeyed, yet the most part would flee frō God when he calleth, vnlesse he promised þ he wold be easy to be entreated, yea & wold offer himself. These two thinges heing stablished, it is cer-taine þ whosoever make delaies þ thei come not streight to god, ar not only rebellious & disobedient, but also are proued guilty of infidelitie, b<sup>ca</sup>use thei distrust þ promises. Which is so muche more to be noted, b<sup>ca</sup>use hypocrates vnder þ color of humilitie & modesty do as wel proud-ly despise þ cōmandemēt of God, as discredit his gentile callinge, yea & defraud him of þ chese part of his worship. For after þ he hath refused sacrifices, in which at þ time al holines semed to stande, he declareth þ this is þ chese thing & most precious to him, aboue al other, to be called vpō in þ day of nede. Therefore wher he requireth his owne, & encoura-geþ vs to cherefulnesse of obeing, ther ar none so gay colors of doubt-ting þ may excuse vs. Wherfore how many testimonies ar cōmōly fōud in þ scriptures wherby we ar cōmaūded to cal vpō God, so many stād-dardes ar set vp before our eyes to put affiance into vs. It were rushe-nesse to rushe into þ sigt of God, vnlesse he did preuēt vs w<sup>th</sup> calling vs. Therefore he openeth vs þ way w<sup>th</sup> his owne voice saieng: I will saye to them, Ye ar my people: & thei shal say to me, þ art our God. We se how he preuenteth them þ worship him, & willet them to follow him, and therefore it is not to bee feared that this shoulde not bee a very swete melodie whitch he tuneth. Specially let this notable title of God come in our minde, wherbpon if we stape, wee shal easily passe ouer al stop-pes. Thou God that hearest prayer, euen to thee shal all fleshe come. For what ys more louely or more allurynge, than that God bee granshed w<sup>th</sup> thys tytle whyche maye ascertayne vs that no-thinge ys more propre to hys nature, than to graunte the desire of  
humble

ps. lxxiii. v

ps. l. xv.

Mat. vii.  
vii.

Zach. xiii.  
ii.

ps. lxxv. liii.



humble suiters: Hereby the prophet gathereth that the gate standeth open not only to a fewe, but to all men: because he speaketh euen to all in this saieng: Cal vpon me in the day of trouble: I wil deliuer thee, & I shall glorifie me. According to this rule Dauid laieth for himself that a promise was geuen him, that he may obtaine what he asketh: Thou lord hast reueled into the eare of thy seruant: therefore thy seruaunt hath found his heart to pray. Wherupon we gather I he was feareful, sauing in so much as the promise had encouraged him. So in an other place he armeth himselfe w<sup>th</sup> this general doctrine. He wil do I will of them that feare him. Yea & this we may note in I psalmes, I as it were breaking his course of praieng he passeth ouer sometime to I power of God, somtime to his goodnesse, somtime to I truth of his promises. It might seeme that Dauid by vnseasonable thrusting in of these sentences, made mangled prayers: but I faithful know by vse & experience, I feruentnesse fainteth vnlesse they put new nourishmentes vnto it, and therfore in praieng I meditatio bothe of I nature of God, & of his word is not superfluous. And so by I example of Dauid, let it not greue vs to thrust in such things as may refresh fainting heartes with new lively strength.

And it is wonderful that w<sup>th</sup> so great swetenesse of promises we are either but coldly or almost not at all moued, that a great parte of men wandring about by compasses had rather leauing these fountaine of living waters, to digge for themselves drie pittes, than to embrace the liberalitie of God freely offered the. An inuincible tour is I name of the lord, (saith Salomon) to it the righteous man shall flee, & he shall be saued. And Joel, after that he had prophesied of that horrible destructio which was at hand, added this notable sentence. Whosoener calleth vpon I name of the lord, shall be safe: which sentence we know to pertaine properly to the course of the Gospel. Scarcely euery hundreth man is moued to go forward to meet God. He himself crieth by Esai: ye shall cal vpon me, & I wil heare you, yea before that ye crie I wil answer you. And this same he nor also in an other place he vouchesaueth to geue in comon to I whole Church, as it belongeth to al the members of Christe. He hath cried to me, I wil heare him, I am in trouble w<sup>th</sup> him, I I maie deliuer him. Neither yet (as I haue already saide) is it my purpose to reckon by al the places, but to choose out the chese, by which we may take a taste how kindly God allureth vs vnto him, & w<sup>th</sup> how streight bonds our vthankfulness is bound, when among so many prickings our sluggishnesse stil maketh delay. Wherfore let these sayenges alway sound in our eares: The lord is nie to al the that cal vpon him, that cal vpon him in trueth: also these sayengs which we haue alleaged out of Esai & Joel, by which God affirmeth that he is hedesul to heare prayers, yea & is delited as w<sup>th</sup> a sacrifice of swete sauoure, when we cast our cares vpon him. This singular frute we receiue of the promises of God, whē we make our prayers not doubtingly & ferefulli: but trusting vpon his word, whose maiestie wold otherwise make vs afraide, we dare cal vpon him by the name of father, forasmuch as he vouchesaueth to put this most swete name into our mouthes. It remaineth that we hauing such allurements hold know that we haue thereby matter enoughe to obtaine our prayers: forasmuch as our prayers stand vpon no merite

psa. l. vs

ii. Sa. vii  
psl.ps. c. ps  
ps.

14

pro. xlii.  
r.Joel. ii.  
xxii.psa. xlv.  
xxii.

ps. cii. vs

ps. c. vs



of our own, but al their worthines & hope of obtaining ar grouded vpon the promises of God, and hang vpon them: so that it nedeth none other vnderproppinge, nor loketh vponward hither or thither. Therefore we must determin in our minds, y although we excel not in like holines as is praised in y holy fathers, prophetes & Apostles, yet bicause y comāde mēt of praier is comō to vs, & faith is also comō, if we rest vpon y word of God, in this right we ar fellowes w thē. For, God (as we haue before shewed) promisig y he wil be gētle & merciful to al, geueth cause of hope to al euē y most miserable y thei shal obtē what thei ask. And therfor y general formes ar to be noted, frō which no mā (as thei sai) frō y first to y last is excluded: onli let ther be presēt a purenes of heart, misliking of our selves, humilitiy, & faith: let not our hypocrisy vnholily abuse the name of God w deceitful callig vpon it: y most good father wil not put back thē, whō he not only exhorteth to com to hī, but also moueth thē by al the meanes y he cā. Herupō cometh y māner of prayig of Dauid which I haue euē now rehered. Lo y hast promised, Lord, to thy seruāt: for this cause thy seruāt at this dai gathereth courag, & hath fōud what prayer he might make before the. Now therfore O Lord God, y art god, & thy words shal be tru. Thou hast spokē to thi seruāt of these benefits: begin therfore, & do thē. As also in an other place. Perform to thy seruāt according to thy word. And al y Israelits together, so oft as thei arme thēselues w remēbrance of the couenāt, do sufficiētly declare y we shold not prai fearfully, wheras y lord so apoiteth. And herin thei folowd y exāples of y fathers, specially of Jacob, which after y he had cōfessed y he was vnworthy of so many mercies which he had receiued at y hād of God, yet he saith y he is ēcōraged to requirē greater things bicause God had promised y he wold do thē. But whatsoeuer colors y vnbeleuers do presēt, whē thei see not to God so oft as necessitie presēteth thē, whē thei seke not him nor craue his helpe, thei do as much defraud hī of his due honor as if thei made to thēselvs new gods, & idols: for by this mean thei deny y he is to them y author of al good things. On y other side ther is nothing strōger to deliuer y godly frō al dout, thā to be armed w this thought, y no stop ought to stay thē while they obey y comādmēt of God, which pronouēth y nothing is more pleasing to him thā obediēce. Here again y which I said before more clereli appereth, y a dreadles spirit to pray agreeth well w fear, reuerēce, & carefulness: & that it is no absurdity to say y God raiseth vp y ouerthrowē. After this māner those formes of speach agree well together which in seming ar contrary. Jeremie & Daniel say y thei throw down prayers before god. In an other place Jeremie saith. Let our praier fal down in y sight of God, y he may haue mercie on y remnant of his people. On the other side, y faithful are oftentimes said to lift vp praier. So speaketh Ezechias, requirig y prophete to make intercession for him. And Dauid desireth y his praier may ascende as incense. For although thei being perswaded of y fatherly loue of God, cherefully comitt thēselues into his faithful keeping, & dout not to craue the helpe whiche he freely promiseth: yet doth not an idle carelesnesse lift them vp, as though thei had cast away shame, but thei ascend so vponward by degrees of promyses, y thei stil remaine humble suppliants in y abacemēt of thēselues.

Here ar questios objected more thā one. For y scripture reporteth y y lord grāted certain desites which yet brake forth of a minde not quiet

nor

i. Sa. vii  
xvii.

Ps. c. xix.  
xvii.

Ge. xxxi.  
f.

Jer. xlii.  
14.

Dani. ix.  
xviii.

Je. xlii. 11.  
ii. xi. xx. r.

Plā. c. xli.



nor wel framed. Verily for a iust cause: Joatham had auowed þ̄ in habi-  
 tats of Sichē, to þ̄ destructiō which afterward cāe vpō thē: but yet god  
 kindled w̄ feruētnes of anger & vengeāce folowing his execratiō semeth  
 to allow stēpered violēt passiōs. Such heat also caried Samso whē he  
 said, Strengthē me O god, þ̄ I may take vengeāce of þ̄ vncircumcised.  
 For though ther were some pece of good zele migled w̄ it: yet a hote, &  
 therfore faulti gredines of vengeāce did beare rule therin. God grāted  
 it. Wherupō it semeth þ̄ it mai be gathered, þ̄ although þ̄ prayers be not  
 framed accordig to þ̄ prescribed rule of þ̄ word, yet thei obtaine their ef-  
 fect. I answer first þ̄ a general law is not takē away by singular exam-  
 ples: again, þ̄ sōtime special motiōs haue ben put into a few mē, wher-  
 by it came to passe þ̄ ther was an other cōsideratiō of thē thā of þ̄ cōmō  
 people. For þ̄ answer of Christ is to be noted, whē þ̄ disciples did v̄ndis-  
 cretly desire to cōterfait þ̄ exāple of Elias, þ̄ thei knew not with what  
 spirit thei were endued. But we must go yet further, & say þ̄ the prayers  
 do not alwai please god which he grāteth: but þ̄, so much as serueth for  
 exāple þ̄ is by clere praise made plainē which þ̄ scripture teaceth name-  
 ly þ̄ he succoureth þ̄ miserable, heareth þ̄ gronings of thē which being  
 v̄niustly troubled do craie his help: þ̄ therfor he executeth his iudgmēts,  
 whē þ̄ cōplaints of þ̄ poore rise vp to hī, although thei be v̄nworthy to  
 obtēin ani thig be it neuer so litle. For hōw oft hath he taking vengeāce  
 of þ̄ cruelties, robberies, violēce, filthi lustes & other wicked doings of þ̄  
 vngodly, subduig their boldnes & rage, & also ouerthrowig their tyrā-  
 nous power, testified þ̄ he helpeth þ̄ v̄nworthyly oppressed, which yet did  
 beat þ̄ aire w̄ praieng to an v̄ncertaine godhed. And one psalme plain-  
 ly teacheth þ̄ the prayers want not effect, which yet do not pearce into  
 heauen by faith. For he gathereth together those prayers which neces-  
 sitie w̄ringeth no lesse out of þ̄ v̄nbeleuers thā out of þ̄ godly by þ̄ very  
 felig of nature: to which yet he proueth by þ̄ effect þ̄ god is fauourable.  
 Is it because he dothe w̄ such gentlenes testifie þ̄ that thei be pleasing  
 to him. No, but to enlarge or to set out his mercie by this circumstance,  
 for þ̄ euen to v̄nbeleuers their prayers ar not denied: & then þ̄ more to  
 picke forward his true worshipers to pray, when thei see that profaine  
 wailigs somtime wōt not their effect. Yet ther is no cause why þ̄ faith-  
 ful shold swarue frō þ̄ law laid vpō thē by God, or shold enuie þ̄ v̄nbele-  
 uers, as though thei had gōtten som great gaine, whē thei haue obtēi-  
 ned their desire. After this māner we haue said, þ̄ the lord was bowed  
 w̄ þ̄ repērance of Achab, þ̄ he might shew by this exāple how easy he is  
 to entreat toward his elect, when true turning is brought to appeale  
 him. Therfore in þ̄ psalme he blameth þ̄ Jewes, þ̄ thei hauing bī expe-  
 riēce proued him so easy to grant their prayers, yet w̄in a litle after re-  
 turned to þ̄ stubbornes of their nature. Which also plainly appeareth  
 by þ̄ historie of þ̄ Judges: namely þ̄ so oft as thei wept, although their  
 teares were deceitful, yet thei were deliuered out of the hands of their  
 enemies. As therfore þ̄ lord indifferently bringeth forth his sunne vpō  
 the good & the euel: so doth he also not despise their weepinges, whose  
 cause is righteous & their miseries woorthy of helpe. In þ̄ meane time  
 he no more heareth these to saluation, thā herein ministrēth foode to þ̄  
 despisers of his goodnes. The questiō semeth to be somwhat harder of  
 Abrahā & Samuel: of whom þ̄ one being warrāted by no word of god,  
 prayed for þ̄ Sodomites: þ̄ other agāst a manifest forbiddig prayed for

Iu. ii. 17.

Iud. vi.  
prou.

Iud. ix. 10

Pr. c. vii.

1. King. xxi.  
xxx.

Psa. c. v.

Ge. xlii.  
xiii.  
1. Sam. x



Jer. xxx.  
vii.Lib. de ciu.  
Dei. 22. ca.  
1.Psa. vii.  
vii.

Saul. Likewise is it of Jeremie, whic h praied f̄ the citie might not be destroyed. For though their requestes were denied, yet it semeth harde to take faith from them. Butte this solution shall (as I truste) satisfie sober readers: f̄ thei being instructed w̄ f̄ general principles, whereby God cōmaūdeth thē to be merciful euē also to f̄ vnworthy, wer not altogether wout faith, although in a speciall case thcir opinion deceyued thē. Augustine writeth wisely in a certaine place. How (sayth he) do the holy ones praie by faith, to ask of God contrarie to f̄ which he hath decreed. Euen bicause thei pray according to his wil: not f̄ hidden an vncheageable wil, but f̄ wil which he inspireth into them, f̄ he maie care them after an other māner: as he wisely maketh differēce. This is wel said: bicause after his incōprehensible cōsel he so tēpereth f̄ succeses of things, f̄ the praiers of f̄ holy ones be not boide which ar wrapped both w̄ faith & erroze together. Neither yet ought this more to auayle to be an exāple to folow, thā it excuseth f̄ holy ones thēselues, whome I denie not to haue passed measure. Wherfore wher appeareth no certaine promise, we must ask of God w̄ a cōditio adioined. To which purpose serueth f̄ saieng of Dauid. Watch to f̄ iudgment which f̄ hast cōmaunded: bicause he telleth that he was warranted by a special oracle to aske a temporall benefite.

16

This also it is profitable to note, f̄ those things which I haue spokē of f̄ sower rules of right praier, are not so exactly required w̄ extreme rigor, f̄ God refuseth f̄ praiers in which he shall not finde either perfect faith or perfect repentāce together w̄ a feruentnesse of zeale & wel ordered requestes. We haue said f̄ although praier be a familiar talke of f̄ godly w̄ God, yet we must kepe a reuerence & modestie, f̄ we geue not loose reines to all requestes whatsoeuer thei be, as if we desire no more thā God geueth leaue: & thē, least f̄ maiestie of God shold growe in contempt w̄ vs, f̄ we must lift our mindes bpward to a pure and vndefiled worshipping of him. This no mā hath euer performed w̄ such purenesse as it ought to be. For (to speak nothing of f̄ cōmon sort) how many cōplaintes of Dauid do sauore of vntēperance: not f̄ he meant of purpose to quarel w̄ God, or carpe against his iudgments: but bicause he fainting for weakenesse, found no other better comfort, than to cast his sorowes into his bosome. Yea & God beareth w̄ our childissh speache and pardoneth our ignorāce, so oft as any thing vnadvisedly escapeth vs: as truely wout this tēder bearing, ther shold be no libertie of praieing. But although Dauids mind was to submit himself wholly to f̄ wil of God, & he praied w̄ no lesse patiēce thā desire to obtaine: yet there arise yea boile out somtimes troublous affections, which are much disagreeing from f̄ first rule f̄ we haue set. Specially we maye perceauē by the conclusion of f̄ xxxix. psalme, w̄ how great vehemence of sorrow f̄ holy man was carried away, f̄ he cold not kepe measure. Cesse (sayth he) frō me, til I go away & be not. A man wold saye f̄ he like a desperate man desireth nothing els but f̄ the hand of God celling, he might rot in his euels. He saith it not for that he w̄ an auowed minde runneth into such outrage, or (as f̄ reprobate ar wont) wold haue God to depart frō him: but only he cōplaineth f̄ the wrath of God is so heauy for him to beare. In these tentatiōs also ther fal out oftentimes requestes not well framed according to the rule of the word of God, & in which the holy ones



Do not sufficiently weie what is lawfull & expedient. Whatsoever pray-  
 ers are spotted w<sup>th</sup> these faultes, thei deserue to be refused: yet if þ<sup>e</sup> holy  
 ones do bewaile, correct theselues, & by & by come to theselues againe,  
 God pardoneth them. So thei offend also in the second rule, bicause  
 thei are oftentimes driuen to wrastle w<sup>th</sup> their own coldenesse, & they  
 nede & miserie dothe not sharply enoughe pricke thē to praie earnestly.  
 And oftentimes it happeneth þ<sup>e</sup> their minds do slippe aside, & in a man-  
 ner wander away into vanitie. Therefore in this behalfe also there ys  
 nede of pardon, least our faint, or vnperfect, or broken and wanderinge  
 praiers haue a deniall. This God hath naturally planted in þ<sup>e</sup> mindes  
 of men, þ<sup>e</sup> praiers are not perfect but w<sup>th</sup> mindes lifted vpwarde. Here-  
 vpon came þ<sup>e</sup> ceremonie of lifting vp of hands, as we haue before said,  
 which hath ben vsed in al ages & nations, as yet it is in vre. But howe  
 many a one is ther, which whē he lifteth vp his handes, doth not in his  
 own cōscience finde himself dul, bicause his heart resteth vpō þ<sup>e</sup> ground.  
 As touching þ<sup>e</sup> asking of so<sup>r</sup>genesse of sinnes, althoughe none of the  
 faithful do ouerpasse it, yet thei which ar truly exercised in praiers do  
 fele þ<sup>e</sup> thei bring scarcely þ<sup>e</sup> tenth part of that sacrifice, of which Dauid  
 speaketh. An acceptable sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit: a broken &  
 humbled heart. O God þ<sup>e</sup> wilt not despise. So ther is alway double par-  
 don to be asked, bothe bicause thei knowe theselues guilty in cōsciences  
 of many faultes, w<sup>th</sup> feeling wherof thei ar not yet so touched, that thei  
 mislike themselves so much as thei ought: & also þ<sup>e</sup>, so much as it is ge-  
 uen them to profite repentance & in the feare of God, thei being throwē  
 downe w<sup>th</sup> iust sorrowe for their offenses, hold pray to escape þ<sup>e</sup> punish-  
 ment of þ<sup>e</sup> iudge. Chesely þ<sup>e</sup> feblenesse or imperfectiō of faith corrupteth  
 þ<sup>e</sup> praiers of þ<sup>e</sup> faithfull, vnlesse þ<sup>e</sup> tendre mercie of God did helpe them.  
 But it is no maruell þ<sup>e</sup> God pardoneth this default, which doth often-  
 times exercise them þ<sup>e</sup> be his w<sup>th</sup> sharpe instructions, as if hee woulde of  
 purpose quench their faith. This is a most harde tentation, when the  
 faithful are cōpelled to crie: How long wilt þ<sup>e</sup> be angry vpō the praier of  
 thy seruāt: as though þ<sup>e</sup> very praiers made God more angry. So whē  
 Jeremie saith, The lord hath shut out my praier, it is no dout þ<sup>e</sup> he was  
 makē w<sup>th</sup> a violent pange of trouble. Innumerable such exāples are cō-  
 mōly found in þ<sup>e</sup> scriptures, by which appeareth þ<sup>e</sup> the faith of the holi-  
 ones was oftentimes mingled & tossed w<sup>th</sup> doutinges, þ<sup>e</sup> in beleuing & ho-  
 ping thei bewraied yet some vnfaithfulnesse: but bicause thei come not  
 so far as it is to be wished, thei ought to endeuor so much þ<sup>e</sup> more that  
 their faults being amended, thei maie daily com nerer to þ<sup>e</sup> perfect rule  
 of praying, & in þ<sup>e</sup> meane time to fele in how great a depth of euels thei  
 be drowned, which euē in þ<sup>e</sup> very remedies do get to theselues new dis-  
 eases: sith there is no praier, which þ<sup>e</sup> lord doth not worthily lothe, vn-  
 lesse he winke at þ<sup>e</sup> spotted wherw<sup>th</sup> thei ar al besprinkled. I reherse not  
 these things to this end þ<sup>e</sup> the faithfull shold carelesly pardō themselves  
 any thing, but þ<sup>e</sup> in sharply chastising theselues thei shold trauaile to o-  
 uercome these stoppes, & although Satan laboure to stoppe vp al the  
 waies, þ<sup>e</sup> he may kepe them from praieing, yet neuerthelesse thei shold  
 breake through, bring certainly perswaded, þ<sup>e</sup> although thei be not vn-  
 combred of all hinderances, yet their endeuors do please God, & they  
 praiers are allowed of him, so þ<sup>e</sup> thei trauaile & bende themselves the-  
 therward, whether thei do not by and by attaine.

Pl. 10. 17.

Pl. 137.

Lam. iii.  
viii.

But



17 But forasmuche as there is no man woorthy to present himselfe to God, & to come into his sight: the heauenly father himselfe to deliuer vs bothe from shame and feare whiche holde haue throwen downe al our courages, hath geuen to vs his sonne Iesus Christe our Lorde, to be an aduocate & Mediator with him for vs, by whose leading we may boldly come to hym, trusting that we haue such an intercessor, nothing shall be denied vs which we aske in his name, as nothing can be denyed him of the father. And here vnto muste all bee referred whatsoeuer we haue heretofore taught concerning faith: by cause as the promise settet out vnto vs Christ for our Mediator, so vnlesse our hope of obteneing stay vpon him, it taketh from it selfe the benefite of praieng. For so sone as the terrible maiestie of God commeth in our minde, it is impossible but that we shoulde tremble for feare, & the acknowledging of our owne vnworthinesse holde driue vs far away; tyll Christe come meane betwene vs & him, which may change the throne of dreadefull glorie into the throne of grace: as also the Apostle teacheth that we may be bolde to appeare withal confidence which shall obtene mercie & finde grace in help coming in fit season. And as ther is a law set for we shold cal vpon God like as ther is a promise geuen, that thei shall be heard which cal vpon him: so ar we peculiarly commaunded to cal vpon him in the name of Christ, & we haue a promise set forth, that we shall obtene that which wee shall aske in his name. Hether to (saith he) ye haue not asked any thing in my name: aske & ye shall receiue. In the day ye shall aske in my name, & whatsoeuer ye ask, I will do, that the father may be glorified in the sonne. Hereby it is plaine without controuersie, that thei which cal vpon God in any other name than of Christ, do stubbornly breake his commaundements, & regarde his will as nothing, & that thei haue no promise to obtene any thing. For (as Paul saith) al the promises of God ar in Christ, yea and Amen, that is to say, thei are confirmed and fulfilled.

And the circumstance of the time is diligentli to be marked, wher Christ commaundeth his disciples to fle to intercessio to him after he is gone by into heaue. In the houre (saith he) ye shall aske in my name. It is certain the euen from the beginning none wer heard the prayed, but by meane of the Mediator. For this reason the lorde had ordeined in the lawe, that the prest alone entring into the sanctuarie, shold beate vpon his holders the names of the tribes of Israel, & as many precious stones before his breast: but the people shold stand a far of in the porche, & from thence shold ioyne their praier with the prest. Yea and the sacrifice auailed hereto, that the praier shold be made sure and of force. Therefore that shadow with ceremonie of the lawe taught that wee are all shutt oute from the face of God, and that therefore wee neede a Mediator, whiche maye appeare in oure name, and maye beare vs vpon his holders, and holde vs fast bounde to his breast, that we may be heard in his person: then that by sprynkeling of bloode our praier are cleansed, whiche (as wee haue already saide) are neuer boide of filthinesse. And wee see that the holy ones, when thei desyred to obtene any thyng, grounded thei hope vpon sacrifices, by cause they knewe them to be the stablishinges of all requestes. Lett hym remembre thy offrynge (sayeth Dauid) and make thy burnt offryng fatt. Herupon is gathered that God hath ben fro the beginning appeased by the intercessio of Christ, to receiue the praier of

Tim. i. b  
Joh. ii. i

He. iii. p b

1 Jo. xiii.  
iii. & vi.  
xiii.

1 Cor. i.

18  
Joh. xvi.  
xvi.

1 Jo. xvi.  
xvi.



of the godly. Why then doth Christe apoint a new heire, when his Disciples shall beginne to praie in his name, but bicause this grace, as it is at this daye more glorious, so deserueth more commendation with vs. And in this same sense he had said a little before. Hetherto ye haue not asked any thinge in my name: nowe aske. Not that thei vnderstode no- thing at all of the office of the Mediator (whereas all the Jewes were instructed in the principles) but bicause thei had not yet clerely knowen that Christ by his ascending into heauen should be a surer patron of the Church than he was before. Therefore comfort their grieefe of the abs- sence with some speciall frute, he claimeth to himselfe the office of an aduocate, & teaceth that thei haue hitherto wanted the chiefe benefite, which if shalbe graunted them to enioye, when being aided by his me- diation, thei shal more frely cal vpon God: as the Apostle saith that his newe waie is dedicate in his blood. And so much lesse excusable is oure frowardnes, vnlesse we do with both armes (as the saieng is) embrace so inestimable a benefite, whiche is properly apointed for vs.

Heb. f. ff

Nowe whereas he is the onely waie, and the onely entrie by which 19 it is graunted vs to come in vnto God: whoe so doe swarue from this way and forsake this entrie, for them there remaineth no waie nor en- trie to God: there is nothings left in his throne but wrath, iudgment, & terroure. finally sith the Father hath marked him for oure heade, & guide thei which do in any wise swarue or go awaie from him, do laboure as much as in them lieth to race out & dysfigure the marke which God hath imprinted. So Christ is set to be the only Mediator, by whose in- tercession the Father may be made to vs fauourable and easy to be en- treated. Howe be it in y meane time the holy ones haue theyr intercessi- ons left to them, wherby thei do mutually comend the safetie one of an other to God, of which the Apostle maketh mention: but those be such as hang vpon that one only intercession: so farre is it of, that thei mi- nish any thing of it. For as thei springe out of the affectio of loue, wher- with we embrace one an other, as the membrs of one body: so thei are also referred to the vntie of the heade. Sythe therefore they also are made in the name of Christe, what doe they els butte testifie that noe manne canne be holpen by any prayers at al, butte wyth the intercessi- on of Christe. And as Christe wythe hys intercession wythstandeth not, butte that in the Church wee maye wyth prayers bee aduo- cates one for an other: so lette thys remaine certayne, that all the inter- cessors of the whole Church oughte to bec directed to that onely one. Yea and for this cause we ought specially to be beware of vnthankful- nesse, bycause God pardoning oure vnworthinesse, doth not onely geue leaue to euery one of vs to praie for himselfe, but also admitteth vs to be entreaters one for an other. For, where God appointeth aduocates for his Church which deserue worthily to be reiected if they praie pry- uately euery one for himselfe: what a pride were it to abuse this libertie to darken the honour of Christe.

i. Tit. 1.

Nowe yt ys a meare trifelynge, whyche the Sophisters bable, that 20 Christe ys the Mediatoure of redemption, butte the saythefull are Mediatoures of intercession. As thoughe Christe hauynge perfour- med a Mediation for a time, hath geuen to hys seruauntes that eter- nall Mediatoreshippe whyche shall neuer dye. Full courteouslye forsothe



Of the manner howe to receiue

forsoothe they handle hym, that cutte awaie so little a portion of honoꝝ from hym. But the Scripture saythe farre otherwise, wyth the syn-  
 plicite whereof a godly man ought to be contented, leauinge these de-  
 ceyuers. For where Ihon saithe, that yf any doe synne, we haue an ad-  
 uocate wyth the father, Chyriste Iesus: dothe he meane that he was  
 ones in olde tyme a patrone for vs, and not rather assigneth to hym an  
 euerlastinge intercession. Howe saye we to thys that Paule also affir-  
 meth, that he sitteth at the right hande of God the father and maketh  
 intercession for vs. And when in an other place he calleth hym the only  
 Mediatoure of God and men: meaneth he not of prayers, of whych he  
 had a little before made mention: for when he hadde before said that  
 intercession muste be made for all men: for prooffe of that sayeng, hee by  
 and by addeth, that of all menne there is one God and one Mediatore.  
 And none otherwise doth Augustine expounde it, when he saith thus:  
 Christian menne dothe mutually commende themselues in their pra-  
 yers. But he for whom none maketh intercession, but he for al, he is the  
 onely and true Mediatoure. Paule the Apostle, though he were a prin-  
 cipall membre vnder the heade ( yet bycause hee was a membre of the  
 bodye of Chyriste, and knewe that the greatest and truest preeste of the  
 church entred, not by a figure, into y inward places, of y baile, to y ho-  
 ly of holy places, but by expresse and stedfast trueth into the innermost  
 places of heauen, to a holynesse not shadowy but eternal) comendeth  
 hymself also to y prayers of the faithfull. Neither doth he make himself  
 a Mediatore betweene y people & God, but prayeth y al y mēbres of  
 the bodye of Chyriste shoulde mutually praye for hym: bycause the mem-  
 bres are carefull one for an other: and if one membre suffer, the other  
 suffer with it. And that so the mutuall prayers one for an other of all  
 the membres yet traauyng in earthe, may ascende to the head which  
 is gone before into heauen, in whome is appeasement for our synnes.  
 For yf Paule were a Mediatoure, the other Apostles shoulde also bee  
 Mediatoures: and if there were many Mediatoures, then neither shold  
 Paules owne reason stande faste, in whych he hadde saide, for ther is  
 one God, one Mediatoure of one God and menne, y manne Chyriste, in  
 whome wee also are one if wee keepe the vnitie of faithe in the  
 bonde of peace. Againe in an other place. But if thou seke for a Preest  
 he is aboue y heauens, wher he maketh intercessio for thee, whiche in  
 earth died for thee. Yet do we not dreame y he falleth downe at the fa-  
 thers knees & in humble wise entreateth for vs: but we vnderstand w  
 the Apostle, that he so appeareth before the face of God, that the ver-  
 tue of hys deathe auayleth to be a perpetuall intercession for vs: yet so  
 that beinge entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, vnto the ende of  
 the ages of the world he alone carrieth to God the prayers of the peo-  
 ple abiding a farre of in the porche.

As touchinge the Saintes, whiche beinge deade in the flethe do liue  
 in Christ, if we geue any praier at all to them, lette vs not dreame that  
 they themselues haue any other waye of askynge, than Chyriste why-  
 che onli is the way or that their praiers be acceptable to God in any o-  
 ther name. Therefore sithe the Scripture calleth vs backe from all  
 to Christ only: sith the heauenly fathers wil is to gather together al in  
 him: it was a point of to much dulnesse, I wyll not saye madnesse, so to

Desire

John. ii.  
ii.

Ro. viii.  
ff.  
Ei. li. b.  
Ro. xv. ff

ib. contra  
par. 2. Ca.  
3.

Rom. xv.  
ff.  
Eph. vi. ff.  
Colo. iiii.  
ii.  
1. Cor. xii.  
xv.

Eph. iiii.  
ii.

In ps. 94.



desire to make for oure selues an entrie by them, that wee shoulde be ledde a waie from hyn wythoute whome euen they them selues haue no entrie open. But, that this hath been vsually done in certaine ages past, & y it is at this day done whersoever Papistrie reigneth, who can denie: Their merites ar frō time to time thrust in, to obtaine y good wil of God: & for y mooste part, Christ being passed ouer, God is praied to by their names. Is not this, I beseeche you to couey away to the y office of y only intercession, which we haue affirmed to belong to Chyste alone? Againe, what Angel or Deuel euer reueled to any mā any one syllable of this their intercession whiche these men faime: for in the Scripture is nothinge of it. What is the reason therefore of inuentinge it? Cruell, when the wytte of man so seeketh for it selie succoures, wherewith we are not certified by y word of God, it plainli bewraiet his owne distrustfulnesse. If we appeale to al their cōsciēces y are delited w y intercession of saintes, we shal finde y the same cometh frō no other ground, but bicause thei ar greued w carefullnes, as though Christ wer in this behalf either to weake or to rigorous. By whiche doubtfulnesse firste thei dishonoure Chyste, and robbe him of the title of onely Mediatoure, whiche as it is geue him of the father for a singular prerogative, so oughte not also to be conueied away to any other. And in this very doinge thei darken the glorie of hys byrth, thei make boide hys crosse, finally what soeuer hee hath done or suffered they spoyle and defraude of the due praise thereof: for all tende to thys ende that he maie bee in deede and be accompted the onely Mediatoure. And therewith they caste awaye the goodnesse of God, whiche gaue hymselfe to be their father. For he is not their father, butlesse thei acknowledge Christ to be their brother. Which thei vitterly denye butlesse thei thinke that he beareth a brotherly affection towarde them, than which ther can nothing be more kinde or tender. Wherfore the Scripture offereth only him to vs, sendeth vs to him, and stayeth vs in hym. He (saythe Ambrose) ys oure mouthe, by

Lib. de isa.  
& anima.

whych we speake to the father: oure eye, by whych we see the father: oure ryghte hande, by whych we offer vs to the father, otherwise than by whole intercession neyther we nor all the Saintes haue any thing with God. If thei aunswere that the common praers which thei make in churches, ar ended w this conclusion adioyned, Through Christ our Lord: this is a trifeling white: bicause y intercessio of Christ is no lesse profained when it is mingled w y praers & merites of dead men, than if it were vitterly omitted & only dead mē were in our mouth. Againe, in al their Letanies, Hymnes, & Proses wher no honor is lefte vngeneu to deade saintes, there is no mention of Christ.

But their folysh dulnesse proceded so far, y here we haue y nature of

Superstitio expressed, whiche when it hath ones taken of y bridle, is

wont to make no end of running a stray. for after y men ones begone

to loke to y intercessio of Saintes, by litle & litle ther was geue to eue

ry one his special doing, y according to y dinerstie of busines, somtime

one & somtime an other shold be called vpon to be intercessor: then they

to them selues euey one hys peculiar Sainte, into whose saythe they

cōmitted theselues as it wer to y keping of safegarding Gods. And not

only (wherew y prophet in y olde time reproched Israell) Gods were

set by according to the nūbre of cities, but eue to y nūbre of persons.

Jer. .ii.  
vitt. .xpt  
pitt.

But



But sith the Saintes referre their desires to the only wil of God, & behold it & rest vpon it: he thinketh foolishly, & fleshly, yea & sclauderously of them, which assigneth to them any other praiet, then whereby they praiet for the coming of the kingdome of God: from which that is mooste far distant whiche thei saine to them, & euery one is w private affection more partially bent to his owne worshipers. At length many abstained not frō horrible sacrilege, in calling now vpon thē not as helpers but as principal rulers of their saluaciō. Lo wherunto foolishly men do fall whē thei wander out of their true stāding, & is, & word of God. I speake not of & grosser mounstruousnesses of vngodlines, wherin although thei be abhominable to God, Angels, & men, thei are not yet ashamed nor weery of thē. Thei falling down before & image or picture of Barbara, Catharine, & such other, do mūble Pater noster, Our father. This madness the Pastors do so not care to heale or restraine, & beinge allured w the sweete sauour of gaine thei allow it w reioising at it. But although thei turne frō themselues the blame of so hapnous an offense, yet by what colozē wil thei defende this & Loy or Medard are praied vnto to looke down vpon & helpe their seruants frō heauē: & the holy Virgin is praied vnto, to cōmaūd her sonne to do & which thei ask. In & old time it was forbidden in the Councell at Carthage, & at the alter no directe prayer shold be made to Sainte s. And it is likely & whē & holy men could not altogether suppressē & force of & naughty custome, yet & added at least this restraīt & the publike praiers shold not be corrupted w this forme: Saint Peter praiet for vs. But how much further hath their deuelling impoitunacie ranged, whiche sick not to geue away to deade men that which propriely belonged only to God and Christ.

23

But wheras thei trauaile to bring to passe & such intercessiō may seme to be grouded vpon & authoritie of scripture, therein thei labor in vaine. We reade oftētymes (saye they) of the praiers of Angels: and not & only: but it is said that the praiers of the faithfull are by their hands carried into the sight of God. But if thei liste to cōpare holy men departed out of this present life, to Angels: thei shold proue & thei ar ministring spirits, to whom is comitted & ministerie to loke to our safetie, to whōe & charg is geuē to kepe vs in al our wales, to go about vs, to admonish & counsel vs, to watch for vs: al which things are geuē to Angels, but not to thē. How wrongfully they wrappe vpon deade holy mē w Angels, appeareth largely by so many diuers offices, wherbi & scripture putteth difference betwene some & other some. No man dare execute the office of an aduocate before an earthely iudge, vnlesse he be admitted, from whense then haue wormes so great libertie, to thruste vnto God those for patrons to whome it is not read & the office is enioyned. Gods wil was to appoint & Angels to loke vnto our salfie, wherfore thei do both frequēt holy assēbles, & & Church is a stage to thē, wherin thei wander at & diuers & manifold wisdom of God. Who so cōuey away to other & which is peculiar to thē, verily they confounde & peruert & ordre set by God, which ought to haue ben inuiolable. With like hādsomnesse they procede in alleging other testimonies. God said to Jeremie: If Moses & Samuel shold stād before me, mi soule is not to this people. How (say thei) coude hee haue spoken thus of deade men, vnlesse he knewe that they made intercession for the liuinge. Butte I on the contrarye syde gather thus, that sythe yt therby appeareth that neither Moses nor Samuel made intercession for the people of Israel, there was then



no intercession at al of dead men. For which of the Saintes is to be thought to be careful for þe safetie of þe people, whē Moses ceaseth, which in this behalfe farre passed al other when he liued: But if they folowe such slight sutteltyes, to say that the dead make intercessiō for the liuing, because the Lord sayd If they shold make intercessiō: I wil much moze colorably reason in thys maner: In the extreme necessitie of the people Moses made not intercession, of whom it is sayd, if he shal make intercession. Therfore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, lithe they are al so farr from the gentlenesse, goodnesse, and fatherly carefulnesse of Moses. Thys forsoth they get with caulling, that they be wounded with the same weapons, wherwith they thought themselues gaylye fenced. But it is very sonde that a simple sentence should so be wrested, because the Lord pronounceth only þe he wil not spare the offenses of þe people, although they had seen Moses to be their patron, or Samuel, to whose prayers he had shewed hymselfe so tender. Which sense is moste clerely gathered out of a like place of Ezechiel. If (saith the Lord) these three men were in the citie, Noe, Daniel, and Job, they shal not deliuer their sonnes and daughters in their righteousnesse: but they shal deliuer only their owne soules. Where it is no dout that he meant if twoo of the shold happen to reuiue againe, for the thirde was then alieue, namely Daniell, who (as it is knowen) did in the first flourishing of hys youth shewe an incomparable example of godlinesse: let vs then leaue them whom the Scripture plainly sheweth to haue ended their course. Therfore Paule, when he speaketh of Dauid, teacheth not that he doth wryth prayers helpe hys posteritie, but onely that he serued his own tyme.

They answeare againe: shall we then take from them all prayer of charitie, which in þe whole course of their lyfe breathed nothing but charitie and mercie: Verily as I wil not curiously searche what they doe, or what they muse vpon: so it is not likely, that they are carried aboute hether and thether with diuerse and particular requestes: but rather þe they do with a staid and bmmoued wil, long for the kingdome of God, which standeth no lesse in the destruction of the wicked than in the saluatiō of the godly. If this be true, it is no dout that their charitie is contained in the communion of the body of Christ, and extēdeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But now though I graūt that they pray in thys maner for vs. yet they do not therfore depart frō their owne quietnesse, to be diuersly drabwen into earthly cares: and muche lesse muste we therfore by and by call vpon them. Neither doth it thereby folowe that they muste so doe, because men whiche lyue in earth may commend one an other in their prayers. For thys doing serueth for nourtying of charitie among them, when they do as it were part and mutually take vpon them their necessities amōg themselues. And thys they do by the commaundemēt of the Lord, and are not without a promise, which twoo things haue alway the chefe place in praier. All suche considerations are farr from the dead, whom when the Lord hath conueyed from our companye, he hath left to vs no enterchange of doinges with them, nor to them with vs, so farr as we may gather by coniectures. But if any man allege, þe it is impossible but þe they must kepe the same charitie towarde vs, as they be ioyned in one Faith with vs: yet who hath reueled þe they haue so lōg eres to reach to our voices &



And so pearcing eyes to watch our necessities: They prate in their shadowes I wote not what of the brightnesse of the countenance of God extending his beames vpon them, in which as in a mirroz they maye from on hye beholde the maters of men beneath. But to affirme that, specially with such boldnesse as they dare, what is it els but to go about by the drunken dreames of our own bzaine, without his word to pearce and breake into the hidden iugementes of God, & to treade the Scripture vnder fete which so oft pronounceth that the wisdome of y<sup>e</sup> fleshe is enemye to the wisdome of God, which wholly condemneth the vanitie of our naturall witt, which willet al our reason to be thzowen downe, and the onely wil of God to be loked vnto of vs.

25

The other testimonies of Scripture which they bring to defēde this their lye, they most noughtily wozest. But Iacob (say they) prayeth y<sup>e</sup> hys name & the name of his fathers Abraham & Isaac be called vpon ouer his posteritie. Firste let vs see what forme of calling vpon this is amōg the Israelites. For they call not vpon their fathers, to helpe them: but they beseeche God to remember his seruantes Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. Therfoze their example maketh nothing for them that speake to y<sup>e</sup> Saintes themselues. But because these blockes (such is their dulnesse) neither vnderstande what it is to call vpon the name of Iacob, nor why it is to be called vpon: it is no maruell if in the very forme also they so childishly stumble. Thys maner of speche is not seldome founde in the Scriptures. For Esau sayth that the meane of the men is called vpon ouer the women, when they haue them as their husbandes vnder whoes charge and defense they liue. Therfoze the calling vpon of the name of Abraham vpon the Israelites, stādeth in this when they conuey their pedegree from hym, and doo with solemne memorie honoz him for their authoz and parent. Neither doth Iacob this because he is careful for the enlarging of the renome of hys name: but for asmuch as he knew that the whole blessednesse of his posteritie consisted in the inheritance of the couenant which God had made w<sup>th</sup> him: he wissheth that which he seeth should be y<sup>e</sup> chefe of al good thinges to them, that they be accompted in hys kynred: for, that is nothing els but to couey to them the succession of the couenant. They againe when they bring suche remembrance into their prayers, do not flee to the intercessions of deade mē: but do put y<sup>e</sup> lord in minde of his couenant, wherby the most kynde father hath promised that he wil be fauourable & beneficial to them for Abraham's, Isaac's, & Iacob's sakes. How litle the holy ones did otherwise leane vpon the merites of their father, the common sayeng of the Chirch in the Prophet testifieth, Thou art our father, and Abraham knew vs not, & Israel was ignozant of vs. Thou Lord art our father and our redemer. And whē they say thus, they adde therwithal, Returne O Lord for thy seruants sakes: yet thinking vpon no intercessio, but bending their minde to the benefite of the couenant. But now sith we haue the Lord Iesus, in whoes hand y<sup>e</sup> eternal couenant of mercy is not onely made but also cōfirmed to vs: whoes name should we rather vse in our praiers? And because these good maisters wil haue the Patriarches to be by these wordes made intercessors, I woulde fayne know of them why in so great a route Abraham the father of the Chirch hath no place at al amōg them, Out of what sinke they fetch their aduocates, it is not

vñkno.

Rom. viii  
n.Ge. xliii  
vi.

Esa. llii. f.

Esa. llii.  
vi.



vnknowē. Let them answer me, how fit it is y<sup>e</sup> Abrahā, whō God preferred aboue al other, and whom he aduāced to the hyst degree of honor, should be neglected and suppressed. Verily whē it was euident that such vse was vnknowē to y<sup>e</sup> old Church, they thought good for hiding of the newnesse to speake nothing of the olde fathers: as though y<sup>e</sup> diuersitie of names excused the new and forged maner. But whereas some obiect y<sup>e</sup> God is prayed vnto, to haue mercy on the people for Dauid's sake, it doth so nothing at al make for defēse of their erroz, y<sup>e</sup> it is a most strōg profe for y<sup>e</sup> confutation therof. For if we cōsider what person Dauid did beare: he is seuered from al y<sup>e</sup> assēbly of y<sup>e</sup> Saintes, y<sup>e</sup> God should stablish y<sup>e</sup> couenant which he hath made in hys hande. So both y<sup>e</sup> couenāt is rather considered thā y<sup>e</sup> man, & vnder a figure y<sup>e</sup> only intercessiō of Christ is affirmed. For it is certaine y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> which beloged only to Dauid, in so much as he was the image of Christ, accordeth not w any other.

But this forsothe moueth some, y<sup>e</sup> it is oftentimes red y<sup>e</sup> the prayers of Saints haue ben heard. Why so: Euen because they prayed. They trusted in thee (sayth the Prophet) and they were saued: they cried, and they were not confounded. Therefore let vs also pray as they did, y<sup>e</sup> we may be heard as they were. But these men, otherwise than they ought, do wrongfully reason, that none shall be heard but they that haue done ben heard. How much better doth James say: Elias (sayeth he) was a man like to vs: and he prayed with prayer that it should not raine, and it rained not vppon the earth in thzee yeares and six monethes. Againe he prayed, and the heauē gaue raine, and the earth gaue her frute. What doth he gather any singular prerogatiue of Elias, to which we oughte to flee: No. But he teacheth what is the continuall strength of godly & pure prayer, to exhorte vs likewise to pray. For we do niggardly construe the redinesse and gentlenesse of God in hearing them, vnieste we be by such experiences cōfirmed into a moze sure affiance of his promises, in which he promiseth that his care shall be enclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a fewe, but to al that call vpon hys name. And so much lesse excusable is this foolishnesse, because they seme as it were of set purpose to despise so many adimonitions of Scripture. Dauid was oft deliuered by the power of God. Was it that he should draw that power to hymselfe, that we shoulde be deliuered by hys helpe: He hymselfe affirmeth farr otherwise: The righteous loke for me, til thou render to me. Agayne, The righteous shall see and they shall reioyse, and truste in the Lorde. Behold, thys poore man hath cryed to God; and he hath answered him. There be in the Psalmes many suche prayers, in whiche to craue that whiche he requireth, he moueth God by this maner, that the righteous be not made ashamed, but may by his example be raised by to hope wel. Lett vs nowe be contented with thys one example. Therefore euery holy one shall praye to thee in fitt tyne. Whiche place I haue so much the moze willingly rehearsed, because the lewde babblers whiche do lett out to hire the seruice of their waged tong haue not ben ashamed to allege it to prouie the intercession of the dead. As though Dauid meant any thing ells, than to shewe the frute that shall come of the mercifulnesse and gentlenesse of G O D, when he shall be heard. And in thys kynde we muste learne, that the experience,



of the grace of God, as wel towarde our selues as other, is no slender helpe to confirme the credit of hys promises. I leaue vnrehearsed many places, where Dauid setteth befoze hymselfe the benefites of God for mater of confidence, because the reders of the Psalmes shal commonly fynde them without seking. This selfe same thing had Iacob befoze taught by hys own exāple: I am vnwozthy of al thy mercies, and of the trueth which þ hast perfozmed to thy seruante. I wyth my staffe haue passed ouer thys Iordan, & now I come fourth with twoo bandes. He allegeth in dede the promise, but not alone: but he also ioineth the effect, that he may the more couragiously in tyme to come trust that God will be the same towarde hym. For he is not like to moztall men, whiche are wery of their liberality, or whoes abilitie is wasted: but he is to be weyed by hys own nature, as Dauid wisely doth where he sayth, Thou hast redeemed me, O God that speakest truth. After þ he hath geue to God þ prayles of his saluation, he addeth that he is a true speaker: because vnlesse he were cōtinually like himselfe, there could not be gathered of his benefites a sufficiently strong reason of affiance and callyng vpon hym. But when we knowe that so oft as he helpeth vs, he sheweth an example and profe of hys goodnesse, we nede not to feare that our hope shal be put to shame or disapoint vs.

Let thys be the summe. Wheras the Scripture setteth out thys vnto vs for þ these point in þ woztshipping of God, (as refusing al sacrifices, he requireth of vs thys dutye of godlynesse) prayer is not wythout manifeste sacrilege directed to other. Wherefoze also it is sayed in the Psalm. If we stretch fourth our handes to a strange God, shall not God require these things: Againe, wheras God wil not be called vpon, but of fayth, and expzessly cōmaundeth prayers to be framed accordyng to the rule of hys worde: finally wheras fayth founded vpo the worde, is the mother of right prayer: so sone as we swarue from the worde, our prayer must nedes be corrupted. But it is alredy shewed, that if þ whole Scripture be sought, thys honoz is therein chalenged to God onely. As touching the office of intercession, we haue also shewed that it is peculiar to Christ, and that there is no prayer acceptable to God, but whiche that mediatoz halloweth. And though the faythfull do one for an other offer prayers to God for their bzetzen, we haue shewed that thys abateth nothing from the onely intercession of Christ: because they altogether standing vpon it do commend both themselves and other to God. Adzeouer we haue taught that this is vnfitly dzawen to dead men, to whom we neuer rede that it hath ben commaunded that they shoulde pray for vs. The Scripture doth oftentimes exhorte vs to mutuall doinges of thys dutie one for an other: but of dead mē there is not so much as one syllable: yea and James ioyning these twoo thinges together, that we shoulde confesse our selues among our selues, and mutually pray one for an other, doth secretly exclude dead men. Therfoze to condemne thys erroz, thys one reason sufficeth, that the beginning of prayeng rightly, spzyngeth out of fayth, and that fayth cometh of the hearing of the worde of God, where is no mention of the fained intercession, because superstition hath rashly gotten to it selfe patrones whiche were not geuen them of God. For wheras the Scripture is ful of many formes of prayer, there is no example founde of thys patroneship,

with

Ge. xiii.

Pla. xiii.

Pla. xliii.

Jame. v.



without which in the papacie thei beleue that there is no praiſer. More-  
ouer it is certaine that this ſuperſtition hath growe of diſtruſtfulneſſe:  
either becauſe they were not content with Chriſt to be their interceſſor,  
or haue altogether robbed him of this praiſe. And thys later point is ea-  
ſily proued by their ſhameleſſneſſe: becauſe they haue no other ſtronger  
argument to proue that we haue nede of the interceſſion of Saintes,  
than whē they object that we are unworthy of familiar acceſſe to God.  
Which we in dede graunt to be moſt true: but therupon we gather, that  
they leaue nothing to Chriſte, whiche eſtreme his interceſſion nothing  
worth, vnles there be adioyned George, Hippolite, or ſuch other viſors

But although praiſer properly ſignifieth only wiſhes & petitions: yet  
there is ſo great affinitie betwene petitiō & thankſgeuing, y they maye  
be fitly comprehended both vnder one name. For, the ſpeciall ſortes  
which Paul rehearſeth, fal vnder the firſt part of this diuiſion. With aſ-  
king and crauing we poure fourth our deſires befoze God, requiring as  
wel thoſe thinges that ſeeme to ſprede abzode his glorie and ſet forth  
hys name, as the benefites that are profitable to our uſe. With geuing  
of thankes, we do with due prayſe magnifie his good doinges towarde  
vs, acknowleging to be receued of his liberalitie whatſocuer good thin-  
ges do come to vs. Therfoze Dauid cōprehended theſe twoo partes to-  
gether, ſayeng: Cal vpo me in the day of neceſſitie: I wil deliuer thee, &  
thou ſhalte gloriſie me. The Scripture not in vaine commaundeth vs  
to vſe both. For we haue ſayd in an other place that our nedineſſe is ſo  
greate, and the experience it ſelfe cryeth out that we are on euery ſyde  
pinched and preſſed with ſo many and ſo great diſtreſſes, that all haue  
cauſe enough why they ſhoulde both ſighe to God, and in humble wyſe  
call vpon hym. For though they be free from aduerſities, yet the gylty-  
neſſe of their wicked doinges, and their innumerable aſſaultes of ten-  
tations ought to prick ſozwarde the moſt holy to aſke remedie. But in  
the ſacrifice of prayſe and thankſgeuing there can be no interruption  
without haynous ſynne, fozaſmuch as God ceſſeth not to heape vpon  
diuerſe men diuerſe benefites to dꝛyue vs though we be ſlack and ſlow,  
to thākfulneſſe. Finally ſo great and ſo plentuous largelſſe of hys bene-  
fites doth in a maner ouerwhelme vs: there are ſo many and ſo greate  
miracles of hys ſeen on euery ſyde which way ſoever thou turne thee, y  
we neuer want grounde and mater of prayſe and thankſgeuing. And,  
that theſe things may be ſomewhat plainlier declared: ſith al our hopes  
and wealth ſtande in God (which we haue befoze ſufficiently proued) y  
neither we noꝝ all our things can be in proſperitie but by his bleſſing:  
we muſt cōtinually cōmit our ſelues & al our things to him. The, what-  
ſoever we purpoſe, ſpeake, or do, let vs purpoſe, ſpeake, & doe vnder hys  
hand & wil, finally vnder y hope of hys helpe. For, al are pronouced ac-  
curſed of God, which deuſe or determine any purpoſes vpo truſt of the  
ſelues or of any other, which wout his wil, & wout callig vpo him do en-  
terpriſe or attempt to begin any thig. And wheras we haue diuerſe times  
alredy ſayd he is duely honozed when he is acknowleged y authoz of  
al good things: therupon foloweth that al thoſe things are ſo to be recei-  
ued at his hāde, y we yelde cōtinual thāks for them: & y there is no other  
right way for vs to vſe his benefites, which flow and procede frō his li-  
berality to no other end, but y we ſhould be cōtinually buſied in cōfeſſing

Gg.iii.

hys

28

Pſa. l. xv.

Thon. iiii.  
xl.iii.  
Eſa. xxx  
E. xxxi. l. i.



1. Timo.  
liii. b.  
Metonymia,  
Ps. xl. liii.

his prayse & geuing of thanks. For Paul, when he testifieth y they are sanctified by the worde & prayer, doth therewithal signifie that they are not holy and cleane to vs without the worde and prayer, vnderstanding by y worde, sayth by figure. Therfore David sayth very well, when ha- uing receiued the liberalitie of the Lorde, he declarerth that there is ge- uen hym into hys mouth a new song: wherby verily he signifieth that it is a malicious silence, if we passe ouer any of hys benefites without prayse: si the he so ofte geueth vs mater to say good of hym, as he doeth good to vs. As also Saie setting out the singular grace of God, exhor- teth the saythfull to a new and vnwonted song. In which sense David sayth in an other place, Lord open thou my lippes, & my mouth shal be to fourth thy prayse. Likewise Ezechias and Jonas testifie that thys shal- be to them the ende of their deliuerance, to celebrare the goodnesse of God with songes in the temple. Thys same Law David prescribeth to al the godly. What shal I repay to the Lord (sayth he) for all the thynges that he hath bestowed vpon me? I wil take the cup of saluations, and wil cal vpon the name of the Lord. And y same law y Church foloweth in an other Psalme, Saue vs our God, y we may cofesse to thy name and glozy in thy prayse, Againe, He hath looked vnto the prayer of the solitarie, and he hath not despised their prayers. Thys shalbe wyrtten to the generation that shal folow, & the people created shal prayse y Lord, that they may declare hys name in hym and his prayse in Hierusalem. Yea so oft as the faithfull beseeche God to do for hys names sake: as they professe themselves vnworthy to obtaine any thing in their own name, so they binde themselves to geue thanks, & they promise that this shal- be to them the right vse of the bountifullnesse of God y they shalbe pub- lishers of it. So Dsee speaking of the redemptio to come of the Church, sayth: Take away iniquitie O God, and lift vp good: and we will paye the calues of lippes. And the benefites of God doe not onely clayme to themselves the prayse of the tong, but also do naturally procure loue. I haue loued (sayth David) because the Lord hath heard the voice of my praiet. Againe in an other place, rehearsing y helpes which he had felt, he sayth: I wil loue thee O God my strength. Neither shal the prayses ener please God, which shal not flow out of thys sweetnesse of loue. Yea and also we muste holde fast thys sayeng of Paule, that all prayers are wrongfull & faulty to which is not adioyned geuing of thakes. For thus he sayth, in al prayer & beseeching with thankesgeuing, let your peteti- ons be knowen with God. For, si the testinesse, rediuousnesse, impatiere, bitternesse of grefe, and feare do moue many in prayeng to murmur, he commaundeth that our affections be so tempered, that the saythfull ere they haue obteyned y which they desire, should neuertheless chere- fully blesse God. If thys knot ought to haue place in things in a maner cotrary, w so much more holy bad doth God bind vs to sing his praises, so oft as he maketh vs to enioy our requestes. But as we haue taughte y our prayers are hallowed by y intercessio of Christ, which other wise should be vncleane: so y Apostle, where he romaundeth vs to offer a sa- crifice of praise bi Christ, putteth in mind y we haue not a mouth cleane enough to praise y name of God, vnlesse y presthode of Christ become y meane. Wherupō we gather y me haue ben mostrounly bewitched in y papacie, where y greater part marueleth y Christ is called an aduocate.

This

1. Cor. ii. r.  
Psal. li.  
rbii.  
Esa.  
Hrrrbist. rr  
Jon. xi. r.  
Psa. cxvi.  
cxi.  
Psa. cxi.  
rbii.  
Psa. cx.  
rbiii.

Dse. xliii.  
liii.

Ps. cxvi. i  
Ps. xviii. i

Phil. liii.  
vi.

Heb. xliii.  
rv.



This is the cause why Paule commaundeth bothe to praye and to geue thankes without cessing: namely for that he willeth that with so great continuing as may be, at every tyme, in every place, in all maters and busineses, the prayers of all men shoulde be lifted vp to God, whiche may bothe loke for all thinges at hys hande, and yelde to him the praise of all thinges, as he offreth vs continuall matter to prayse and praye.

But this continual diligēte of prayeng, although it specially cōcerne to p<sup>r</sup>opre & p<sup>r</sup>ivate p<sup>r</sup>aiers of every man, yet somwhat also p<sup>r</sup>erteineth to the publike prayers of the Chirch. But those can neither be continuall, nor ought otherwise to be done thā according to the politike order that shall by commō consente be agreed vpon among all. I graunt the same in dede. For therfore certayne houres are set and appointed, as indifferent with God, so necessarie for the bles of men, that the commoditie of all men may be p<sup>r</sup>ouided for, and all thinges (according to the sayeng of Paul) may be comlyly and orderly done in the Chirch. But this maketh nothing to the contrarie but that every Chirch ought bothe from tyme to tyme to stirre by it selfe to often ble of prayers, and when it is admonished by any greater necessitie, to be feruent with moze earnest endeuor. As for perferuance which hath a great affinitie with continuall diligence, there shall be a litt place to speake of it aboute the ende. Nowe these make nothing for the much babbling whiche Christe willed that we shold be forbidden. For he forbiddeth not to continue long, nor oft, nor with much affection in prayers, but that we shoulde not trust that we maye wyng any thinge oute of God, by dulling his eares with much babbling talke, as if he were to be perswaded after the maner of men. For we knowe that Hypocrites, because they do not consider that they haue to do with God, do no lesse make a poympous shewe in their prayers than in a triumph, for the Pharisee which thanked God that he was not like to other men, without dout reioysed at hymselfe in the eyes of men, as if he would by prayer seke to get a fame of holynesse. Hereupon came that much babbling, which at this day vpon a like cause is bled in the papacie, while some do vainly spende the tyme in repeting the same prayers, and other some doe set out themselues among the people with a long heape of words. Sith thys babbling childishly mocketh God, it is no maruell that it is forbidden out of the Chirche, to the ende that nothing shoulde there be bled but earnest and proceeding from the bottome of the hart. Of a nere kinde and lyke to this corruption is there an other, which Christ cōdēneth w<sup>th</sup> thys: namely p<sup>r</sup> Hypocrites for boasting sake do seke to haue many witnesses, & do rather occupy p<sup>r</sup> market place to pray in, than their prayers shoulde want p<sup>r</sup> prayse of p<sup>r</sup> world. But wheras we haue already shewed that thys is the marke that prayer shooteth at, that our myndes may be carryed bpwarde to God, bothe to cōfessio of prayse & to crauing of helpe: therby we may vnderstand p<sup>r</sup> the chiefe duties therof do stand in p<sup>r</sup> minde & the hart; or rather p<sup>r</sup> prayer it selfe is properly an affectio of p<sup>r</sup> inward hart, which is poured fourth and layed opē before God p<sup>r</sup> searcher of harts. Wherefore (as it is already said) the heauenly scholemaister, when he minded to set out the best rule of prayeng, commaunded vs to goe into our chamber, and there the doze being shutt to pray to our father whiche is in secreete, that our father which is in secreete may heare vs. For whē he hath drabōe them away frō

i. Cor. v  
viii.

29

i. Cor. x  
xi.Math. vi  
vii.

mat. vi, vi



the example of hypocrites, which with ambitious boasting shew of praayers sought the fauor of mē, he therewithall addeth what is better, namely to entre into our chamber, and there to pray the doze being shut. In which words (as I expounde them) he willed vs to seke solitarie being, whiche may helpe vs to descende and to entre thzoughely wyth our whole thoughte into our hart, pzomising to the affections of our harte that God shalbe nere vs whoes temples our bodyes ought to be. For he meant not to deny but that it is expediente also to pray in other places: but he sheweth that prayer is a certaine secrete thing, whiche bothe is chesely placed in the soule, and requireth the quiet therof farr from all troubles of cares. Not wout cause therfoze y lord himselfe also, when he was disposed to apply himselfe moze earnestly to prayer coueied himself into some solitarie place farr fro y troublesome cōpany of mē: but to teach vs by his exāple y these helps ar not to be despised, by which our minde being to slippry of it self is moze bēt to earnest applyeng of praier. But in the meane time euē as he in the middlest of the multitude of men, abstained not from praying, if occasion at any tyme so serued: so should we in al places where nede shalbe, lift vp pure handes. Finally thus it is to be holden, that whosoever refuseth to praye in the holy assembleie of the godly, he knoweth not what it is to praye apart, oz in solitarinesse, oz at home. Againe, that he that neglecteth to praye alone oz priuately how diligently soeuer he haūt publike assembleies, doth there make but vaine prayes: because he geueth moze to the opinion of men thā to the secrete iugement of God. In the meane time, that the common prayes of the Church shoulde not growe into contempte, God in olde tyme garnished them with glorious titles, specially where he called the temple the house of prayer. For, by thys sayeng he both taught that the chesepart of the worshipping of hym is the dutie of prayer: and that to the ende that the faythful shoulde with one consent exercise themselues in it, the tēple was set vp as a standerd for them. There was also added a notable promise: There abideth for thee, O God, prayse in Sion: & to thee the bow shalbe payed. By which wordes the Prophet telleth vs, that the prayes of the Church are neuer voyde: because the Lord alway ministrerh to hys people mater to sing vpon with ioy. But although the shadowes of the law are cessed: yet because y Lordes wil was by thys ceremonie to nourish among vs also the vnitie of fayth, it is no doute that the same promise belongeth to vs, which both Christ hath stablished with hys owne mouth, and Paule teacheth that it is of fozte for euer.

Now as the Lord by hys worde commaundeth the faithful to vse cōmon prayes: so there must be common temples appointed for the blsing of them: where whoso refuse to communicate their prayer with y people of God, there is no cause why they shoulde abuse thys pretense, that they enter into their chamber that they may obey the commaundemente of the lord. For he that promiseth that he wil do whatsoeuer thwoe oz thzee shall aske being gathered together in hys name, testifieth that he despiseth not prayes openly made: so y boasting and seking of glozy of mē be absent, so that vnfaigned & true affectiō be present which dwelleth in the secret of the hart. If this be the right vse of temples (as truely it is) we must againe beware that neither (as they haue begon in certayne ages past to be accōpted) we take them for the prope dwelling places of God

from

1 Tim. 2.8.

1 Sa. 16.7.

1 Sa. 16.2.

30

Mat. 18.

10.



from whence he may more nerely bende hys eare vnto vs: noz fayrie to them I wote not what secrete holinesse, whiche maye make our prayer more holy befoze God. For sith we our selues be the true tēples of God, we must pray in our selues if we wil cal vpon God in his own holy temple. As for that grossenesse, let vs which haue a commaundement to call vpon the Lord in Spirite and truth without difference of place, leaue it to the Jewes or the Gentiles. There was in dede a temple in olde time Job 41.3. by the commaundemente of God for offring of prayers and sacrifices: but that was at such ty me as the truth lay hydde figured vnder suche shadowes; which being now liuely expresse vnto vs doth not suffer vs to sticke in any materiall temple. Neither was the temple geuen to the Jewes themselves with this condition, that they shold enclose the presence of God, within the walles therof, but wherby they myght be exercised to beholde the image of the true temple. Esa. 66.2. Therefore they, which Actes. 7. 48. in any wise thought that God dwelleth in temples made with handes, were sharply rebuked of Clay and Stephen.

Here moreouer it is more than euident, that neither voice noz song, if they be vsed in prayer, haue any force, or do any whit profite befoze God, vnlesse they procede from the depe affectiō of the hart. But rather they prouoke his wrath against vs, if they come only frō the lippes and out of the throte: forasmuch as that is to abuse his holy name, and to make a mockerie of his maiestie: as we gather out of the wordes of Clay, which although they extende further, yet pertaine also to reprove thys fault. Thys people (sayth he) cometh nere to with their mouth and honozeth me with their lippes but their hart is farr frō me: & they haue feared me with the commaundement and doctrine of men. Therefore beholde I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondzed at: for wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the prudence of the Elders shall vanishe away. Neither yet doo we here condemne voice or singyng, but rather doo hyely commende them, so that they accompany the affection of the mynde. For so they exercise the mynde and hold it intentiue in thynkyng vpon God: which as it is slippery and rolyng, easily slacketh and is diuersly drawen, vnlesse it be stayed with diuers helppes. Moreouer wheras the glorie of God ought after a certaine maner to shine in al the partes of our body, it specially behoueth that the tong be applyed and auowed to this seruice both in singing and in speaking; which is properly created to shew fourth and display the praise of God. But the chiefe vse of the tong is in publike prayers, which are made in the assemble of the Godly: which tend to thys ende, that we may all w one common voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorifie God, whō we worship with one Spirite and one Faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, euery one of hys brother, maye receiue the confession of Fayth, to the example wherof they maye be bothe allured and stirred.

As for the vse of singyng in Chirches (that I may touche this also by the waie) it is certaine that it is not onely most auncient: but that it was also in vse among the Apostles, we maye gather by these wordes of 1. Cor. 14. Paule, I will syng in Spirite, I will syng also in mynde. Agayne to 130 the Colossians, Teachyng and admonishing you mutually in hymnes, psalmes, and spirituall songes, singyng with grate in your harts to the



Lorde. For in the first place he teacheth that we should syng with voice  
 and harte: in the other he commendeth spirituall songes, wherewith  
 the godly doo mutually edifie themselves. Yet that it was not vniuer-  
 sal, Augustine testifieth, which reporteth that in the time of Ambrose  
 the Church of Millain first began to sing, when while Iustina the mo-  
 ther of Valentinian cruelly raged against the true faith, the people more  
 bled watchinges than they were wont: and that afterwarde the other  
 westerne Churches folowed. For he had a litle befoze sayed that this  
 maner came from the Easterne Churches. He telleth also in his seconde  
 boke of Retractations that it was in his time receiued in Africa. One  
 Hilarie (sayth he) a ruler did in euery place wheresoeuer he could, with  
 malicious blaming raile at the maner which then began to be at Car-  
 thage, that the hymnes at the altar should be pronounced out of the  
 boke of Psalmes, either befoze the oblation, or whē that which had ben  
 offered was distributed to the people. Him I answered at the commaun-  
 dement of my brethren. And truely if song be tempered to that grauitie  
 which becommeth the presēce of God and Angels, it both procureth dig-  
 nitie and grace to the holy actions, and muche auaieth to stirre by the  
 myndes to true affection, and seruentnesse of prayeng. But we muste  
 diligently beware that our eares be not more hedefully bente to the  
 note, than our myndes to the spiritual sense of the wordes. Wyth which  
 peril Augustine in a certaine place sayth that he was so moued, that he  
 sometime wished y<sup>e</sup> maner which Athanasius kept should be stablised,  
 which commaunded that the reder should sounde hys wordes with so  
 small a booying of hys voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth  
 than to one that singeth. But when he remembred howe muche profite  
 he hymselfe had receyued by syngyng, he inclined to y<sup>e</sup> other side. Ther-  
 fore vsyng this moderation, there is no dout that it is a most holpe and  
 profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songes so ever are fra-  
 med only to swetenesse and delite of the eares, they both become not the  
 maiestie of the Church, and can not but hypely displease God.

33

Whereby it also playnly appereth that common prayers are to be spo-  
 ken not in Greke among Latine men, nor in Latine among Frenche-  
 men or Englishmen (as it hath heretofore ben eche where commonly  
 done) but in the peoples mother tongue, which comonly may be vnder-  
 stood of the whole assembly: forasmuche as it ought to be done to the  
 edifyng of the whole Church, whiche receiue no fruite at all of a sound  
 not vnderstanded. But they which haue no regarde neither of charitie  
 nor of humanitie, should at least haue ben somewhat moued with the au-  
 thoritie of Paule, whoes wordes are nothyng doutfull. If thou blesse  
 (saieyth he) in Spirite, howe shall he that filleth the place: of an vnlearned  
 man answer A men to thy blessing, sith he knoweth not what thou saiest:  
 For thou in dede giest thanks, but the other is not edified. Who ther-  
 fore can sufficiently wonder at the vnbridled licentiousnesse of the Pa-  
 pikes, which, the Apostle so openly crying out againste it, feare not to  
 roare out in a strange tongue moste babbling prayers, in whiche they  
 themselves sometyne vnderstand not one syllable, nor wold haue other  
 folkes to vnderstand it: But Paule teacheth that we ought to do oher-  
 wise. How then: I will pray (sayth he) with spirit, I will praye also with  
 mynde: I will syng with spirite, I will sing also with mynde: signifieng  
 by

confell.  
 lib. 9.  
 cap. 7.

Confell.  
 lib 2  
 ca. xxiii.

1. Coz.  
 xiii. xvi.



by the name of Spirite, the singular gifte of tonges, which many being endued with abused it, when they seuered it from the mynde, that is, fro vnder stāding. But this we must altogether thik, that it is by no meane possible, neither in publike noz in priuate pzaier, but that the tong without the hart must hvely displease God. Moreover we muste thinke that the mynde ought to be kyndled with feruentnesse of thoughte, that it maye farre surmounte all that the tong maye expresse with vtterance. Finally that the tong is not necessarie at all for priuate prayer, but so farre as the inwarde seluyng either is not able to suffice to enkindle it selfe, oz the vehemence of enkindlyng violently carieth the woozke of the tong with it. For though very good prayers sometyme be without voyce, yet it oftentymes betydeh, that when the affection of the mynde is feruent, bothe the tong breaketh foorthe into voyce, and the other membzres into gesturyng without excessiue shew. Hereupon came the mutterynge of Hanna, and such a like thing all the holy ones alway fele in themselves, when they burst out into broken and vnperfect voyces. As for the gestures of the body which are wont to be vbled in pzaier (as knelyng and vncoueryng of the hed) they are exercises by which we endeuor to ryle by to a greater reuerencing of God.

Now we must learne not onely a moze certaine rule, but also the very forme of prayeng: namely the same, which the heavenly Father hath taught vs by his beloued Sonne: wherin we may acknowe his vnrurable goodnesse and kyndenesse. For besyde this he warneth and exhorteth vs to seke hym in al our necessitie, (as children are wont to flee to their fathers defence, so oft as they be troubled with any distresse) because he saw y we did not sufficiently perceiue this, how slender our povertie was, what were mete to be asked, & what were for our profite: he prouided also for this our ignozāce, & what our capacite wāted, he supplied & furnished of his owne. For he hath prescribed to vs a form wherin he hath as in a Table set out whatsoeuer we may desire of him, what soeuer auaileth for our profit, & whatsoeuer is necessary to ask. Of whiche his gentlenesse we receaue a great fruit of comfort y we vnderstand y we aske no inconuenient thyng, no vnsemyng oz vnfit thyng, finally nothyng that is not acceptable to hym, sith we aske in a maner after his owne mouthe. When Plato sawe the folly of men in making requestes to God, whiche beyng graūted, it many tymes befell much to their owne hurt: he pronounced that this is the best maner of prayeng taken out of the olde Poete. Kyng Jupiter gene vnto vs the beste thynges bothe when we aske them, and when we doo not aske them, but commaunde euell thynges to be away from vs euen when we aske them. And verily the heathen man is wyle in this, that he iudgeth howe perillous it is to aske of the Lorde that whiche our owne desire moueth vs: and therewithal he bewrayeth our vnhappy case, that we can not ones open our mouthes befoze God without danger, vnlesse the Spirite do instructe vs to a right rule of prayeng. And in so muche greater estimation this priuilege is worthy to be had of vs, sith the onely begotten Sonne of God ministreth wordes into our mouthe which may deliuer our mynde from all doutyng.

This whether you call it forme oz rule of prayeng is made of six petitions. For, the cause why I agree not to them that diuide it into seven parts,

1. Sam. i. viii.

34

Math. vi. ix.

Luc. xii. ii.

Alcib. ii. vel de. vot.

Rom. viii. vi.

35

parts,



partes, is this that by puttyng in this aduersatiue word (But) it seemeth that the Euangelist ment to ioyne these two peces together, as if he had sayd: Suffer vs not to be oppressed with tentation but rather helpe our weakenesse, & deliuer vs, that we saynt not. The olde wryters also think on our syde, so that nowe that whiche is in Mathew added in the seuenth place, is by way of declaration to be ioyned to the sixt petition. But although the whole praier is such that in euery parte of it regarde is specially to be had of the glozie of God, yet the three first petitions are peculiarly appoynted to Gods glozie, whiche alone we ought in them to loke vnto without any respect (as they say) of our owne profite. The other thre haue care of vs, and are proprely assigned to aske those thynges that are for our profite. As when we pray that the name of God be halowed: because God will proue whether he be loued and honored of vs freely or for hope of reward, we must the think nothyng of our own commoditie: but his glozie must be sett befoze vs, which alone we must beholde with fixed eies: and no otherwise ought we to be mynded in the other praiers of this sort. And euen this tourneth to our great profite, that when it is sanctified as we pray, it is also likewise made our sanctification. But our eyes (as it is saied) must winke and after a certayne maner be blinde at suche profite, so as they may not ones loke at it: that if all hope of our pynate benefite were cut of, yet we should not cease to wishe and pray for this sanctification and other thynges which pertaine to the glozie of God. As it is sene in the examples of Moses and Paule, to whom it was not greuous to turne away their myndes and eies from themselues, & with vehement and enflamed zeale to with their owne destruction that though it were with their owne losse they might auance the glozie & kyngdome of God. On y other side when we pray that our dayly bzead be geuen vs: although we wyshe that which is for our owne commoditie, yet here also we ought chesely to seke the glozie of God, so that we would not aske it vnlesse it might turne to his glozie. Now let vs come to the declaryng of the praier it selfe.

Our Father w hiche art in heaven.

36

First in the very entrie we mete with this which we said befoze that all prayer ought none otherwise to be offred of vs to God than in the name of Christe, as it can by no other name bee made acceptable vnto him. For sins we call him Father, truely we allege for vs the name of Christ. For by what boldnesse myght any man call God, Father: who should burst forth into so great rathnesse, to take to hymselfe the honoz of the Sonne of God, vnlesse we were adopted the childzen of grace in Christ: Which being the true Sonne, is geue of him to vs to be our bzeather: that that which he hath propre by nature, may by the benefit of adoption be made oures, if we do with sure faith embrace so great bountifullnesse. As John saith, y power is geue to the which beleue in y name of the only begotte Sonne of God, y they also may be made the childze of God. Therfoze he both calleth himself our father, & will be so called of vs, by this sweetnesse of name delyuering vs from all distrust, lithe there can no where be found any greater affection of loue than in a father. Therfoze he coulde by no surer example testifie his vnmeasurable deere loue toward vs than by this that we are named the sonnes of God. But his loue is so much greater & moze excellent toward vs than all

August.  
in Enchi-  
rid ad  
Laurent.  
cap. 116.  
Chrysol.  
aut. o  
per. im-  
perf.

Exo. xxxii  
xxii.  
Rom. ix.  
iii.

John. i.  
ii.  
i. John.  
iii. 1.  
Psalme.  
xcvii. v.  
Ps. xcvi.  
r.  
Esa. lxxiii.  
xvi.  
ii. Tim. ii  
viii.



all loue of our parentes, as he passeth all men in goodnesse and mercy: that if all the fathers that are in the earth, hauing shaken of all feling of fatherly naturalnesse, wold forsake their childzen, yet he wyll neuer faile vs, because he can not denie hymselfe. For we haue his promise, If you beyng euell can geue good giftes to your childzen, howe muche moze can your father which is in heauen: Agayn in the Prophet, Can a mother forget her childzen? Though she forget them, yet I will not forgett thee. If we be his childzen: then as a childe can not geue hymselfe into the tuition of a stranger and forein man, vnesse he complain either of the crueltie or pouertie of his father: so we can not seke succozs from ells where than from him alone, vnesse we reproche hym with pouertie and wante of abilitie, or with crueltie or to extreme rigorounesse.

Neither let vs allege that we are woorthily made fearefull with conscience of sinnes, whiche may make a father be he neuer so mercyfull and kynde, daily to be displeased. For if among men the sonne can with no better aduocate pleade his cause to his father, & by no better meane gett and recouer his fauor beyng losse, than if he hymselfe humbly and lowly, acknowleggyn his fault, doo beseeche his fathers mercie (for then the fatherly bowels can not hide themselues but must be moued at such prayers) what shall that father of mercies do, and the God of all comfort: shall not he rather heare the teares and gronnynges of his childzen intreatyng for themselues (specially sith he dothe call and exhorde vs to do so) than any other intercessions whatsoeuer they be: to the succoz wherof they do so fearefully flee, not withoute some shewe of despeire, because they distrust of the kyndnesse and mercifulnesse of their father: This ouerflowyng plentie of fatherly kyndnesse he depainteth and setteth out vnto vs in the parable, where the father louyngly embraceth the sonne that had estranged hymselfe from him, that had riotously wasted his substance, that had euery way greuouly offended against him: and he tarieth not till he do with wordes craue pardon, but he hymselfe preuenteth hym, knoweth hym afarre of returnyng, of his owne wyll goeth to mete hym, comforteth him, and receiueth hym into fauor. For, setting out in a man this example of so great gentlenesse, he mynded to teache vs howe muche moze plentifull kindnesse we ought to loke for at his hande, who is not only a father, but also the best and most mercyfull of all fathers, howsoeuer we be vnkynde, rebellious, and naughty childzen: so that yet we cast our selues vppon his mercie. And that he myght make it to be moze assuredly beleued, that he is suche a father to vs, if we be Christians: he willed not only to be called father, but also by expresse name Our father: as if we myght thus talke with hym, O father which hast so great naturall kyndnesse towarde thy childzen, so great easynesse to pardon, we thy childzen call to thee and pray to thee, beyng assured and fully persuaded, that thou bearest no other affection to vs than fatherly, howsoeuer we be vntwoorthy of suche a father. But because the small capacities of our hart conceiue not so great vnrmeasureablenesse of fauor, not onely Christe is to vs a pledge and earnest of our adoption, but also he geueth vs the Spirite for witness of the same adoption, through whom we may with a free and lobode voyce crye Abba, father. So ofte therfore as any delay shal withstande vs, let vs re-

par. vii.  
ri.  
Esa. xlii.  
ib.

37

ff. Coz. l.  
iii.

Luc. xii.  
rr.

Gal. iiii.  
vi.

membre



membze to aske of hym, that coꝛrectyng our fearefulnesse, he will sette befoze vs that Spirite of cozagiuousnesse to be our guide to pray boldly.

39  
 Whereas we are not so taught that euery one shoulde seuerally call hym his owne father, but rather that we shoulde all in common together call hym Our Father: therby we are put in mynde, howe great affection of bꝛotherly loue ought to be among vs, whiche are altogether by one same right of mercy and liberalitie, the children of suche a Father. For we all haue one common Father, from whom cometh whatsoeuer good thyng may betide vnto vs: there ought to be nothyng seuerall among vs, whiche we are not ready with great cherefulnesse of mynde to communicate one to an other, so muche as nede requirerh. Now if we be so desirous, as we oughte to be, to reache our hande and helpe one to an other, there is nothyng wherin we may moze profite our bꝛethzen, than to commende them to the care and pꝛouidence of the most good Father, who beyng well pleased & fauoring, nothing at al can be wated. And verily euen this same we owe to our Father. For as he that truely & hartily loueth any Father of household, doth also embrace his whole household, with loue and good will: likewise what loue & affection we beare to this heavenly Father, we must shewe towarde his people, his household and his inheritance, which he hath so honozed, that he hath called it the fullnesse of his only begotten Sonne. Let a christian man therfoze frame his prayers by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that be bꝛethzen in Christe with hym: and not onely those whom he presently seeth and knoweth to be suche, but al men that lyue vpon earth: of whom, what God hath determined, it is out of our knowlege: sayyng that it is no lesse godly then naturall to wish the best to them, and hope the beste of them. Howbeit we ought with a certayne singular affection to beare a special inclination to them of the household of faith, whom the Apostle hath in euery thing peculiarly commended vnto vs. In a sūme, All our pꝛaiers ought to be so made, that they haue respect to that communitie which our Lord hath stablished in his kyngdome and his house.

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 Yet this withstandeth not, but that we may specially pray both for our selues and for certayne other: so that yet our mynde depart not from hauyng an eye to this communitie, noꝛ ones swatue from it, but applie all thynges vnto it. For though they be singularly spoken in forme, yet because they are directed to that marke, they cesse not to be common. All this may be easily vnderstode by a like example. The commaundemēt of God is generall, to relieue the nede of all poore: and yet they obey this commaundement which to this ende do helpe their pouertie whom they knowe or see to be in nede, although they passe ouer many whome they see to be pꝛessed with no lesse necessitie: either because they can not know all, or be not able to helpe all. After this maner they also doo not against the will of God, which hauyng regard vnto and thinkyng vpon this common felowship of the Chirche, doo make suche particular prayers, by whiche they doo with a common mynde in particular wordes, commende to God themselues or other, whoes necessitie God willed to be moze nerely knowen to them. Howbeit all thyngs are not like in pꝛaier and in bestowyng of goodes. For, the liberalitie of geuyng can not be vled but toward them whoes nede we haue perceyued: but with

praiers



prayers we may helpe euen them that are most strange and moſte vnknewen to vs, by howe greate a ſpace of ground ſoener they be diſtant from vs. This is done by that generall forme of praier, wherein all the children of God are contained, among whom they alſo are. Hereto we may applie that which Paule exhorteth the faithfull of his tyme, that they liſt by euery where pure handes without ſtrype: becauſe when he warneth them y<sup>e</sup> ſtrife ſhutteth the gate againſt praier, he willety them with one mynde to lay their petitions in communion together.

i. Tim. ſt. viii.

It is added, that he is in heauen. Whereupon it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bounde faſte enclosed and compaſſed with the circle of heauen, as within certayne barres. For Salomon alſo confeſſeth that the heauens of heauens can not conteyne hym. And he hymſelfe ſaith by the Prophet that heauen is his ſeate, and the earthe his footſtoole. Whereby verily he ſignifieth that he is not limited in any certayne coaſte, but is ſpread abzoad throughtout all thynges. But becauſe our mynde (ſuche is the groſſeneſſe of it) coulde not otherwyſe conceiue his vnſpeakable glorie, it is ſignified to vs by the heauen, than which there can nothing come vnder our ſight moze ample or fuller of maieſty. Sith therfoze whereſoener our ſenſes comprehend any thyng, there they be to faſten it: God is ſett out of all place, that when we will ſeke hym we ſhould be raiſed by aboue all ſenſe bothe of body and ſoule. Agayne by this maner of ſpeakyng he is liſted by aboue all chaunce of corruption and change: finally it is ſignified that he comprehendeth and cōteineth the whole worlde and gouerneth it with his power. Wherefoze this is al one as if he had ben called of infinite greatneſſe or height, of incomprehensible ſubſtance, of vnmeaſurable power, of euerlaſtyng immortaliſtie. But while we haue this, we muſt liſt by our mynde hier when God is ſpoken of, that we dreame not any earthly or fleſhly thyng of hym, that we meaſure hym not by our ſmall proportions, nor drabe his will to the rule of our affections. And therwithall is to be rayſed by our affiance in him, by whoſe prouidence and power we vnderſtande heauen and earth to be gouerned. Let this be the ſumme, that vnder the name of Father is ſett befoze vs that God which hath in his owne image appeared to vs, that he may be called vpon with aſſured faith: and that the familiar name of Father is not onely applied to ſtabliſhe affiance, but alſo auaieth to holde faſt our myndes that they be not drabwen to doubtful or fained Gods, but ſhoulde from the onely begotten ſonne clymbe by to the onely father of Angels and of the Chirche: then, that becauſe his ſeate is placed in heauen, we are by the gouernance of the worlde put in mynd that not without cauſe we come to hym which with preſent care cometh of his owne will to mete vs. Who ſo come to God (ſaith the Apoſtle) they muſt firſt beleue that there is a God: then, that he is a rewarder to all them that ſeke hym. Bothe theſe thynges Chriſt affirmeth to be propre to his Father, that our faith may be ſtayed in hym: then, that we may be certainly perſuaded that he is not careleſſe of our ſafety: becauſe he vouchſaueth euen to vs to extende his prouidence. With whiche introductions Paule prepareth vs to pray rightely. For befoze that he biddeth our petitions to be opened befoze God he ſayth thus, Be ye carefull for nothyng, the Lorde is at hande. Whereby appeareth that they doubtfully and with perplexitie toſſe theyr prayers in their mynde, which

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i. Bin. viii  
rrrbii.  
Eſa. lxxvi.  
i.  
Acte. viii.  
plur. et  
rbii. rrbiiHebz. xi.  
vi.Philip.  
iii. vi.



Psalme.  
ccviii.  
vbi.

41

whiche haue not this well settled in them, that the eye of God is vpon the righteous.

The firste Petition is, That the name of God be hallowed, the neede wherof is ioyned with our greate shame. For what is more shamefull, than that the glozie of God should be partly by our vnthankfulnesse, partly by our maliciousnesse, darkened: and (so muche as in it lyeth) by our boldenesse and furious stubboznesse, vtterly blotted out? Though all the wicked wolde burst themselues with their wyfulnesse full of sacrilege, yet the holynesse of the name of God gloriously shineth. And not without cause the Prophet crieth out, As thy name O God, so is thy praise into al the endes of the earth. For wheresoeuer the name of God is knowen, it can not be but that his strengthes, power, goodnesse, wisdom, righteousnesse, mercie, and truth must shewe foozth themselues, whiche may drawe vs into admiration of him, and stirre vs vp to publyshe his praise. Sith therfore the holynesse of God is so shamefully taken from hym in earth, if we be not able to reskue it, we be at the least commaunded to take care of it in our prayers. The summe is, that we wishe the honoz to be geuen to God whiche he is worthe to haue, that men neuer speake oz thinke of hym without mosse hye reuerence: wherunto is contrarie the vnholly abusyng, whiche hath alway been to common in the woorld, as at this day also it rangeth abzoad. And hereupon commeth the necessitie of this petition, whiche if there liued in vs any godlynesse, though it were but little, oughte to haue ben superfluous. But if þ name of God haue his holynesse safe, when being seuered from all other, it breatheth out nothyng but glozie, here we are commaunded not only to pray that God wil deliuer that holy name from al contempt & dishonoz, but also that he wil subdue al mankind to the reuerence of it. Now wheras God discloseth hymself to vs partly by doctrine, partly by woorkes, he is no otherwise sanctified of vs, than if we geue to him in both behalves þ which is his, & so embrace whatsoeuer shal come from hym: and that his seueritie haue no lesse praise among vs than his mercifulnesse, forasmuche as he hath in the manifolde diuersitie of his woorkes emprinted markes of his glozie which may worthily drawe out of all tonges a confession of his praise. So shall it comme to passe that the Scripture shall haue full authoritie with vs, and that no successe shall hynder the blessing whiche God deserueth in the whole course of the gouernyng of the woorld. Agayne the petition also tendeth to this purpose, that all vngodlynesse whiche defyleth this holy name, may be destroyed and taken away: that whatsoeuer thynges doo darken and diminische this sanctifieng, as well sclaunderes as mockynges, may be driuen away: and when God subdueth al sacrileges, his glozie may thereby moze and moze shine abzoad.

42

The seconde petition is, that The Kyngdome of God may come: which although it conteyne no newe thyng, is yet not withoute cause seuered from the fyrst: because if we consyder our owne dzowlynesse in a thyng greatest of all other, it is profitable that the thyng whiche oughte of it selfe to haue ben most well knowen, be with many wordes ofte beaten into vs. Therfore after that we haue ben commaunded to pray to God to byyng into subiection, and at length vtterly to destroye whatsoeuer spotteth his holye name: nowe is added a like and in a maner the same request,



request, that his kingdome come. But although we haue already sett fourth the definition of this kingdome, yet I now briefly rehearse, that God reigneth when men as wel with forsaking of themselves as with despising of the world and of the earthly life, do so yelde themselves to his righteousness, that they aspire to the heavenly life. Therfore there are two partes of this kyngdome: the one, that God correcte with the power of his Spiritte all corrupt desires of the flesh, which do by multitudes make warre against hym: the other, that he frame all our senses to the obedience of hys gouernement. Therfore none do kepe right order in thys prayer, but they which beginne at themselves, that is to say, that they be cleansed from all corruptions which trouble the quiet state of the kingdome of God, and infect the purenelle therof. Now because the worde of God is lyke a kyngly scepter, we are here commaunded to pray that he wil subdue the myndes and hartes of al men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the secret instinct of hys Spiritte he vttereth the effectuall force of hys worde, that it may be auanced in such degree as it is worthi. Afterward we must come down to the wicked which do obstinarily and with desperate rage resist his auzthoritie. God therfore setteth bp hys kyngdome by humbling the whole world: but that in diuerse maners: because he tameth the wantonnesses of some, and of other some he breaketh the vntamed pride. Thys is daily to be wished that it be done, that it may please God to gather to hymselfe Chirches out of all the coastes of the worlde, to enlarge and encrease them in number, to enriche them with his giftes, to stablishe right order in them: on the other side to ouerthrowe all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to scatter abzode their counsels, to cast down their enterprises. Wherby appeareth that the endeuor of daili proceeding is not in vaine commaunded vs: because the maters of men are neuer in so good case, that filthinesse being shaken away and cleansed, full purenelle flourisheth and is in liuely force. But the fulnesse of it is differred vnto the last comming of Christ, when Paule teacheth that God shall be al in al. And so thys prayer ought to withdraue vs from all the corruptions of the world, which do serue vs from God that hys kyngdome should not flourish in vs, and also to kindle our endeuor to mortifie the flesh, finally to instruct vs to the bearing of the crosse: forasmuch as God will in this wise haue hys kyngdome spred abzode. Neither ought we to take it discontentedly that the outward man be destroyed, so that the inwarde man be renewed. For thys is the nature of y kingdome of God, when we submitt our selues to the righteousness therof, to make vs partakers of his glorie. Thys is done whē brightly setting fourth his light and truth with alway new encreases, wherby y darkenesse and lyes of Satan and hys kyngdome, may banish away, be destroyed, and perish, he defendeth them that be his, with the helpe of hys Spiritte directeth them to bprightnesse and strengtheneth them to continuance: but ouerthroweth the wicked cōspiracles of hys enemies, shaketh abzode their treasons and deceites, preuenteth their malice, and beateth downe their stubboznnesse, til at length he kill Antichrist with the Spiritte of hys mouth and destroy all vngodlinesse with the brightnesse of his comming.

1. Cor. xv.  
viii.



The third petition is, That the wil of God be done in earth as it is in heauen. Which although it hangeth vpon his kingdome, and can not be seuered from it, is not in vaine added seuerally, for our grossnesse, whiche doth not easily or by and by conceiue what it is that God reigne in the world. It shal therfore be no absurditie if this be taken by waye of plainer exposition: that God shal then be king in the world when al things shal submitt themselues to his will. Now here is not meant of hys secret will, wherby he governeth al thinges and directeth them to their ende. For though Satan and men are troublesomly caried againste him yet he can by hys incomprehenible counsell not only turne aside their violent motions, but also dꝛiue them into order that he may do by them that which he hath purposed. But here is spokē of an other wil of God, namely that wherunto answereth willing obedience: and therefore the heauen is by name compared with the earth: because the Angells, as it is sayd in the Psalme, do willingly obey God, and are diligently bent to do his commaundements. We are therfore commaunded to wish that as in heauen nothing is done but by the becke of God, and the Angells are quietly framed to al vprightnesse: so the earth, al stubboꝛnesse and perversenesse being quenched, may be subiect to such governemēt. And when we require this, we renounce the desires of our owne fleshe: because whosoever doth not resigne and yelde his affections to God, he doth as much as in hym lyeth set himself against him, forasmuch as nothing cometh out of vs but faulty. And we are againe by thys prayer framed to the forsaking of our selues, that God may governe vs after his wil: and not that only, but that he may also create in vs new mindes and new hartes, our olde being brought to nought: that we may fele in our selues none other motion of desire than a mere consent with his wil: summarily that we may wil nothing of our selues, but that his Spirite may governe our hartes, by whō inwardly teaching vs we may learne to loue those thinges that please hym, and to hate those thinges that displease him. Wherupon this also foloweth, that whatsoever affections fyght against his wil, he may make them vaine and boide. Loe here be the first thzee these pointes of thys prayer, in asking wherof we oughte to haue the onely glozie of God befoze our eyes, leauing the respect of our selues, and hauing no regarde to any of our owne profit, whiche although it come hereof largely vnto vs, yet we ought not here to seke it. But albeit al these thinges, though we neither thinke of them, nor wish them, nor aske them, must neuerthelesse come to passe in their due time, yet we must wishe them and require them. And thys to doe is no smal profit for our trauaill, that we may so testifie and profite our selues to be the seruantes and childꝛē of God, as much as in vs lyeth endeavoring and being truely and thoroughly geuen to set fourth hys honoz, which is due to hym being bothe a Lord and a Father. Whoso therefore doe not with affection and zeale of auancing the glozie of God, pray that the name of God be hallowed, that hys kyngdome come, that hys wyll be done: they are not to be accompted among the childꝛē and seruantes of God: and as all these thinges shalbe done agaynst their willes, so they shal turne to their confusion and destruction.

Psal. ciii.  
7.

Now foloweth the seconde part of y prayer, in which we come down



to our owne commodities: not that bidding farewel to the glorie of God (which as Paul witnesseth, is to be regarded euen in meate and drinke) 1. Cor. xi. we should seke only what is profitable for our selues: but we haue already geuen warning that there is thys difference, that God peculiarly claiming thzee petitions to hymselfe doth draw vs to hymselfe wholly, that he may in thys wise proue our godlinesse. Then he graunteth vs also to haue an eye to our owne commodities, but with this condition that we aske nothing for our selues but to this ende that whatsoeuer benefites he bestoweth vpon vs, they may set fourth his glorie: forasmuche as nothing is moze rightfull than that we lyue and dye to hym. But in thys petition we aske of God generally al thinges whiche the ble of the body nedeth vnder the elementes of this world, not only wherewith we may be fed and clothed, but also whatsoeuer he foreseeth to be profitable for vs, that we may eat our bred in peace. By which prayer briefely we yelde our selues into his care, and commit vs to his prouidence, that he may fede, cherishe, and preserue vs. For the most good Father disdaineth not to receiue also our body into hys faythfull sauegarde and keeping, to exercise our fayth in these smal thinges, when we loke for all thinges at hys handes euen to a crumme of bred and a droppe of water. For wheras it is come to passe I wote not how by our iniquitie, that we be moued and bered with greater care of the fleshe than of the soule: many which dare trust to God for their soule, are yet carefull for their fleshe, are yet in doute what they shall eat, and wherewith they shall be clothed: and if they haue not plenty of wyne, wheate, and oyle afozhande, they tremble for feare. So muche moze do we esteeme the shadow of this lyfe which lasteth but a moment, than that euerlasting immortallitie. But whoso trusting to God haue ones cast away y carefullnesse for the prouision of the fleshe, do also by and by loke for saluation and euerlasting lyfe at hys hand, which are greater thinges. It is therefore no smal exercise of fayth, to hope for those thinges of God, whiche otherwise do so much holde vs in care: and we haue not smally profited, when we haue put of thys vnbeleuingnesse whiche sicketh fast within the bones almost of all men. As for that whiche some doe here teache of transubstantiall bred, it semeth but smally to agree with the meaning of Christ: yea but if we did not euen in thys fraille lyfe geue to God the office of a nourishing Father, our prayer should be vnperfect. The reason whiche they bying is to muche profane: that it is not mete that the children of God, which ought to be spiritual, should not only cast their minde to earthly cares, but also wrappe God therein w them. As though his blessing & fatherly fauor doth not also appeare in y sustentance of our lyfe, or as though it were written in vaine y godlinesse hath promysed not only of the life to come, but also of this presēt lyfe. But although the forgiveness of synnes is of much greater value than the sustentances of the body, yet Christ hath set the inferioz thing in the first place, to the entent to lift vs by by degrees to y other twoo petitions which do properly belong to the heauenly lyfe, wherin he had regarde to our grossenesse. We are commaunded to aske Our bred, that we should be contente with the quantitie which our heauenly Father vouchsafeth to geue to vs, and should not seke for gayne by vnlawful crafty meanes. In the meane tyme we muste learne that it is made Ours by



title of gifte, because neither our diligence, nor our trauaill, nor our  
 handes (as it is sayed in Moses) doe by themselves gett vs any thing,  
 vnlesse the blessing of God be presente: yea the plentie of bred shoulde  
 nothing at al profit vs, vnlesse it were by God turned into nourish-  
 mente. And therefore thys liberalitie of God is no lesse necessarie for  
 the riche than for the poore: because hauing their cellers & their barnes  
 full, they shoulde yet fainte for drynesse and emptinesse, vnlesse they did  
 by hys grace enioy their bred. The word This day, or Euery day as it is  
 in the other Euangelist, and also the adiectiue Daily, doe bzidle the to  
 muche gredines of fraile thinges, wherwith we are wont to burne out  
 of measure, and wherunto are ioyned other euells: sithe if we haue ple-  
 tiffull abundance, we do gloziously poure it out vppon pleasure, delites,  
 boasting, and other kindes of riotous excesse. Therefore we are com-  
 maunded to aske only so much as is enough for our necessitie, and as it  
 were from day to day, with this affiance that whē our heavenly Father  
 hath fed vs thys day, he wil also not faile vs to morrow. Therfore how  
 great plentie of thinges so euer doe flowe vnto vs, yea whē our barnes  
 be stuffed and our cellers ful: yet we ought alway to aske our daily bred:  
 because we must certainly beleue that al substance is nothing, but in so-  
 muche as the Lord doth by pouring out of his blessing with continuall  
 encrease make it frutefull: and that the very same substance that is in  
 our hand, is not our own, but insomuch as he doth euery houre geue vs  
 a portion and graunt vs the vse of it. This whereas the pride of men  
 doth most hardly suffer it selfe to be perswaded: the Lord testifieth that  
 he hath shewed a singular example therof for all ages, when he fed hys  
 people with Manna in the wilderness, to teache vs that mā liueth not  
 in bred onely, but rather in the worde that cometh out of hys mouth.  
 Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our lyfe and  
 strengthes are susteined, although he doe minister it vnto vs vnder bo-  
 dily instrumentes. As he is wont also to teache vs by the contrarie exā-  
 ple, when he so oft as he wil, breaketh the strength and (as he calleth it)  
 the staff of bred, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drynkyng  
 may be dzied by with thirst. But whoso not being cōtēted w daily bred,  
 but with vnbzideled gredinesse are gaping for endlesse store, or whoso  
 being ful with their abundance, and carelesse by reason of the heape of  
 their richesse, doe neuertheless sue to God with this praier, they do no-  
 thing ells but mocke hym. For, the firste sorte of suche men aske that  
 whiche they woulde not obtaine, yea that whiche they moste of all ab-  
 horre, that is, to haue only daily bred, and so much as in them lyeth they  
 dissemblingly hide from God the affection of their couetousnesse: wher-  
 as true prayer oughte to poure out befoze him the very whole mynde it  
 selfe, and whatsoener inwardly lieth hydden. But the other sort do aske  
 that whiche they loke not for at his hande, namely that whiche they  
 thinke that they haue with themselves. In this that it is called Oures  
 the bountifullnesse of God (as we haue sayd) so muche moze appeareth,  
 which maketh that oures that is by no righte due to vs. Yet that expo-  
 sition is not to be reiected whiche I haue also touched, that by our bred  
 is meante that whiche is earned with rightfull and harmelesse trauail,  
 and not gotten with deceites and extorcions: because that is alwaye  
 Other mens which we get to our selues with any yl doing. Wheras we  
 pray

eu. xxi  
 f.

Deu. lxxi.  
 li.  
 Math. lxxi  
 liii.

Lea. xxi  
 xxi.



praye that it be geuen vs, thereby is signified that it is the only and fre gifte of God, from whence soeuer it come to vs, yea when it shall moſte of all ſeme to be begotten by our owne policie and trauail, and earned with our own handes: fozaſmuch as it cometh to paſſe by his only bleſſing, that our laboꝝ pꝛoſper wel.

Nowe foloweth, Forgeue vs our dettes: in whiche petition and the nexte folowing, Chriſte hath byreſely contained whatſoever maketh foꝝ the heauenly lyfe: as in theſe twoo partes aboue ſtandeth the ſpirituall couenant whiche **G D** hath made foꝝ the ſaluation of hys Chirche, **I** will wyꝛte my lawes in their hartes, and **I** will be mercifull to their iniquitie. Here Chriſt beginneth the foꝝgeuenesse of ſinnes: after this, he will by and by adioyne the ſeconde grace, that God defende vs with the power of hys, Spirit, and ſuſtaine vs with hys helpe, that we maye ſtande vnoꝛuercome againſte all tentations. And ſinnes he calleth dettes, becauſe we are dett bounde to pay the penaltie of them, and were by no meanes able to ſatiſſie it, vnleſſe we were acquitted by thys foꝝgeuenesse. Whiche pardon is of hys free mercie, when he himſelfe liberally wyꝛpeth out theſe dettes, taking no payment of vs, but with his own mercie ſatiſſieng himſelfe in Chriſte, which hath ones geuen himſelfe foꝝ recompense. Therfoꝝe whoſo truſt that God ſhalbe ſatiſſied by their owne oꝝ other mennes merites, and that with ſuch ſatiſſiactiõs the foꝝgeuenesse of ſinnes is recompensed and redemed, they haue no parte of communicating of thys free foꝝgeuenesse: and when they call vpon **G D** in thys manner, they doo nothing but ſubſcribe to their owne accuſation, yea and ſeale their owne condemnation with their owne witneſſe. Foꝝ they confeſſe themſelues detters, vnleſſe they be acquitted by the benefit of foꝝgeuenesse, whiche yet they doo not receiue, but rather reſuſe, when they thruſt vnto God their owne merites and ſatiſſiactiõs. Foꝝ, ſo they doo not beſeeche his mercie, but doe appeale to his iugement. As foꝝ them that dreame of a perfection in themſelues, whiche taketh away nede to craue pardon, lett them haue ſuche diſciples whome the itching of their eares driueth to erroꝝs: ſo that it be certaine that ſo many diſciples as they gett, are taken away from Chriſt: fozaſmuch as he inſtructing all to confeſſe their guiltineſſe, receiueſh none but ſynners: not foꝝ that he cheriſheth ſinnes with flatteringes, but becauſe he knewe that the faythful are neuer thꝛoughly vnclothed of the vices of their fleſhe, but that they alway remayne ſubiect to the iugement of God. It is in dede to be wiſhed, yea and to be earneſtly endeuoꝛed, that we hauing performed all the partes of our dutie may truely reioyſe befoꝝe God that we are cleane from all ſpott: but fozaſmuch as it pleaſeth God by litle and litle to make againe his image in vs, that there alway remayneth ſome infection in our fleſhe, the remedie ought not to haue been deſpiſed. If Chriſt by the auzhoritie geuen to him of hys Father, commaundeth vs thꝛoughout the whole courſe of our life, to fle to crauing of pardon of our guiltineſſe: who ſhalbe able to ſuffer theſe new mailters, which goe about with this imagined ghõſt of perfect innocencie to daſel þ eyes of þ ſimple, to make them to truſt þ they may be made free frõ all fault.

Which, as **I**hon witneſſeth, is nothing ellſ but to make God a lier. And

**I**h. iii. with:

45

Jer. xxxi  
xxxiii. 4.  
xxxiii.  
viii.

Rom. iii.  
xxv.

i. Ioh. i. 8.



withal one worke these lewde men by cancelling one article do feate in  
 soulder and by that meane do weaken from the very fundation y<sup>e</sup> whole  
 couenant of God, wherin we haue shewed y<sup>e</sup> our saluatiō is cōtained: so  
 as they be not only robbers of God, because they seuer those thinges so  
 cōioyned, but also wicked & cruel because they ouerwhelme pooze soules  
 with despeire: and traytozs to themselves and other, y<sup>e</sup> be like them, be-  
 cause they bzyng themselves into a slouthfulnesse directly contrary to y<sup>e</sup>  
 mercy of God. But wheras some obiect, that in wishing the coming of y<sup>e</sup>  
 kyngdome of God, we do also aske the putting away of synne: that is to  
 childthe, because in the firste table of thys prayer is set forth vnto vs  
 most hye perfection, but in this part is set fourth our weakenesse. So  
 these twoo thinges do fittly agree together, that in a spring toward the  
 marke we despise not the remedies which our necessitie requireth. Fi-  
 nally we pray that we may be forgeuen as we our selues doe forgeue  
 our dettozs, that is, as we do forgeue and pardon al of whomsoeuer we  
 haue ben in any thing offended, either vniustly handled in dede, or re-  
 prochefully bled in worde. Not that it lyeth in vs to pardō the giltinesse  
 of the fault and offense, which pertaineth to God alone: but thys is our  
 forgeuing, of our owne willingnesse to lay away out of our mynde  
 wyath, hatred, and desire of reuengement, and with voluntarie forget-  
 fulnesse to treade vnder fote the remembraunce of iniuries. Wherefore  
 we may not aske forgeuenesse of synnes at the hande of God, if we doe  
 not also forgeue their offenses towarde vs which either do or haue done  
 vs wrong. But if we kepe any hatreds in our hartes, and purpose any  
 reuengementes, and imagine by what occasion we may hurt, yea and  
 if we do not endeuor to come into fauor againe with our enemies, and  
 to deserue well of them with all kynde of frendly doinges, and to winne  
 them vnto vs: we do by thys prayer beseeche God that he do not forgeue  
 vs. For we requite that he graunt to vs the same forgeuenesse whiche  
 we graunt to other. But this is to pray that he graunt it not to vs, vn-  
 lesse we graunt it to them. Whoso therfore be such, what doe they obtēn  
 by their prayer but a more greuous iugemēt: Last of al it is to be noted,  
 that this condition that he forgeue vs as we forgeue our dettozs, is not  
 herefore added for that we deserue his forgeuenesse by y<sup>e</sup> forgeuenesse  
 which we graunt to other, as if y<sup>e</sup> cause of forgeuenesse to vs were there  
 expzessed: but by thys worde partly the Lordes will was to comforte  
 the weakenesse of our fayth, for he added this as a signe whereby we  
 may be assured that he hath as surely graūted to vs forgeuenesse of our  
 synnes, as we surely knowe in our conscience that we haue graūted the-  
 same to other, if our mynde be boyde and cleansed of al hatred, enuye &  
 reuengement, and partly by thys as it were by a marke, he wipeth them  
 out of the number of his childzen that they may not be bolde to call vpō  
 him as their father, which being hedlong hasty to reuenge, and hardi-  
 ly entreated to pardon, doe ble stiffly continuing erunites, and doe che-  
 rishe in themselves the same displeasure towarde other which they pray  
 to be turned from themselves. Whiche is also in Luke expzessly spoken  
 in the wordes of Christ.

Esai. xliiii.  
 xix.

46. The sirt petitiō (as we haue sayd) answereth to the promise of engra-  
 uing the lawe of God in our hartes. But because we doe not without  
 conti-



continual warfare and hard and great strinings obey to God, we do here pray to be furnished with such wepons and defended with suche succoz, that we may be able to get the victorie: whereby we are warned that we stande in nede not only of the grace of the Spirite, whiche may soften, bow, and direct our hartes to the obedience of God, but also of hys helpe, wherby he may make vs bnuicible against bothe al the trayterous entrappings and violett conflictes of Satan. But now of tentations there are many and diuerse sortes. For, both the peruerse thoughtes of minde prouoking vs to trespassing against the law, which either our owne luste doth minister vnto vs, or the deuell stirreth by, are tentations: and also those thinges which of their owne nature are not euell, yet by the craft of the deuell are made tentations, whē they are so set befoze our eyes, that by the occasion of them we be drawen awaye or do swarue from God. And these tentations are either on the ryghte hande or on the left. On the righte hande, as richesse, power, honozs, which commonly do with their glistering and shewe of good so dasele the sight of men, and catche them with the bayted hoke of their flatterings, that beyng entrapped with suche deceytes, or dronke with suche sweetnesse, they may forget their God. On the left hande, as pouertie, reproches, despisinges, troubles, and suche other: that they being greued with the bitternesse and hardnesse thereof may be vtterly discouraged, caste away fayth and hope, and finally be altogether estranged from God. To these tentations of both sortes, which fighte with vs eyther being kindled in vs by our owne luste, or being set against vs by the craft of Satan, we pray to our heavenly father that he suffer vs not to yelde. But rather that he bpholde vs and rayse vs vp with his hande, that being strong by his strength, we may stande fast against all the assaults of the malicious enemy, whatsoeuer thoughtes he put into our mynde: then, that whatsoeuer is sett befoze vs on either side, we maye turne it to good, that we neither be puffed vp with prosperitie, nor thzowen downe with aduersitie. Neither yet doe we here require that we may fele no tentations at al, with which we haue great nede to be stirred by, pricked, and pinched, least by to muche reste we growe dull. For not in vaine did Dauid wishe to be tempted: and not without cause the Lord daily tempteth hys electe, chastising them by shame, pouertie, trouble, and other kyndes of crosse. But God tempteth after one maner and Satan after an other: Satan, to destroy, damne, confounde and thzowe downe hedlong: but God, that by prouing them that be hys he may haue a tryall of their vnfaignednesse, and by exercising them may confirme their strength, to mortifie, purge by fier, and seare their flesh, whiche vnlesse it were in thys wise restrained, woulde ware wanton and woulde wildly outrage aboue measure. Whereouer Satan assaileth men vnarmed and vnredy, that he may oppresse them vnware: God euen with tempting worketh the effecte, that they whiche be his maye patiently beare whatsoeuer he sendeth vpon them. By the name of the Euell, whether we vnderstande the Deuell or synne, it maketh litle mater. Satan in dede himselfe is the enemy that lyeth in wayte for oure lyfe: but with synne he is armed to destroye vs. Thys therefore is our request, that we may not be overcome or overwhelmed with any tentations, but may by the power of

Jam. i. i  
 c. xliii.  
 Jac. iiii  
 c. iii

ii. Thesa  
 iii. b.

Psal. xxi.  
 ii.  
 Ec. xxi. i.  
 Deu. viii.  
 ii. c. xii. ii

i. Cor. v.  
 viii.

ii. Pet. ii.  
 ii.  
 i. Pet. v.  
 viii.



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the Lorde stande strong against all contrary powers wherwith we are assailed: which is, not to yelde vs banquished to tentations, that being receiued into his keeping and charge, and being safe by hys protection we may endure vnouercome ouer sinne, death, the gates of hel, and the whole kingdome of the deuil: which is to be deliuered from euil. Where it is also to be diligently marked, that it is aboute our strength to inatche with the deuil so greate a warriour, and to beare his force and violence. Otherwise we should but vainely or as it were in mockage aske that which we had alreedy in our selues. Surely, they whiche prepare them to such a battell with trust of themselves, do not sufficiently vnderstande with how ferce and wel armed an enemy they haue to do. Now we pray to be deliuered from his power, as out of y<sup>e</sup> mouth of a mad and raging Lyon, wheras we should be tozne in peces with his teeth and pawes, and swallowed with his throte, vnlesse the Lorde do deliuer vs out of y<sup>e</sup> middelt of death: yet therewithal knowing thys that if the Lorde shall stande by vs, and fight for vs when we are ouerthrowen, we shall in his strength shew strength. Let other trust as they list to their own abilities and strengthes of free will, which they thinke that they haue of themselves: but let it suffice vs y<sup>e</sup> we stand and are strong by the only strength of God. But thys prayer cōteineth moze thā at the first sight it beareth in shewe. For if y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God be our strength to fight out our cōbate with Satā, we shall not be able to get y<sup>e</sup> victorie vntil we being filled w<sup>th</sup> that Spirit shall haue put of al the weakenesse of our flesh. Whē therefore we pray to be deliuered from Satan and the Deuel, we pray to bee from tyme to tyme enriched with new encrease of the grace of God, til being fully stuffed with them we may triumph ouer all euil. It semeth hard and rough to some, y<sup>e</sup> we craue of God that he leade vs not into tētatō, forasmuch as it is cōtrary to his nature to tempt, as James witnesseth. But this question is alreedy partly alloiled, where we sayd that our own lust is properly the cause of al the tentations wherwith we are ouercome, and therefore worthily beareth the blame therof. Nether doth James meane any thing ells, but that the faultes are without cause & wrongfully layed vpon God, whiche we are dyuen to impute to our selues, because we knowe our selues in our conscience gyltpe of them. But thys withstandeth not but that God maye when it pleaseth hym make vs bonde to Satan, caste vs awaye into a reprobate sence, and to filthy lustes, & so leade vs into tentation by his iugement which is righteous in dede but yet oftentimes secret: forasmuche as the cause of it is often hidde from men, which is yet certainly knownen with hym. Wherupon is gathered that this is no vnfit manner of speaking, if we be persuaded that he doth not without cause so oft threaten, y<sup>e</sup> when the reprobate shall be stricken with blindness and hardening of harte, these shall be sure tokens of his vengeance.

These three petitions, wherwith we do peculiarly cōiende vs & our things to God, do euidently shew this which we haue before said, that the prayers of Christians ought to be cōmon & to tend to y<sup>e</sup> cōmon edifieng of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, & to the encrease of the communiō of the faithful. For there doth not euery man pray to haue any thing priuatly geuen, but al in cōmō together do pray for Our bred, for forgeuenesse of sinnes, y<sup>e</sup> we may not be led into tētatō, y<sup>e</sup> we may be deliuered frō euil. There is further-

more

psalme.  
v. lxxi.

James.  
v. iiii.



more adioyned a cause why we haue both so great boldnesse to aske, & so great trust to obtaine: which although it be not in y<sup>e</sup> latine copie, yet it agreeth more fittly in thys place thā y<sup>e</sup> it shold seme woorthy to be omitted, namely y<sup>e</sup> his is y<sup>e</sup> kingdome, & the power & the glozie for euer. This is y<sup>e</sup> perfect & quiet rest of our soule. For if our prayers were to be commēded to God by their owne woorthinesse, who shold be so bolde, as ones to opē hys mouth befoze hym: Now howsoeuer we be moste miserable, howsoeuer most vnwoothy of al men, howsoeuer boyde of al cōmendaciō: yet we shal neuer wāt cause to pray, & neuer be destitute of cōfidēce: forasmuch as our father cā not haue his kingdome, power, & glozie takē away frō hym. At y<sup>e</sup> end is added A men, wherby is expressed our feruēt-nesse of desire to obtaine those thigs y<sup>e</sup> we haue asked of God, & our hope is cōfirmed y<sup>e</sup> al such things are alredy obtained & shal surely be geuē vs because they are promised of God, which cā not deceiue. And thys agreeth w<sup>th</sup> that maner of prayer which we haue here befoze rehearsed, Do it Lord for thy names sake, not for our sakes oz our righteousnesse: wherby the holy ones do not only expresse y<sup>e</sup> end of their prayers, but also cōfesse y<sup>e</sup> they are vnwoothy to obtaine vnlesse God fetch y<sup>e</sup> cause frō hymselfe, and that theire trust to speede cometh of the onely nature of God.

Thus haue we whatsoeuer we oughte yea oz in any wise may aske of God, set fourth in this forme and as it wer a rule of prayeng taught by the best scholemaister Christ, whom the Lorde hath set ouer vs to be our teacher, and whom alone he hath willed to be harkened vnto. For he bothe alway hath ben his eternall wisdome, and beyng made man is geuen to men the Angell of great counsell. And this prayer is in all pointes so fully perfect, that whatsoeuer foze yn oz strange thyng is added which can not be referred to it, it is vngodly and vnwoothy to be allowed of God. For in this summe he hath sett foorth, what is mete for hym, what is pleasyng to hym, what is necessarie for vs, finally what he will graunt. Wherfoze who so dare go further, and to aske any thing of God beside these, firste they will adde of their owne to the wisdome of God (which can not be done without mad blasphemie) then they hold not themselves vnder the wil of God, but despising it do with greedy-nesse wander further: finally they shal neuer obtaine any thyng, forasmuche as they pray without faith. And there is no dōute that all suche prayers are made without faith, because here wanteth the woorde of God, vpon which vnlesse faith be grounded, it can in no wise stande. But they which forsaking the maisters rule, doo folowe their owne desires, are not onely without the woorde of God, but also so much as they be able with their whole endeuor, are against it. Therefore Certullian no lesse fittly thā truly hath called this a laboful prayer, secretely signifying that all other are laboless and vnlawfull.

We woulde not haue these thynges so taken as though we were so bounde with this forme of prayer, that we may not change a woorde oz a syllable. For there are eche where red many prayers in the Scriptures, farte differyng from this in woordes, yet wrytten by the same Spirite, and which are at this day profytable to be vsed of vs. Many are continually put into the mouthes of the faithful by the same Spirite, which in lykenesse of woordes do not so muche agree. This onely is our meanning in so teachyng, that no man shold seke, loke for, oz aske any other



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thyng at all than that which is summarily comprehended in this praier, and whiche thoughte it moſte differ in wordes yet differeth not in ſenſe. Like as it is certaine that all the praiers which are found in the Scriptures, and which do come out of godly hartes, are applied to this, ſo verily none can any where bee founde, whiche maye matche, muche leſſe paſſe, the perfectneſſe of this praier. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought vpon to the praifes of God, nothyng that ought to come into the mynde of man for his owne profites: and the ſame ſo fully that all hope is worthily taken away from all men to attempt to make any better. In a ſumme, let vs remembre that this is the doctrine of the wiſedome of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was nedefull.

50 But although we haue aboue ſaid, that we ought alway to breathe vpwarde with myndes liſted vp to God, and pray without ceaſſyng: yet for ſo muche as ſuche is our weakenelle, as nedeth to bee vpholden with many helpeſ: ſuche is our dullneſſe, as needeth to be prickted forwarde with many ſpurres: it is good that euery one of vs appoynt to hymſelfe priuately certaine houres whiche may not paſſe away without prayer, and which may haue the whole affectiōs of our mynd thoroughly buſied to that purpoſe: as, when we riſe in the moꝝnyng, before that we go to our daies worke, when we ſitt down to meate, when we haue ben fedde by the bleſſyng of God, when we take vs to reſt. Only let this not be a ſuperſtitious obſeruyng of houres, by which, as payeng a taſke to God, we may think our ſelues diſcharged for the other houres: but a trayning of our weakenſ, wherby it may ſo be exerciſed & from time to time ſtirred vp. Specially we ought carefully to loke that ſo oft as either we our ſelues are in diſtreſſe, or we ſe other to be in diſtreſſe with any hardneſſe of aduerſitie, we runne ſtreight waye to hym, not with feete but with hartes: then, y we ſuffer not any proſperitie of our owne or other mens, to paſſe but that we teſtifie that we acknowledge it to bee his with praife and thankelgeuyng. Finally, this is diligently to bee obſerued in all prayer, that we goe not about to bynde God to certaine circumſtances, nor to appoynt to hym, what he ſhal do, at what time, in what place, and in what maner: as by this prayer we ar taught to make to hym no law, nor to appoynt to him any condition, but to leaue to his will that thoſe thynges whiche he will do, he may do in what maner, at what tyme, and in what place it pleaſeth him. Wherefore ere we make any prayer for our ſelues, we firſt praie that his will be done: where we do already ſubmitt our will to his: with which when it is reſtrained as with a bzidle put vpon it, it maye not preſume to bzyng God into rule, but make hym the iudge and gouernoz of all her deſyres.

51 If we do with myndes framed to this obedience, ſuffer our ſelues to be ruled with the lawes of Gods Providence, we ſhall eaſily learne to continue in praier, and with longyng deſires patiently to waite for the Lord: beyng aſſured that although he appeare not, yet he is alway preſent with vs, and will when he ſeeth his tyme declare howe not deaſſe cares he gaue to the praiers, whiche in the eyes of men ſeimed to be deſpiſed. And this ſhalbe a moſt preſent comfort, that we faint not and fall downe by deſpaire, if at any time God do not anſwere at our firſte requeſtes. Like as they are wont to do, whiche while they are caried with their



their sodayne heate, do so call vpon God, that if he come not to them at their fyrst bzuntēs and bzynge them present helpe, they by and by imagine hym to be angry and hatefully bent agaynst them, and castyng away all hope of obteynnyng do cesse to call vpon him. But rather differryng our hope with a well tempered euennesse of mynde, let vs goe forwarde in that perseuerance which is so much comended to vs in Scriptures. For in the Psalmes we may oftentymes see howe Dauid and other faithfull men, when they seme in a maner worried with prayeng, did beate the aire, because they threwe away their wordes to God that heard them not, and yet they cesse not from prayeng: because the word of God hath not his full authoritie manteined, vnlesse the credite therof bee set aboue all succeses of thynges. Moreouer let vs not tempte God and prouoke him agaynst vs beyng worried with oure importunacie, whiche many vse to doo, which do nothing but indent with God vpon a certain condition, and binde him to the lawes of their couenantyng as though he were seruant to their desires: which if he doo not presently obey, they disdayne, they chafe, they carpe agaynst hym, they murmure, they tumulte. Therfore to such oftentymes in his furoz he beyng angry graunteth that, which to other in his mercie he beyng fauorable denieth. An example hereof are the children of Israell, for whome it had ben better not to haue ben heard of the Lord, than with flesh to eate by his wrath.

But if yet at length after long lokyng for it our sense do not perceiue what we haue preuailed with prayeng, and feleth no fruite thereof: yet our faith shall assure vs of that, whiche can net bee perceiued by sense, namely that we haue obtained that which was expedient for vs, forasmuche as the Lord dothe so ofte and so certainly take vpon him that he will haue care of our greues, after that they haue ben ones laide in his bosome. And so he will make vs to possesse abundance in pouertie, comfort in affliction. For howsoeuer all other thynges do faile vs, yet God will neuer faile vs, which suffereth the waityng and patience of them that be his to be disappoynted. He alone shall suffice vs in neede of all thynges: forasmuche as he conteineth in hymself al good thynges, which he shall one day disclose vnto vs at the day of iudgement when he shall plainly shewe forth his kyngdome. Besyde this although God graunt to vs, yet he dothe not alway answer accorดยng to the expresse forme of our request, but holdyng vs after outwarde seemyng in suspense, yet by a meane vnknowē he sheweth ꝑ our prayers wer not vaine. This is meant by the wordes of John, If we know ꝑ he heareth vs when we aske any thing of him, we know that we haue the petitiones which we aske of him. This is meant by the wordes of John. If we know, that he heareth vs, whē we aske any thyng of hym. This seemeth a weakē superfluousnesse of wordes: but it is a singularly profitable declaratiō, namely that God euen when he doeth not folowe our desires, is yet gentle and fauorable to our prayers, that the hope which resteth vpon his worde may neuer disappoynt vs. But with this patience the faithfull doo so satre nede to be susteyned, that they should not long stand vnlesse they dyd stay vpon it. For the Lord dothe by not light trialles proue them that be his, and not tenderly dothe exercise them: but oftentymes driueth them into the greatest extremities, and when they are driuen thither he suffreth them long to sticke fast in the myze, ere he geue them any taste of his sweetness.

Num. vii.

viii.

52

1. John. vi.

v.



Sam. ii. n. nesse : and, as Hanna saith, he slayeth, and quickneth : he leadeh down to the helles, and bzingeth backe againe. What coulde they here doo but be discouraged, and fall hedlong into despaire: vnlesse when they are in distresse and desolate & already halfe dead, this thought did rayse them vp, that God doth loke vpon them, and that there shall be at hande an ende of their euels: But howsoeuer they stande fast vppon the assurednesse of that hope, they ceasse not in the meane tyme to pray : because if there be not in prayer a stedfastnesse of continuance, we nothyng preuaile with prayeng.

The. xxi. Chapter.

Of the eternall Election, wherby God hath predestinate some to saluation, and other some to destruction.



But nowe whereas the couenant of life is not egally preached to al men, and with them to whome it is preached it doth not eyther egally or continually finde like place: in this diuersitie the wonderous deapth of the iudgement of God appeareth. For neyther is it any dout but that this diuersitie also serueth the free choise of Gods eternall election. If it be euident that it is wrought by the will of God that saluation is frely offered to some, & other some are debarred from comyng to it : here by & by arise great and hard questions which can not otherwise be discussed, thā if the godly myndes haue that certainly stablished whiche they ought to holde cōcerning election and Predestination. This is (as many think) a combersome question: because they thynke nothing to be lesse reasonable than of the cōmon multitude of men some to be foreordained to saluation, other some to destruction. But how they wrongfully encombre themselves, shall afterwarde be euident by the framyng of the mater together. Beside that in the very same darknesse which maketh men a- frayde, not onely the profytablenesse of this doctrine but also the moste swete fruite sheweth forth it selfe. We shall neuer be clerely persuaded as we ought to be, that our saluation floweth out of the fountain of the free mercie of God, till his eternall election be knowen to vs, which by this comparison byghtly setteth forth the grace of God, that he dothe not without difference adopt all into the hope of saluation, but geueth to some that which he denieth to other. How muche the ignozance of this principle diminisheth of the glozie of God, howe much it withdraveth from true humilitie, it is playne to see. But Paul denieth that that whiche is so necessarie to be knowen, is possible to be knowen, vnlesse God leauyng alltogether the respect of woorkes do chose them whom he hath determined with himselfe. In this tyme (sayth he) the remnantes were saued accordyng to free election. If by Grace, then not of woorkes : forasmuche as Grace should then not be grace. If of woorkes, then not of Grace: forasmuche as woрке should now not be woorkes. If we must be broughte backe to the begynnyng of election, that it maye be certaine that saluation cometh to vs from no otherwhere than from the mere liberalitie of God: they whiche will haue this principle quenched, do niggardly so much as in them lieth darken y which ought gloriouly and

Rom. xi. b.



and with full mouthe to haue ben publyshed, and they plucke by the very roote of humilitie. Paule, where the saluation of the remnant of the people is ascribed to free election, clerely testifieth that onely then it is knowen that God dothe by his mere good pleasure saue whom he will, and not render rewarde which can not be done. They whiche shutt the gates, that none may be bolde to come to the tasting of this doctrine, do no lesse wrong to mē than to God: because neither shall any other thyng suffice to humble vs as we ought to be, neither shall we otherwise feele from our hart how muche we are bounde to God: Neither yet is there any otherwhere the vpholdyng stay of sounde affiance, as Christe himselfe teacheth, which to deliuer vs from all feare, & to make vs vnuanquishable among so many dangers, ambushes, and deadly battells, promyseth that whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his father to keepe, shall be safe. Wherof we gather that they shall with continual tremblyng be miserable, whosoever they be that knowe not themselves to be the propre possession of God: and therfore that they do very yll prouide bothe for themselves and for all the faithfull, which in beyng blynde at these thre profites which we haue touched, woulde wishe the whole foundation of our saluation to be quite taken from among vs. Mozeouer hereby the Chirch appeareth vnto vs, whiche otherwise (as Bernard rightly teacheth) were not possible to be founde, noz to be knowen among creatures: because bothe waies in meruailous wise it lieth hidden within the bosome of blessed Predestination, and within the Masse of miserable damnation. But ere I entre into the matter it selfe, I must before hand in two sortes speake to two sortes of men. That the entreatyng of predestination, wheras of it selfe it is somewhat combersome, is made very doutfull yea and dangerous, the curiousnesse of men is the cause: which can by no stoppes be restrained from wandring into forbidden compasses, and climbyng by an hye: which, if it may, will leaue to God no secrete which it will not searche and turne ouer. Into this boldnesse and importunacie forasmuch as we commonly se many to runne headlong, and among those some that are otherwise not euell men: here is fit occasion to warne them what is in this behalfe the due measure of theyr duette. First therfore let them remembre, that when they enquire vpon Predestination, they pearce into the secrete closets of the wisdom of God: wherinto if any man doo carelesly and boldly breake in, he shall bothe not atteyne wherwith to satiffie his curiousnesse, and he shall entre into a mase wherof he shall fynde no way to get out again. For neither is it mete that man shoulde freely search those thynges which God hath willed to be hidden in himselfe, and to turne ouer from very eternitie the height of wisdom, which he willed to be honozed and not to be conceued, that by it also he mought be meruailous vnto vs. Those secretes of his will whiche he hath determined to be opened vnto vs, he hath disclosed in his worde: and he hath determined, so farre as he forsawe to pertayne to vs and to be profitable for vs.

We are come (sayth Augustine) into the way of faith, let vs steadfastly holde it. It bringeth into the Kynges chamber, in whiche all the treasures of knowlege and wisdom are hidden. For, the Lorde himselfe Christ did not enuise his excellent and mozte chosen disciples, when he said, I haue many thynges to be sayde to you, but ye can not beare them

John. 1.  
11b.Serm. in  
cant. 78.2  
Homi. 119  
Ioh. 35.  
Ioh. 611.  
11b.



them nobwe. We must walke, we must profit, we must encrease, that our hartes may be able to conceiue those thynges which nobwe can not conceiue. If the last day find vs profityng, there we shal learne that whiche here we coulde not. If this thought be of force with vs, that the worde of the Lorde is the onely way, that may leade vs to searche whatsoeuer is lawfull to be learned of hym: that it is the only light, which may geue vs light to see whatsoeuer we ought to see of hym: it shall easily holde backe and restraine vs from all rashnesse. For we shall knowe that so soone as we be gone out of the boundes of the worde, we runne oute of the waie, and in darkenesse, in which race we must needes oftentimes stray, slippe, and stumble. First therfore let this be before our eyes, that to couet any other knowlege of Predestination than that whiche is set forth by the worde of God, is a poynt of no lesse madnesse than if a man haue a will to go by an vnpassable waie, or to se in darknesse. Neither lett vs be ashamed, to be ignozant of somewhat in it wherein there is some learned ignozance. But rather lett vs willyngly absteyne from the serchyng of that knowlege, wherof the excessyue couetyng is both foolish and perillous, yea and deadly. But if the wantonnesse of witt prouoke vs, it shall be profitable alwaye to sett this agaynst it, whereby it may be beaten backe, that as to much of honey is not good, so the serchyng of glozie dothe not turne vnto glozie to the curious. For there is good cause why we shoulde be frayed away from that boldnesse, whiche can do nothing but thzowe vs downe headlong into ruine.

3 There be other which when they haue a will to remedy this euell, doo commaunde all mention of Predestination to bee in a maner buried, at the least they teache men to flee from every maner of questionyng thereof as from a rocke. Although the moderation of these men bee herein worthily to be praysed, that they iudge that mysteries shoulde be tasted of with suche sobzietie: yet because they descende to muche beneath the meane, they little preuaile with the witte of manne, whiche doothe not lyghtly suffre it selfe to be restrained. Therfore, that in this behalf also we maie kepe a right ende, we must returne to the worde of the Lorde, in whiche we haue a sure rule of vnderstandyng. For, the Scripture is the schoole of the Holy ghooste, in whiche as nothyng is lefte out which is bothe necessarie & profitable to be knowen, so nothyng is taught but that whiche is behouefull to learne. Whatsoeuer therfore is vttered in the Scripture concernyng Predestination, we muste beware that we debarre not the faithfull from it, least we shoulde seme either enuiously to defraude them of the benefite of their God, or to blame and accuse the Holy ghooste who hath published those thynges, whyche it is in any wyse profitable to be suppressed. Let vs (I say) geue leaue to a christi-  
an man, to open his mynde and his eares to all the sayenges of God whiche are directed to hym, so that it be doone with this temperance, that so soone as the Lorde hath closed his holy mouth, he may also forclose to himselfe all the way to enquire further. This shall be the beste boũde of sobzietie, if not only in learnyng we alway follow y Lord goyng before vs, but also whē he maketh an ende of teaching, we cease to will to learne. Neither is the danger which they feare of so greate importance, that we ought therfore to turne away our myndes from the oracles of God. Notable is the sayeng of Salomon, that the glozie of  
God

P. 30. r. 10.  
r. 11.

P. 20. r. 10.  
11.



God is to concele a word. But si the bothe godlinesse and common reason teacheth that this is not generally meant of euery thyng, we muste seke a difference, least but the ignorance shoulde please vs vnder coloz of modestie and sobzietie. That difference is in fewe woordes playnly sett out by Moses: To the Lord our God (sayth he) belong his secretes: but to vs and to our children he hath disclosed these thynges. For we see how he commendeth to the people the studie of the doctrine of the law, onely by reason of the decree of God, because it pleased God to publish it: and howe he withholdeth the people within those boudes, by this onely reason because it is not lawfull for moztall men to thrust themselues into the secretes of God.

Phophane men (I graunt) do in the mater of Predestination sodenly catche hold of somewhat which they may carpe, or cauill, or barke, or scoffe at. But if their waywardnesse doo fray vs away from it, the these articles of the faith must be kept secrete, of whiche there is almost none which thei or such as thei be do leaue vntouched with blasphemie. A forward wytt will no lesse prouedly outrage when he heareth that in the essence of God there are thzee persones, than if he heare that God foresawe what shoulde become of man when he created hym. Neyther will they absteyne from laughyng, when they shall vnderstande that there is lyttell moze than fīue thousande yeaeres passed sīns the creation of the worlde: for they wyll aske why the power of God was so long idell and asleape. fynally there can be nothyng brought foorthe, whych they will not scoffe at. For the restraynyng of these sacrileges, must we holde our peace of the Godhead of the Sonne, and of the hooly ghost: or must we passe ouer in silence the creation of the worlde: yea but the truthe of God is bothe in this behalfe and euery where mightier than that it neede to feare the euell speakyng of the wicked: as Augustine strongly maynteineth in his woork of the good of Perseuerance. For we see that the false Apostles coulde not by defamyng and sclander-ryng the true Doctrine of Paule, make hym to bee ashamed of it. But whereas they say that this whole disputation is perillous also for godly myndes, because it maketh against exhortatiōs, because it shaketh faith because it troubleth the hart it self: this is vaine Augustine sticketh not to confesse that for these causes he was wonte to be blamed, for that he did to freely preache Predestination: but, as he had in readinesse wherewithall, he largely confuteth them. But we, because many and diuers absurdities are thrust into this place, had rather to reserue euery one to be wpped away in place fitt for it. Onely this I desire generally to absteyne of them, that those thynges which the Lord hath layed by in secrete, we may not searche: those thynges which he hath brought openly abroade, we may not neglect: least either on the one part we be condemned of bayne curiositie, or on the other parte, of vnthankfulnesse. For, this also is very wel sayd of Augustine, that we may safely folow the Scripture, whiche as with a motherly pace goeth stoupyngly, least it shoulde forsake our weakenesse. But who so are so ware and so featfull that they would haue Predestination to be buried, least it shoulde trouble weake soules: with what coloz, I beseeche you, wyll they couer theyr arrogance, when they indirectlye accuse God of foolish vnauidens- nesse, as though he foresaw not the danger, which thei think themselues

Deu. xlii  
xlii.

4

Cap. 15.  
vsq ad  
10.De bono  
perseuer.  
cap. 14.Lib. 5. de  
Gen. ad  
litter.



Of the maner how to receaue

to haue wiffely mett with: Who foener therfoze trauaileth to byng the doctrine of Predeftination into miflikyng, he openly faith euyll of God: as though fomewhat had vnauidedly flipped from him which is hurtful to the Chirche.

Predeftination, wherby God adopteth fome into the hope of life, & fudgeth fome to eternall death, no man that would be accompted godly dare fimplly denie: But they wrappe it by with many canillations, fpecially they which make fozeknowlege the caufe of it. We in dede dos fay that they be bothe in God, but we fay that the one is wrongfullye made fubiecte to the other. When we geue fozeknowlege to God, we meane that all thynges alway haue ben and perpetually dooe remayne vnder his eyes, fo that to his knowlege there is nothyng to come oz paffe, but all thynges are pzeftent, and fo pzeftent that he dothe not imagine onely by conceyued fozmes (as thofe thynges are pzeftente to vs, whereof our mynde holdeth fast the remembrance) but he truely beholdeth and feeth them as fett befoze hym. And this fozeknowlege extendeth to the whole compaffe of the wozlde and to all creatures. Predeftination we call the eternall decree of God, wherby he hadde it determynd with hymfelfe what he willed to become of euery man. For all are not treated to like eftate: but to fome, eternall life, and to foine, eternall damnation is fozeappointed. Therfoze as euery man is created to the one oz other ende, fo we fay that he is predeftinate either to lyfe oz to death. But this predeftination God hath not onely testified in euery feuerall perfone, but hath fhewed an example therof in the whole iffue of Abraham, wherby myght playnly appeare that it lyeth in his will what fhall be the eftate of euery nation. When the Dyest diuided the nations, and feuered the children of Adam, his parte was the people of Ifraell, the cozde of his inheritance. The feparation is befoze the eyes of all men: in the perfone of Abraham as in a dype ftocke one people is peculiarly chofen, all other beyng refused: but the caufe appereth not, faying that Mozes, to cutte of all occafion of glozyng from pofteritie, teacheth that they excell onely by the free loue of God. For he assigneth this to be the caufe of their deliuerance, foze that God loued the Fathers, and chofe their feede after them. Moze playnely in an other chapiter: He was pleased in you to choofe you, not becaufe you paffed other nations in number, but becaufe he loued you. The fame admonition is often repeted with hym, Beholde, to the Lorde thy God belongeth the heauen, the earth, and whatfoeuer thyngs are in it: and he hath pleased hymfelfe onely in your fathers, and hath loued them, and hath chofen you their fede. Agayne in an other place fanchtificatiō is comaunded them, becaufe they are chofen to be a peculiar people. And agayne in an other place, Loue is affirmed to be p caufe of protection. Whych alfo the faithfull doo declare with one voyce, faying: He hath chofen foze vs our inheritance, the glozie of Jacob, whome he hath loued. For they do all impute to free loue all the gyftes wherewith they were garnifhed of God: not onely becaufe they knoe that they themfelues had obtained them by no deferynges, but alfo that euen the holy Patriarch was not endued with fuche vertue, that he coulde purchase to hymfelfe and his pofteritie fo greate a pzetogatiue of honoz. And, the moze strongly to treade downe all pzyde, he vpbzayded them that they haue deferyed no fuche

Deuter. xxxii. viii.

Deu. iiii. xxxvii.

Deu. vii. viii.

Deu. x. iiii.

Deuxxi. v.

Pa. xliii. v.



And the moze strongly to treade downe all pride, he bpbayded them y  
 they haue deserued no such thing, forasmuch as they are a stubbozne &  
 hard necked people. And oftentimes the Prophetes do hatefully and as Deu. ix. 8  
 by way of reproche cast the Jewes in the teethe with this election, be-  
 cause they had sowly departed from it. Whatsoever it be, nowe lett them  
 come fourth which wil binde the election of God either to y worthinesse  
 of men, oz to the merites of woꝝks. When they see one nation to be pre-  
 ferred befoze al other, and when they heare that God was led with no  
 respect to be moze fauourably bent to a fewe and vnnoble, yea and fro-  
 warde and disobedient men: wil they quarel with hym, because hys will  
 was to shewe suche an example of mercie? But they shall netther with  
 their pꝛatling voices hinder his woꝝke, noꝝ with thꝛowing stones of  
 tauntes into heaue shall hitt oz hurt his righteousnesse, but rather they  
 shall fall backe vpon their owne heds. Moꝛeouer the Israelites are  
 called backe to thys pꝛinciple of the free couenant, when either thankes  
 are to be geuen to God, oz their hope to be raised by against the time to  
 come. He made vs, and not we our selues (saith the Prophet) his people  
 and the shepe of his pastures. The negative is not superfluous, which is  
 added to exclude vs, that they may knowe that of all the good thinges  
 wherewith they excell, God is not onely the authoꝝ, but fetched the cause  
 therof from himselfe, because there was nothing in them woꝝthie of so  
 greate honoꝝ. Also he biddeth them to be contented with the mere good  
 pleasure of God, in these woꝝds, The sede of Abraham are his seruantes: Pf. cv. vi  
 the childzen of Jacob, his elect. And after that he hath rehearsed the  
 continuall benefites of God as frutes of the election, at length he con-  
 cludeth, that he dealt so liberally because he remembꝛed hys couenant. Pf. xliiii. iii.  
 With which doctrine agreeth the song of the whole Chirche, Thy right  
 hande and the light of thy countenance gaue the lande to our Fathers,  
 because thou wast pleased in them. But it is to be noted, that where me-  
 tion is made of the land, it is a visibible signe of the secret seuering wher-  
 in the adoption is contained. To the same thankfulness Daud in an  
 other place exhorteꝛth the people, sayeng, Blessed is the nation whoes Pf. xxxiii. vii.  
 God the Loꝝde is, the people whiche he hath chosen foꝝ an inheritance  
 to himselfe. And Samuell encourageth them to good hope, sayeng, i. Samu. ix. xlii.  
 The Loꝝde wyll not forsake you, foꝝ hys owne great names sake, be-  
 cause it pleased him to create you foꝝ a people to himselfe. Likewise Da-  
 uid when his faith is assailed, armeth himselfe to fight, sayeng, Blessed  
 is he whome thou haste chosen, he shall dwel in thy courtes. But foꝝal- Pf. lxxv. v.  
 muche as the election hidden in G O D was stablished as well by the  
 first deliuerance as by the seconde, and other meane benefites: in Esaie Esa. xlii. i.  
 the woꝝde of Electing is transferred to this. God shall haue mercie on  
 Jacob, and he shall yet choose out of Israell: because he signifieng the  
 tyme to come, sayeth that the gathering together of the remnante  
 of the people which he semed to haue forsaken, shall be a signe of the sta-  
 ble and stedfaste election, whiche ones semed to haue ben fallen awaye.  
 When also it is sayed in an other place, I haue chosett thee and Esa. xli. ix.  
 haue not caste thee awaye: he setteth oute the continuall course  
 of the notable liberalitie of hys fatherly good wyll. And yet moꝛe  
 playnly the Angell sayeth in zacharie, G O D shall yet choose zach. ii. xxi.  
 I. i. Ierusa:



Jerusalem: as though in hardly chasting it, he had reiected it: or as though the exile were an interrupting of the election: which yet remaineth inuiolable, although the signes therof do not alway appeare.

6  
 There is to be added a seconde degree moze narrowly restrained, or in which was seen a moze special grace of God: when of the same kindred of Abraham God refused some, and other some by nourishing them in the Chirche he shewed that he retained among his childzē. Imael had at the beginning obtained egall degree with his bzother Isaac, because the spirituall couenante had ben no lesse sealed in hym by the signe of Circumcision. He is cutt of: and then, Esay: at the last an innumerable multitude and almost Israell. In Isaac was the sede called: the same calling endured in Jacob. A lyke example God shewed in reiecting Saule: whiche thing is also gloziously sett fourth in y<sup>e</sup> Psalme, He hath putt backe the tribe of Ioseph, and the tribe of Ephzaim he hath not chosen, but he hath chosen the tribe of Iuda. Which the holy historie diuerse times repeteth, that the wonderfull secret of the grace maye the better appeare in this change. Imaell, Esau, and suche other, (I graunt) fell from the adoption by their owne faulte and gyltynesse: because there was a condition adioyned, that they should saythfully kepe the couenant of God, whiche they falsly bzake. But this was yet a singular benefit of God, that he vouchsafed to pferre them aboute the other Gētiles: as it is sayd in the Psalme, He hath not so done to other nations, nor hath opened hys iugementes to them. But here I haue not without cause sayd that there be twoo degrees to be noted: because nowe in the choosing of the whole nation **G O D** shewed that he is in his owne mere liberalitie bounde to no lawes: but he is free, so that egall porzion of grace is not to be required at hys hande: the vnequalitie wherof sheweth that it is truely of free gifte. Therefore Malachie amplifieth the vnthankfulnesse of Israell, because they being not onely chosen out of all mankinde, but also seuered out of a holy house to be a peculiar people, doo vnfaithfully and wickedly despise **G O D** so beneficiall a Father. Was not Esau the bzother of Jacob: (sayth he) and yet Jacob I loued, but Esau I hated. For, **G O D** taketh it for confessed, that when eyther of them was bozne of a holy Father, and successor of the couenant, finally a bzaunch of the holy roote: nowe the childzē of Jacob were moze than commonly bonde, whiche were taken into that dignitie. But whē, Esau the first begotten being refused, their Father which was by nature inferioz was made y<sup>e</sup> heyre, he proueth them dolely vnthankfull, and complayneth that they were not holden wyth that doble bonde.

7  
 Although it be allredy sufficiently euidente, that **G O D** doth by hys secreete counsell freely chose whome he wyll, reiecting other, yet hys free election is hether to but halfe shewed, tyll we come to all particular persones, to whome **G O D** not onely offereth saluation, but so assigneth it, that the certaintie of the effect thereof is not in suspence or doutefull. For, these are accompted in that onely sede; whereof Paule maketh mention. For although the adoption was left in the hande of Abraham, yet because many of his posteritie were cutt of as rotten members: that the election maye be effectuell and truely  
 stedfast,

Psalme.  
 cxxviii.  
 vj.

Esay. lxxvii.  
 v.

Mal. i. li.



stedfast, we must needs ascende to the hed, in whō the heavenly Father hath bounde together his electe one with one other, and hath knit them to hymselfe with a knott impossible to be loosed. So in the adoption of þe kindred of Abraham, Chined the liberall fauoz of God, which he denied to other men: yet in the members of Christe, appeareth a muche more excellent strength of grace, because they being grafted into their hed doe neuer fall awaye from saluation. Therefore Paule doth fittly reason out of the place of Malachie which I euen nows alleged: that where God with making a couenant of eternal life calleth any people to hymselfe, there is in parte a speciall manner of election, that he doth not choose all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is sayed, I haue loued Iacob, this pertaineth to the whole issue of the Patriarch, which the Prophete there setteth in comparisō against the posteritie of Elau. Yet this withstandeth not but that in the persone of one man was sett fourth to vs an example of the election whiche can not slippe away but muste come to the marke that it tendeth to. These Paule doth not vaine note to be called remnantes: because experience teacheth that of a greate multitude many slide and vanishe away, so that oftentimes there remaineth but a small portion. But why the generall election of a people is not alway fyne and stedfast, there is a reason offering it selfe in redinesse: because with whome GOD couenanteth, he doeth not by and by geue to them the Spirite of regeneration, by the powler whereof they maye continue in the couenante to the ende: but the outwarde changing without the inwarde effectualnesse of grace, which might be of force to holde them in, is a certayne meane thyng betwene the forsaking of whole mankinde, and the election of a small number of the godly. The whole people of Israell was called the inheritance of GOD, of whome yet there were many strangers. But because GOD had not for nothing made couenant with them that he would be their Father and redemer, he rather hath respecte to hys owne free fauoz than to the vnfaythfull falling away of many: by whom also hys truth was not abolished: because where he reserued any remnante, it appeared that hys calling was without repentance. For whereas GOD did from tyme to tyme choose vnto hymselfe a Chirche rather out of the children of Abraham, than out of the prophane nations, he had regarde to hys couenante, which beyng broken of the whole multitude he testrayned to a fewe, that it shoulde not vtterly fall awaye. Fynally the coinimon adoption of the seede of Abraham was a certayne visibler image of a greater benefite, whiche God hath vouchsafed to graunt to fewe out of many. Thys is the reason why Paule so diligently putteth difference betwene the children of Abraham according to the fleshe, and hys spirituall children which were called after the example of Isaac. Not that it was a vayne and vnfrutefull thing simply to be the chyld of Abraham (whiche mighte not be sayd without dishonor of the couenante) but because the vncchangeable counsell of GOD, wherby he hath predestinate whom he would, is by it selfe effectual onely to this later sozt vnto saluatiō. But I warne the reders þe they bring not a foreconceiued iugement on either side, til it appeare by the places



of Scripture brought fourth what is to be thoughte. That therefore which the Scripture clerly sheweth, we saye that God by eternall and vncchangeable counsel hath ones appointed whom in tyme to come he would take to saluatiō, and on the other syde whō he would condemne to destruction. Thys counsel as touching the elect, we say to be grounded vpon his free mercie without any respect of the worthinesse of man: but whom he appointeth to damnatiō, to them by hys iugement which is indeede iust and irrepzeihensible but also incōpzeihensible, & entrie of lyfe is forclosed. Now in the elect we set vocation, to be the testimonie of Election: & then iustification to be an other signe of the manifest shewing of it, til they come to glozie wherin is the fulfilling of it. But as by vocation and election God maketh his elect: so by shutting out & reprobate cyther from the knowlege of hys name, or from the sanctification of his Spirit, he doth as it were by these markes open what iugemēt abideth for them. I wil here passe ouer many fayned inuentions, which foolish mē haue forged to ouerthrowe predestination. For they nede no confutation, which so sone as they are brought fourth doe largely bewraye their owne falsnesse. I wil tarry only vpon those, which either are in controuersie amōg the learned, or which may byyng any hardinesse to the simple, or which vngodlinesse with faire seming shoue pzetendeth, to scoffe at the righteousnesse of God.

## The. xxii. Chapter.

A confirmation of this doctrine by testimonies of the Scripture.



**A** these things which we haue set are not without controuersie among many, specially the free election of the faithfull: which yet can not be weakened. For the common sort do thinke that God, as he foreseeth that euery mans deseruinges shalbe, so maketh difference betwene men: that therefore whō he foreknoweth that they shalbe not vnworthy of hys grace, them he adopteth into place of children: and whoes natures he espyeth that they wil be bent to wickednesse and vngodlinesse, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by clogging it with the veile of foreknowlege they do not only darken election, but faine that it hath beginning from ells where. And this opinion receiued of the commō sort is not the opinion of the common sorte alone: for in al ages it hath had greate maintainers. Whiche I doe plainly confesse, to the entent that no mā should trust that it shall muche hurte our cause if their names be objected against vs. For, the truthe of God herein is moze certaine, than that it may be shaken: moze clere, than that it maye be darkened with & authoritic of men. But some other neyther exercised in the Scripture, nor worthy of any voyce, doo rayle at thys doctrine wyth greater malicioussnesse, than that their frowarde pryde oughte to be suffered. Because God choosing some after hys owne wyl, leaueth other some, they picke a quarrel against hym. But if the thing it selfe be knowē for true,

what



What shall they preuaile with brabbling against God? We teach nothing but that which is approued by experience, that it was alway at libertie for God to bestowe hys grace to whome he will. I will not enquire wherby the posteritie of Abraham excelled other, but by that vouchesaying, wherof there is soude no cause ellswhere than in God. Let them answer why they be men rather than oxen or asses. Whē it was in the hande of God to make them dogges, he fashioned them after hys own image. Wyl they geue leaue to brute beastes to quarell wyth God for their estate, as though the difference were vnrightheous? Cruely it is no moze rightheous, that they should enioy the prerogattue whiche they haue obtained by no deseruinges, thā for God diuersly to deale abrode his benefites according to the measure of hys own iugement. If they skippe ouer to persones, where the inequality is moze hateful to them, at the least at the example of Christe they oughte to be afrayed to prate so boldly of so hye a mysterie. He is conceiued of the sede of Dauid, a mortall man: by what vertues wyl they say that he deserued to be in the very wombe made the hed of Angels, the onely begotten sonne of **G O D**, the image and glorie of the Father, the lyghte, rightheousnesse, and saluation of the woorld: Thys thing Augustine wisely noted, that in the very hed of the Chirche is a mosse clere mirroz of free election, lest it should troble vs in the members: and that he was not by ryghteously liuing made the sonne of God, but that he had so great honoz freely geuen hym, that he myght afterwarde make other partakers of hys gyftes. Here if any man aske why other were not the same that he was, or why all we are so farr distante from hym, why all we be cozrupte and he purenesse: suche a man shall bewraye not onely hys madnesse but therewithall also hys shamelesnesse. But if they goe forward to labor to take from **G O D** the free power to choose and refuse, let them also take away that whiche is geuen to Christe. Nowe it is woorth the trauayle to consider what the Scripture pronounceth of euery one. Paule verily, when he teacheth that we were chosen in Christe, taketh away all respecte of our owne worthinesse. For it is al one as if he had sayd: because in the whole sede of Adam y heauēly father founde nothing woorthy of his election, he turned hys eyes vnto hys Christ, to choose as it were members out of hys body them whome he would take into the felowship of lyfe. Lett thys reson then be of force among the faythfull, that we were therefoze adopted in Christe into the heavenly inheritance, because in our selues we were not able to receiue so greate excellence. Whiche also he toucheth in an other place, whē he exhorteth the Colossians to geuing of thankes, for thys that they were by God made fytt to be partakers of the estate of the holy. If electio goe befoze thys grace of God, that we be made fytt to obteyne the glorie of the life to come: what shall God hymselfe nowe fynde in vs, wherby he maye be moued to elect vs? My meaning shall yet be moze openly expressed by an other sayeng of hys. He hath chosen vs (sayeth he) ere the fundaciōs of the woorld were layed, according to the good pleasure of his will, that we might be holy, and vnspotted, and vnreprouable in his sight: where he setteth the good pleasure of God against al our deseruinges whatsoeuer they be.

De cor.  
rept. &  
grat. ad  
valent.  
cap. 15.  
De bone  
perseue  
cap. vt.  
De. ver.  
apost.  
sermo.  
viii.  
Ephē. i.  
iii.

Col. i. xii.

Ephē. i.  
iii.



2 That the profe may be moze strong, it is woꝛth the labor to note al þ partes of that place, which being coupled together doe leaue no doute. Where he nameth the elect, it is no dout that he speaketh to the faithful, as he also by and by afterwarde affirmeth. Wherefoze they doe with to fowle a glose abuse that name, whiche wrest it to the age wherein the Gospel was first published. Where he sayth that they were elect before the beginning of the world, he taketh away all respect of woꝛthinesse. For, what reason of difference is there betwene them whiche yet were not, and those which afterwarde should in Adam be egall: Now if they be elect in Christ, it foloweth þ not only every man is severed without hymseife, but also one of them from an other, forasmuch as we see that not al are the members of Christ. That which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly cōfuteh the erroꝛ which deriueth election from foꝛeknowledge, forasmuch as Paule cryeth out against it and sayth that whatsoeuer vertue appeareth in men, it is the effecte of electiō. Now if a hyper cause be sought, Paul answereth, that God hath so predestinate, yea and that according to the good pleasure of his will. In which woꝛdes he ouerthroweth whatsoeuer meanes of their electiō men do imagine in themselues. For he also teacheth that whatsoeuer thinges God geueth towarde spirituall lyfe, they flowe out of thys one fountaine, because God hath chosen whom he would, and ere they wer boꝛne he had severally layed by for them the grace which he vouchesa- ued to geue them.

3 But whersoener this pleasure of God reigneth, there no woꝛks come to be considered. He doth not here in dede pursue the comparison of cō- traries, but it is to be vnderstanded such as he hymseife declareth. He hath called vs (sayth he) to a holy calling, not according to our woꝛkes, but according to hys purpose and the grace which is geuen vs of Christ before the tymes of the world. And we haue alredy shewed that al dout is takē away in this which foloweth, that we might be holy and vnspot- ted. For if thou say, because he foꝛesawe that we should be holy, there- foze he chose vs, thou shalt peruert the order of Paule. Thus therefore thou mayest safely gather. If he chose vs that we might be holy: then he chose vs, not because he foꝛesawe that we would be such. For these two thinges are contrarie the one to the other: that the godly haue it of elec- tion that they be holy, and that they come to it by meane of woꝛkes. Neyther is their cauillation here any thing woꝛth to which they com- monly flee, that the Lord doth not render the grace of election to any woꝛkes going befoze, but yet graunteth it to woꝛkes to come. For whē it is sayd that the saythfull were chosen, that they might be holy: there- withall is signified that the holinesse which was to come in them toke beginning at election. And how shall thys sayeng agree together, that those thinges which are deriued from election gaue cause to electione. The same thing which he sayd he semeth afterwarde to confirme moze strongly, where he sayth, According to the purpose of his wil whiche he had purposed in hymseife. For, to say that God purposed in hymseife, is as much in effect as if it had ben said, that without hymseife he conside- red nothing wherof he had any regarde in decreing. Therfoze he by & by addeth, that þ whole summe of our election tendeth to this ende, that we should be to the pꝛayse of the grace of God. Cruely the grace  
of



of God deserueth not to be praised alone in our electiō, vnlesse our election be free. But free it shal not be, if God in electing his, doe consider what shalbe the workes of euery one. Therfore we fynde that ꝑ whiche Christ sayd to hys disciples, hath place vniuersally among al the saythful, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. Where he not onely excludeth deseruinges past, but also signifieth that they had nothing in themselues why they should be chosen, if he had not pzevented them w hys mercie. Lyke as thys sayeng of Paul is also to be vnderstode: Who first gaue to him, and shal receiue recompense: For he meaneth to shewe that the goodnesse of God so pzeuenteth men, that it fyndeth nothing in them neither past nor to come, wherby he may be wonne to be fauorable to them.

John. 1  
vbi.Rom.  
viii.

Now to ꝑ Romaines, where he fetcheth thys questiō further of, and foloweth it moze largely, he denyeth ꝑ al they are Israelites, which are issued of Israel: because although by ryght of inheritance they were all blessed, yet the succession did not egally passe to them al. The beginning of thys disputation proceeded of the pryde and deceitful glozieng of the Jewishe people. For whē they claimed to themselues the name of the Chirch, they would haue the credit of the Gospell to hang vpo their wil: as the Papistes at thys day would gladly wyth thys fained coloz thrust themselues into ꝑ place of God. Paul, although he graunt that the ofspring of Abraham is holy by reson of the couenaūt, yet affirmeth ꝑ the most parte of them are strangers in it: and that not onely because they swarue out of kynde, so that of lawfull childzen they become bastardes, but because the speciall election of God standeth aboue and reigneth in the hyst top, which alone maketh ꝑ adoption therof sure. If their owne godlinesse stablished some in the hope of saluation, and their owne falling away alone disherited other some: Paul verely should both fondly and vnconueniently lift by the reders euen to the secrete election. Now if the wil of of God (the cause wherof neither appeareth nor is to be sought without hymselfe) maketh the one sorte differing from the other, so that not al the childzen of Israel be true Israelites, it is vaine-ly sayned that euery mans estate hath beginning in hymselfe. Then he further foloweth the mater vnder the example of Jacob and Esau. For when they bothe were the sonnes of Abraham, bothe together enclosed in one mothers wombe, it was a monsterlyke change that the honoz of firste birth was remoued to Jacob, by whiche change Paul affirmeth that there was testified the election of the one and the reprobation of the other. The originall and cause of it is enquired, whiche the Teachers of fozeknowlege wyll haue to be sett out in the vertues, and vices of men. For thys is an easy thozte way wyth them, that God shewed in the persone of Jacob, that he chooseth the worthy of hys grace: and in the persone of Esau, he refuseth them whom he fozeleeth to be vnworthy. Thus they saye boldly. But what sayeth Paule: when they were not yet borne, and had not done any good or euell, that according to election the purpose of G O D mighte abyde: not of workes, but of hym that calleth it is sayed, The elder shall serue the yonger: as it is wrytten, Jacob I haue loued, but Esau I haue hated. If fozeknowlege were of any foze in this difference of the bzyethzen, then verily mention were vnfitly made of the

4  
Ro. ix. 10

Ro. ix. 10



And it is no dout that he toke this out of Moses, whych affirmeth that God will be mercifull to whome he wyll (althrough he there spake of the electe people, whoes estate in outwarde seemyng was egall) as if he shoulde haue sayde, that in the common adoption is included with hym a speciall grace towarde some, as it were a moze holpe treasure: and y<sup>e</sup> the common couenaunt withstandeth not but that the same small numbre maye be exempte in degree: and he wylling to make hymselfe the free disposer and ruler of this thyng, precisely denyeth that he will be mercifull to one rather than to an other, for any other reason, but for that it so pleaseth hym: because when mercie commeth to hym that seeketh it, though he in deede suffer not a denyall, yet he either preuenteth or partely getteth to hymselfe the fauor wherof God claymeth to hymselfe the prayse.

7 Now let the soueraigne Judge and maister pronounce of the whole mater. When he saw so great hardnesse in his hearers, that he dyd in a maner waste his wordes without fruite among the multitude: to remedie this offence, he crieth out, Whatsoever my father geueth me, it shall come to me. For this is the wyll of my father, that whatsoever my father hath geuen me, I shall not lose any thyng of it. Note that the begynnyng is taken at the fathers gyfte, that we may be deliuered into the faithfull keypyng and defence of Christe. Here some man peraduenture will turne a circle aboute, and wyll take exception, sayeng that they onely are accoynted in the prope possession of the father, whoes yeldyng hath ben voluntarie by fayth. But Christe standeth onely vpon that poynte, that althrough the fallnynges awaie of greate multitudes doo shake the whole worlde, yet the counsell of God shall be stedfast and stande faster than the heauens themselues, that his election may neuer fayle. They are sayde to haue ben the elect of the father, befoze that he gaue to them his onely begotten Sonne. They aske whether it were by nature: yea rather, them whyche were straungers he made his owne by drawyng them to hym. There is a greater clearenesse in the woordes of Christe, than can by shiftyng be couered with any darknesse. No man (sayth he) can come to me, vnlesse my father drawe hym. But who so hath heard and learned of my father, he commeth to me. If all generally without difference should bow their knee befoze Christ, then the election were common: but nowe in the fewnesse of the beleuers appeareth a manifest diuersitie. Therfoze after that Christe had affirmed that the disciples whiche were geuen him, were the peculiar possession of God the father, within a little after he added, I praise not for the worlde, but for those whom thou hast geuen me, because they are thyne. Whereby is proued that the whole worlde belongeth not to the Creator of it, sayng that grace delpyereth a fewe from the wrath of God, and from eternall deathe, whiche otherwyse shoulde haue perished: but the worlde it selfe is lefte in his owne destruction to whiche it was appoynted. In the meane time althrough Christe putt hymselfe meane betweene, yet he claymeth to hymselfe the power of choosyng in common with the father. I speake not (sayth he) of all: I knowe whome I haue chosen. If any man aske from whence he hath chosen them, he answereth in an other place, Oute of the worlde, whiche he excludeth out of his prayers when he commen-

deth

John. vi.  
xvii.John. vi.  
xvii.

Job. xvii.

Job. xlii.  
viii.John. xv.  
xv.



death his disciples to his father. This is to be holden, that when he affirmeth that he knoweth whom he hath chosen, there is signified some speciall sort in the generall kynde of men: then, that the same speciall sort is made to differ not by the qualitie of their owne vertues; but by the heavenly decree. Wherupon foloweth that many excell by their own force or diligence, when Christ maketh hymselfe the authoz of election. For when in an other place he reckoneth Judas among the elect, whereas he was a deuell, this is referred onely to the office of Apostleship: whyche although it bee a cleere myrtor of the fauor of God (as Paul so oftentymes acknowledgeth in his owne persone;) yet it conteyneth not in it selfe the hope of eternal saluation. Judas therfore, when he did vnfaithfully beare the office of an Apostle, myght be worse than the deuell: but of those whome Christ hath ones grafted into his bodye, he will suffre none to perishe: because in preseruyng their saluation he wil performe that whiche he hath promysed, that is, he will stretch forth the power of God whiche is greater than all. For whereas he sayth in an other place, Father, of those whome thou haste geuen me, I haue loste none but the sonne of perdition: although it be an abusive speche by figure, yet it hath no doutefull meanyng. The summe is, that God maketh them his chyldzen by free adoption whome he will haue to be his chyldzen: and that the inwarde cause therof is in hymselfe: because he is content with his owne secreete good pleasure.

But Ambrose, Origene, and Hierome thoughte that God distributeth his grace among men, as he fozeeth that euery man will vse it well: yea and Augustine was ones in the same opinion. But when he had better profited in knowlege of the Scripture, he not only reuoked it as evidently false, but also strongly confuted it: yea & after his reuokynge of it, in reprovynge the Pelagians for that they continued in the same erroz, sayeth: Who can not meruayl that the Apostle knew not this moste suttile sense? For when he hadde sette out a thyng to be wondzed at of these brethzen, while they were not yet bozne, and afterwarde objected a question agaynste hymselfe, sayeng: what then? Is there vniustice with God? Here was sytte place for hym to answer, that God fozelewe the merites of them bothe: yet he sayeth not this, but fleeth to the iudgements and mercie of God. And in an other place, when he had taken awaye all merites befoze election? Here (sayth he) is confuted their bayne reasonyng whyche defende the fozeknowlege of God agaynste the grace of GOD, and therfore saye that we are chosen befoze the makynge of the worlde, because God fozeknewe that wee woulde bee good; not that he hymselfe woulde make vs good. He sayeth not this, whyche saythe, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. For if he hadde therfore chosen vs, because he fozeknewe that we woulde be good: he shoulde therwithall also haue fozeknownen that we woulde choose hym: and so foorth as foloweth to that effecte. Let the testimonie of Augustine bee of foze among them that wyllngly reste in the authoritie of the fathers: Howe be it Augustine suffreth not hymselfe to be seuered from the reste: but by cleere testimonies sheweth that this disagreeunte is false with the malyce whereof the Pelagians burdened hym. For in the xix. chapter of his booke of the Predestination of Sanctes, he allegeth out

John. 8.  
xxviii.8  
Recusant.  
lib. i. cap.  
2.  
Epist. ad  
Sixt. 106.Homil.  
in Ioh. 8.Ioh. xv.  
vbi.De pred.  
sanct. ca.



of Ambrose, Chyriste calleth whome he hath mercie on. Agayne, If he had willed, of the vnderoune he myghte haue made deuoute. But God calleth whome he vouchesaue: and whome he wyll he maketh religious. If I lysted to knytte together a whole volume out of Augustine, I coulde readily shewe to the readers that I neede no other woordes but his: but I wyll not loade them with tediousnesse. But goe to, lett vs imagine that they speake not at all: but lett vs geue hede to the mater it selfe. A harde question was moued, whether God dydde ryghteously in this that he vouchesaue to graunte his grace but to some: Of whyche question Paule myght haue vncombred hymselfe with one woorde if he had alleged the respecte of woordes. Why therefore dothe he it not, but rather continueth on a discourse whyche abyde in the same hardenesse: Why, but because he oughte not: For the Holye ghoste whyche spake by his mouth, had not the disease of forgetfullnesse. Therefore withoute any circumstances he answereth, that God therefore fauoreth his electe, because he will: therefore hath mercie, because he will. For this Oracle of God, I wyll haue mercie vpon whome I wyll haue mercie, and I wyll shewe mercie to whome I will shewe mercie, is as muche in effect as if it had been sayd, that God is moued to mercie by no other reason but because he wyll haue mercie. Therefore this sayeng of Augustine remaineth true, that the grace of God doth not find, men fitt to be chosen, but maketh them.

Neither do we any thyng passe vpon that sutteltie of Thomas, that the foreknowyng of deseruyngs, is not in dede the cause of predestination on the behalfe of the act of hym that doth predestinate, but on our behalfe it maye after a certayne maner be so called, that is, accordyng to the particular weyeng of Predestination: as when it is sayd that God predestinateth glorie to man by deseruynges, because he hath decreed to geue to hym grace by which he may deserue glorie. For sythe the Lorde will in election haue vs to loke vnto nothyng but his mere goodnesse, if any man shall couete here to see any moze, it shalbe a wrongfull gredynesse. If we lusted to strine in sutteltie, we want not wherwith to beat backe this silly sutteltie of Thomas. He affirmeth that to the electe glorie is after a certayne maner predestinate to them the grace, by which they may deserue glorie. What if I answer on the contrary syde and say that predestination vnto grace, serueth election vnto lyfe, and is as it were a waityng maide after it: that grace is predestinate to them, to whome the possession of glorie hath ben long agoe apoynted: because it please the Lorde to byng his chyldren from election into iustification: For therupon it shall folowe that the predestination of glorie was rather the cause of the Predestination of grace, than contrariwise. But away with these struynges, as thynges superfluous for suche as had thynke that there is wysdome enough for them in the worde of God. For this was in olde tyme truely wrytten of an Ecclesiasticall wryter, that they whiche assigne the election of God to merites are moze vyle than they ought to be.

Som do obiect y god shold be contrari to himself, if he shold vniuersally call al me to hi; & receue but a few elect. So by their opiniō y vniuersalnes of the

Dr. xxxiii  
b.9  
n. Deu.  
Tract. 25.  
Quest. 23.Ambro.  
de vocat  
gent.  
li. i. cap. i.



of the promise taketh awaye the difference of speciall grace. And thus certayne sobze men speake, not so muche to oppresse the truthe, as to debarre crabbed questions, and to bydle the curiositie of many. Their wyll is prayse woozthye, but theyr counsell is not to be allowed: because dalleng by whistes is neuer excusable. But theyr obiectyng of it whiche doo more raylyngly inuey agaynst it, is verily to fonde a caullati-  
 on, or to shamefull an erroz. Howe the Scripture maketh these two to agree together, that by outward preachyng al men are called to Repen-  
 tance and faith, and yet not to al men is geuen the Spirite of Repen-  
 tance and faith, I haue in an other place already declared, and by and by somewhat of it muste bee repeted agayne. Howe that whyche they require I denye to them, sythe it is two wayes false. For, he that thzet-  
 neth that whyle it rayneth vppon one citie, there shall be droughte vpon an other: He that pronounceth that there shall in an other place be famine of doctrine, byndeth not hymselfe with a certayne lawe to call all men egally. And he whiche forbyddyng Paule to speake in Asia, and turnyng hym from Bythinia draweth hym into Macedonia, sheweth that it is in his owne pover to distribute this treasure to whome-  
 soeuer it shall please hym. Yet more playnely he sheweth by Esai, how he peculiarly directeth to the electe the promyses of saluation: for he sayeth of them onely, and not of all mankynde indifferently, that they shall be his disciples. Whereby it is certayne that the doctrine of salua-  
 tion is wrongfully sette open in comon to all men to profite effectually, whyche is sayde to be seuerally layde vp onely for the chyldzen of the Chirche. Lette this suffice at this presente, that althoughe the voyce of the Gospell speake generally to all, yet the gifte of faith is rare. Esai assigneth a cause, for that the arme of the Lorde is not open to all men. If he had sayde that the Gospell is maliciously and  
 frowardlye despised, because many doo stubboznlly refuse to heare: peraduenture this coloz touchyng vniuersall callyng should preuaile. Nei-  
 ther is it the purpose of the Prophet to dimynysh the faulte of men, when he teacheth that the fountayne of blyndnesse is that God vouch-  
 sauneth not to open his arme to them: onely he geueth warnyng, that because fayth is a singular gift, the eares are beaten in bayne with out-  
 ward doctrine. But I woulde fayne knowe of these doctozs, whether onely preachyng, or fayth, make the chyldzen of God. Certainly when it is sayde in the fyrste chapiter of Iohn, Whosoever beleue in the on-  
 ly begotten Sonne of God, are themselues also made the chyldzen of God, there is not in that place a cofused heape iumbled by together: but a speciall order is geuen to the faithfull, whiche are bozne not of blood,  
 nor of the wil of the flethe, nor of the will of man, but of God. But say they there is a mutuall consent of faith with the word. Namely wher-  
 soeuer is faith. But it is no newe thyng that seede fall among thoznes or in stonie places: not only because the greatet part appeareth in dede obstinate agaynst God, but also because not al men haue eyes and eares. How then shall it agree that God calleth to him them who he knoweth  
 will not come: Let Augustine answere for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Veruaile with me, and crie out, O depthe. Lett vs bothe agree in feare, least we perithe in erroz: Noz ouer if election (as Paule witnesseth) be the mother of faith, I turne back the argunet vpon their owne  
 head,

Amos.  
iii. vii. et  
viii. xi.  
Act. xvi.  
vi.

Esai. viiii.  
xvi.

Esai. lxxx.  
t.

Iohn. i.  
xii.

De verb.  
apost. ser.  
mo. ii.



head, that faith is therfoze not general, because election is speciall. For  
 by the orderly hangyng together of causes and effectes, it is easily ga-  
 thered that where Paul saith, that we are full of al spirituall blessing, as  
 God had chosen vs befoze the creation of the worlde: therfoze these ri-  
 chesse are not common to all, because God hath chosen onely whome he  
 woulde. This is the reason why in an other place he commendeth the  
 faith of the electe, least it should be thought that any man doeth by hys  
 own motion get faith to himself: but that this glozie may remaine with  
 God, that they are freely enlightned of hym, whome he had chosen be-  
 foze. For Bernarde saith rightly, frendes do seuerally heare, to whom  
 he also saith, feare not thou small flocke: for to you it is geuen to know  
 the mysterie of the kyngdom of heauen. Who be these? even they whom  
 he hath foreknownen and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image  
 of his Sonne. A great and secreete counsel is made knowen. The Lord  
 knew who be his: but that which was knowen to God, is made many-  
 fest to men: neither doth he vouchsafe to make any other partakers of  
 so great a mysterie, but those selfe same men whome he hath foreknownen  
 and predestinate to be his. A little after he concludeth. The mercie of  
 God is from eternitie even to eternitie vpon them that feare hym: from  
 eternitie, by reason of predestination: to eternitie, by reason of blessed  
 makyng: the one without begynnyng, the other without endyng. But  
 what nede I to cite Bernarde for witnesse, when we heare of the ma-  
 sters owne mouthe, that none doo see but they whiche are of God? By  
 which wordes he signifieth, that all they which are not begotten agayn  
 of God, doo dafell at the brightnesse of his countenance. And to election  
 faith in dede is fittly ioyned, so that it kepe the second degree. Which or-  
 der the wordes of Christ doo clerely expresse in an other place, This is  
 the wil of my father, that I lose not that which he hath geuen. For this  
 is his will, that whosoever beleueth in the Sonne shall not perishe. If  
 he would haue all saued, he would appoint ouer them his Sonne to be  
 their keper, and would graffe them all into his body with the holy bond  
 of faith. Now it is certain that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly  
 loue, laied by for his childre whom he hath adopted. Therfoze Christ in  
 an other place saith that he shepe folow the shepherd, because they know  
 his voice: but they folow not a strager, because they know not the voice  
 of strangers. Whense cometh this difference, but because their eares are  
 boared by God: for no man maketh himselfe a shepe: but he is made one  
 by heauely grace. For which cause also the Lord teacheth he our safetie  
 shall alway be certaine and free from danger, because it is kepte by the  
 inuincible power of God. Wherfoze he concludeth that the vnbeleuers  
 are not of his shepe: namely because they are not of the nuber of them,  
 whom God hath promised by Esaie that they shall be his disciples. Nowe  
 because in the testimonies which I haue alleged is expressed perseue-  
 rance, they do therewithal testifie the vnmoouable stedfastnesse of electio.

Now let vs speake of the reprobate, who the Apostle ioineth there to-  
 gether. For as Jacob, hauing yet with good woorks deserued nothing, is  
 taken into grace: so Esau, beyng yet defiled with no wicked dooyng, is  
 hated. If we turne our eyes to woorks, we do wrong to the Apostle, as  
 though he sawe not the same thyng whiche we clerely see. It is proued  
 that he sawe it not, forasmuch as he expzessly enforzeth this pointe, that  
 when

Ebbel. 1.  
iii.

Cit. 11.

Ad Tho.  
prepos.  
Beuerl.  
pist. 107.John. vi.  
xvi.

Job. x. liii

11

Rom. ix.  
xiii.



when they had not yet done any good or euell, the one was chosen, and the other refused, to proue that the fundation of the predestination of God is not in woorkes. Agayne when he moued the obiection, whether God be vnrighteous, he allegeth not that which had ben the mooste certaine and plaine defence of his righteousnesse, namely that God reduced to Esau according to his euellnesse: but he was content with an other solution, that the reprobate are stirred by to this ende, that the glorie of God may be sett forth by them. Last of all he adioyneth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercie vpon whom he will, & hardeneth whom he will. See you not howe he imputeth bothe to the onely will of God: Therfoze if we can not declare a reason why he vouchsaueth to graunt mercie to them that be his, but because it so pleaseth him: neither also that we haue any other cause in reiectyng of other, than his owne will. For when it is sayd that God hardeneth, or sheweth mercie to whom he will, men are therby warned to seke no cause els where than in his will.

### The. xxiii. Chapter.

A Confutation of the sleanders wherwith this doctrine hath alwaye been wrongfully burdened.

**B**Ut when the witt of man heareth these thynges, the forwardnesse therof can not be restrained, but that by and by as at the bloody blast of a trumpet, soundyng to battaile, it diuersly and excessively turmopleth. And many in deede, as though they would driue away the malice from God, doo so graunte election, that they denye that any man is reprobate: but they do to ignorantly & childishly: forasmuche as election it selfe coulde not stande vnlesse it were set contrary to reprobation: God is said to seuer them whome he adopteth vnto saluation: it should be moze than foolishly said that other doo either by chaunce or by their owne endeuor obteyne that whiche onely election geneth to a few. Therefore whom God passeth ouer, he reiecteth: and for none other cause, but for that he will exclude them from the inheritance which he dothe predestinate to his children. Neither is the waitwardnesse of men tolerable, if it suffre not it selfe to be brydled with the word of God, where the incomprehensible counsell of God is entreated of, whiche the Angels themselues do worshop. But we haue already heard that hardening is no lesse in the hand and will of God than mercie. Neither dothe Paule (as these men doo that I haue spokē of) busily laboz to excuse God with a lyeng defence: but only he teacheth that it is not lawfull for the thing formed to quarell with him that formed it. Nowe who so do not admitt that any are reiected of God, how wil they vncombe themselues from that sayeng of Chryste, Euery tree which my father hath not planted, shall be plucked by by the roote: They plainly heare that all they are adiudged & auowed to destruction, whom the heauenly father hath not vouchsaued to plant as holy trees in his ground. If they denie this to be a signe of reprobatio, then is there nothing so clere y it may be proued to the. But if they cesse not to wragle, let the sobrietie of faith be contented with this admonition of Paule, that there is no cause to quarell with God, if he willyng on the one syde to shewe his wraath and to make his power knowen doo with dumme sufferance

Rom. ii.  
rr.

Mat. xxi.  
xiii.

Rom. ix.  
xli.



sufferance, and lenitie beare wyth the vessels of wraethe prepared to destruction: and on the other side he make knowe the riches of his glorie toward the vessels of mercye which he hath prepared to glorie. Let the Reders marke, how Paule to cutte of occasion from whisperinges and backbitinges, geueth the chiefe rule to the wraath and power of God: bicause it is vniust that those depe iudgementes which swallow by all our senses, should be made subiect to our determination. Our aduersaries answer is very trislyng, that God doth not viterly reiect them whome he suffreth in lenitie, but abideth with a mynde hanging in suspence toward them, if peradventure they may repente. As thoughe Paule geueth to God a patience, to loke for their turning, whome he sayeth to be made to destruction. For, Augustine sayth rightly where he expoundeth this place, where power is ioyned to sufferance, God doth not suffer, but gouerne with his power. They further say also that it is not for nothing said that the vessels of wraath are prepared to destruction: but, that God hath prepared the vessels of mercie: bicause by this meane he ascribeth and chalengeth the prayse of saluation to God, but the blame of destruction he casteth vpon them which by their owne will doo bring it vpon themselves. But although I graunt to them that Paul by the diuerse maner of speaking didde soften the roboghnesse of the first part of the sentence, yet it is not mete to assigne the preparing vnto destruction to any other thing than to the secret counsel of God: which also is affirmed a little befoze in the rest of the texte, That God stirred by Pharaos: Then, that he hardneth whome he will. Wherupō foloweth that the hidden counsel of god is the cause of hardning. This at the lest I get which Augustine saith, the whē God of wolues maketh shepe, he doth with a mightier grace refozme the, that their hardnes may be tamed: & therfoze god for this cause doth not conuert the obstinate, bicause he doth not shew forth in the the mightier grace, which he wāteth not if he wold shew it forth.

These sayenges in dede shoulde be sufficient for the godly and sobze, and them which remembre themselves to be men. But forasmuche as these benemous dogges do cast by not only one sort of benime against God, we will as the mater shal serue, answer to euery one particularly. Foolishe men doo diuers waies quarell with God, as though they had hym subiect to their accusations. First therfoze they aske, by what right the Lorde is angry with his creatures, of whome he hath not been first prouoked by any offence: for to condemne to destruction whom he will, agreeth rather with the wilfulnesse of a tyzant, than the lawfull sentence of a iudge. Therfoze they say the there is cause why me shold charge God, if by his bare will, without their owne deseruyng, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time com into the mynd of the godly, to breake their violent assaultes they shalbe sufficiently armed with this although they had no more, if they consider howe greate wickednesse it is, euen so muche as to enquire of the causes of the wil of God: sith of all thinges the are, it is the cause, & worthily so ought to be. For if it haue any cause, then somewhat must go befoze it, wherto it must be as it were bound: which it is vnlawful ones to imagine. For, the will of God is so the highest rule of righteousnesse, the whatsoeuer he willeth, euen for this the he willeth it, it ought to be take for righteous. When therfoze it is asked, why the Lorde did it: it is to be answered, bicause he willed it.

Lib. v. cō  
tra Iul.  
cap. 5.

Lib. i. de  
predest.  
sanct. ca.  
2.

2

This is  
take out  
of Augu-  
stine. lib.  
i. de Gen.  
cont. ma-  
nich. ca. 3.

But if



If thou goe further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater & hier thing than the will of God: which cā not be found. Let therefore the rashnesse of man restrayne it self, & not seke that which is not, least peradventure it may not finde that whiche is. With this bridle (I say) he shalbe wel withholden whosoener he be that wil dispute of the secretes of God with reuerence. As for the boldnesse of þ wicked, which drede not openly to speake euel of God: against it the Lord with his owne righteousnesse, without any our defense shal sufficiently defend himself, when he shal take al wistynge frō their cōsciences, & hold them fast conuincid, and condemne them. Neither do we yet thrust in the fained deuise of absolute power, which as it is prophane, so woorthily ought to be abhozred of vs. We saine not God lawlesse, who is a law to himself: bicause (as Plato sayth) men stand in neede of lawes, whoe are troubled with vnlawful lustes; but þ wil of God is not only pure from al fault, but also is the hiest rule of perfectiō, yea & the law of all lawes. But we denie that he is subiect to yelde accompt. We denie also that we are mete iudges, which wold pronoūce of this cause after our owne sense. Wherfoze if we attēpt further than we lawfully may, let that threatenyng of the Psalme byng vs in feare, that God shal ouercome so oft as he is iudged of any mortall man.

Psa. li. 10

So can God in keepyng silence, put his enemies to silence. But, that we may not suffer them freely to scozne his holy name, he deliuereth to vs out of his word weapons agaynst them. Wherfoze if any man assaile vs with such wordes: why God hath from the beginning predestinate some to death, which whē they were not, could not yet deserue the iudgemēt of death: we in steede of answer may againe on our side aske of them, what they thinke that God oweth to mā, if he wil iudge him bi his owne nature. In such sort as we be al corrupted with sinne, we can not but be hatefull to God: & that not by tyrannous crueltie, but by most byright reason of iustice. If all they whom the Lord doth predestinate to death, are by the estate of nature subiect to þ iudgemēt of death: of what vniustice against thēselues, I beseeche you, may they complaine: Let al the sonnes of Adā come: Let them strue & dispute with their creatoꝝ, for that by his eternall prouidēce they were befoze their generation condemned to euerlastyng miserie. What shal they be able ones to mutter agaynst this defense, when God on the other side shal call them to reknowlegyng of thēselues: If they be all takē out of a corrupt masse, it is no matuell if they be subiect to damnation. Let them not therefore accuse God of vniustice, if by his eternall iudgement they be apointed to death, to which they thēselues do fele whether they will oz no, that they are willingly led of their owne nature. Whereby appereth how wꝛōgfull is the desire of their murmuring, bicause they do of set purpose hide the cause of damnatiō which they are cōpelled to acknowledge in thēselues, y the layeng of the blame vpon God may acquite them. But though I do a hundred times confesse, as it is most true, that God is the authoꝝ of it, yet they do not by and by wipe away the giltinesse whiche beyng engrauen in their cōsciences from time with oft recourse, presenteth it self to their eyes.

Agayne they except and saye: were they not befoze predestinate by the ordynance of God to the same corruption whiche is now alledged



for the cause of dānation: Whē therfoze thei perishe in their cozruptiō, thei do nothing but suffer the punishmēt of that miserie into which by his pzedestinatio Adam fel & drew his posteritie hedlōg with him. Is not he therfoze vniust, whiche doth so cruelly mocke his creatures. I graunt in deede f al the childzen of Adā fel by the wil of God into that miserie of state wherin they be now bound: & this is it y I sayd at y beginning, that at length we must alway retorne to the determination of the wil of God, the cause wherof is hiddē in himself. But it foloweth not by & by that God is subiect to this sleaūder. For we wil with Paul answer thē in this māner, O man, what art thou that cōtendest with God: doth the thing fozmed say to him that fozmed it. Why hast thou fozmed me so: Hath not the potter power to make of the same lūpe one vessel to honoz, & an other to dishonoz: They will say that the righteousnesse of God is so not truely defended, but that we seke a Mist, such as thei are wont to haue that want a iust excuse. For what els semeth here to be sayd, thā that God hath a power which can not be hindered from doying any thing whatsoeuer it be as he will himselfe: But it is far otherwise. For, what stronger reason can be bzought than whē we are cōmaunded to think what a one God is: For how should he cōmit any vniustice, which is iudge of the world: If it pzoerly pertainē to the nature of God to do iudgemēt, then he naturally loueth righteousnesse, & abhorreth vnrighteousnesse. Wherfoze the Apostle did not, as though he were ouertakē, loke about for holes to hide him: but shewed that the reason of the righteousnesse of God is hier than that it either is to be measured by the measure of man, oz may be comprehended by the slender capacitie of the wit of man. The Apostle in deede confesseth that there is such depth in the iudgemētes of God, wherwith the mindes of men shold be swallowed, if thei endeouozed to pearce into it. But he teacheth also how haynous wōg it is, to binde the workes of God to such a law, that so sone as we vnderstād not the reason of them, we may be bold to disallow them. It is a known sayeng of Salomō (which yet few do rightly vnderstand) The great creatoꝝ of al rēdozeth reward to the soole, and reward to transgressoꝝ. For he crieth out concerning the greatnesse of God: in whose will it is to punish fooles & transgressoꝝ, although he do not vouchesaue to let them haue his Spirit. And mōstruous is the madnesse of men, when they so couet to make that whiche is vnmeasurable, subiect to y smal measure of their reason. The Angels which stode still in their bpzightnesse, Paul calleth elect. If their stedfastnesse was grouēd vpon the good pleasure of God, the falling away of the other pzoeth that they were forzaken: Of which thing there can no other cause be alleged than reprobatio, which is hidden in the secret counsell of God.

5 Goe to: let there now be present some Manichee, oz Celestine, a sleaūderer of the pzoidence of God: I say with Paule that there ought no reason to be rendzed therof: bicause with the greatnesse of it, it far surmounteth our vnderstanding. What maruel: oz what absurditie is it: Wold he haue the power of God so limited, y it may be able to work no moze, than his minde is able to conceyue: I saye with Augustine, that they are created of the Loꝝde, whome he without douyng forbucw that they should goe into destruction: and that it was so done, bicause

Ro. 17. 11.

1 Co. 13. 12.

1 Tim. 6.

14.



bicause he so willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to ask a reason of it, who can not comprehend it: neither is it mete that the will of God should come downe into cōtrouersie amōg vs, of whiche so oft as mention is made, vnder the name of it is named y<sup>e</sup> hiest rule of righteousness. Why therefore is any question moued of vnrightheousnesse where righteousness cleerly appereth: Neither let vs be ashamed, after the exāple of Paule, so to stoppe the mouthes of the wicked, & frō time to time so oft as thei shalbe bold to barke against it, to repete this, Whoe be ye miserable men, y<sup>e</sup> lay an accusation to Gods charge, & do therfore lay it to his charge bicause he doth not tēper the greatnesse of his workes to your dulnesse: As though thei were therfore wrōgful, bicause they are hidden frō flesh. The vnrimesurableness of y<sup>e</sup> iudgements of God is by cleare experiences knowen vnto you. Ye know that they are called the depe bottomlesse depth. Nowe aske of the narrow capacities of your witt, whether they cōprehend that whiche God hath decreed with himself. What good doth it you therfore with mad searchyng to plunge your selues into the bottōlesse depth, which reason it self teacheth you that it shalbe to your destruction? Why are ye not at the least restrained with some feare of that whiche both the historie of Job and the bookes of the Prophetes do report of the incomprehensible wisdom, & terrible power of God. If thy minde be vnquieted, let it not greue thee to embrace the counsell of Augustine. Thou beyng a man lokest for an answer at my hand: and I also am a mā. Therfore let vs both heare him that sayth: O mā, what art thou? Better is a faithfull ignorāce than rash knowledge. Seke merites: thou shalt finde nothing but paine. O depth, Peter denieth: y<sup>e</sup> these be leneth: O depth, Sekest thou a reason? I wil trēble at the depth. Reason thou, I will wonder: dispute thou, I will beleue: I see depth, but I reache not the bottome. Paule rested, bicause he found wondering. He calleth the iudgements of God vnsearchable: & art thou come to search them? He sayth that his wayes are impossible to be traced out: and doest thou trace them? with procedyng further we shall nothyng profit: For neyther we shall satisfie their waye wanton curiousnesse, neyther doth the Lord neede any other defense, than whiche he hath bled by his Spirit, whiche spake by the mouth of Paule: & we forget to speake well, when we cesse to speake with God.

Their other obiection also ariseth out of vngodlinesse, which yet sēdeth not so directly to the accusing of God as to the excusing of the sinner. Howebeit the sinner which is condēned of God, can not be iustified without dishonoz of the iudge. Thus therefore prophane tonges do bark agaynst God, sayeng: why hold God impute those things for sinne to men, wherof he hath by his predestinatiō layed necessitie vpon men: for, what should thei do? Should thei wrastle with his decrees? But so should thei do it in vaine, si the they cā not do it at al. Therfore they are not rightfully punished for those things, wherof y<sup>e</sup> chete cause is in Gods predestinatiō. Here I will absteyne frō y<sup>e</sup> defense, wherunto y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiastical wryters do cōmonly flee, namely that y<sup>e</sup> foreknowledge of God withstādeth not but y<sup>e</sup> mā may be accōpted the sinner: bicause God foreseeth the euels of man, not his owne. For so y<sup>e</sup> cauillatiō wold not stay here, but will rather presse vs further w<sup>th</sup> sayeng y<sup>e</sup> God might if he had would, haue prouided remedie for those euels which he fore-

Ps. xxxi.

August. de  
uerb. apost.  
serm. 20.

6



saw: and that sith he hath not so done, he hath of determined purpose  
 created men to that end that he should so behaue himself in earth: and  
 if by the prouidence of God, man was created to this condition, y<sup>e</sup> he  
 should do al those thinges that he doeth: thē he is not to be blamed for  
 that which he can not auoyde, & which he enterprised by y<sup>e</sup> wil of God.  
 Therfore let vs see how this knot ought to be well loosed. First of all  
 this ought to be holdē certaine among al men whiche Salomō sayth,  
 y<sup>e</sup> God hath created all thinges for himself, & the wicked mā to an euell  
 day. Behold, when the dispising of al thinges is in y<sup>e</sup> hād of God, whē in  
 his power remaineth the rule of safetie & death: he so ordereth thē by  
 his counsell & beck, that among men there are bozne some adiudged euē  
 from their mothers wōbe to death, which w<sup>th</sup> their destructiō may glo-  
 rifie his name. If any man answer, y<sup>e</sup> there is no necessitie layed vpon  
 them by the prouidence of God, but rather y<sup>e</sup> he created them in suche  
 estate, bicause he foresaw their peruersnesse to come: he neither sayth  
 nothing at al, nor altogether. The old wryters are wont in deede some-  
 times to vse this solutiō: but as it were doubtingly. But the Schole-  
 men rest vpon it, as though nothing could be obiected agaynst it. In  
 deede I wil willingly graunt, y<sup>e</sup> foreknowledge alone byngeth no ne-  
 cessitie to creatures, although al men do not so agree: for there be some  
 that wil haue it also to be the cause of things. But it semeth to me that  
 Walla, a mā otherwise not much practised in holy wrytings, saw both  
 moze depely and moze wisely, which shewed that this cōtention is su-  
 perfluous: bicause bothe life & death are rather the doynges of Gods  
 will than of his foreknowledge. If God did but foresee the succeses of  
 mē, & did not also dispose & order them by his wil, thē this questiō should  
 not w<sup>th</sup>out cause be moued, whether his foreseeyng any thing auailed to  
 the necessitie of them. But sith he doth none otherwise foresee y<sup>e</sup> thinges  
 y<sup>e</sup> shal come to passe, than bicause he hath decreed y<sup>e</sup> they should so come  
 to passe: it is vaine to moue cōtrouersie about foreknowledge, where it  
 is certaine that al thinges do happē rather by ordināce & cōmādemēt.

7  
 Thei say that this is not wryttē in expresse wordes, that it was de-  
 creed of God, that Adam should perish by his falling away. As though  
 the same God, whō the Scripture reporteth to do what soeuer he wil,  
 created the noblest of all his creatures to an vncertaine end. Thei say  
 he had freewill, that he might shape to himself his owne fortune: & that  
 God decreed nothing, but to hādle him according to his deseruing. If  
 so cold a deuise be receyued, where shalbe that almightinesse of God,  
 whereby he gouerneth al thinges according to his secret counsell, which  
 hangeth vpon none other thing than it self: But predestination, whe-  
 ther they wil or no, sheweth himself in Adams posteritie. For it came  
 not to passe naturally that all men should lose saluation by the faule  
 of one parent. What hindereth them to cōfesse of one man, that which  
 agaynst their willes they cōfesse of all mākinde: for why should they  
 lose their labour with dallyeng wiftes? The Scripture crieth out y<sup>e</sup>  
 all mē were in the persone of one man made bonde to eternall death.  
 Sith this can not be imputed to nature, it is playne that it proceded  
 from the wonderous counsell of God. But it is to much absurditie that  
 these good Patrones of the righteousnesse of God doe so stumble at  
 a strawe, and leape ouer great beames. Againe I aske: how came it to  
 passe, that the fall of Adam did wrappe by in eternall death so many  
 nations



nations with their children beyng infantes, without remedie, but because it so pleased God: Here their tonges whiche are otherwise so prating, must of necessitie be dūme. It is a terrible decree, I graunt: yet no man shalbe able to denie, but that God foreknew what end mā would haue, ere he created him, and therefore foreknew it bycause he had so ordeyned by his decree. If any man here inuey agaynste the foreknowledge of God, he rashly and vndiscretely stūbleth. For, what matter is there, I beseeche you, why the heauenly iudge should be accused for that he was not ignozant of that which was to come: Therefore if there be any eyther iuste or colorable complaynt, it toucheth predestination. Neyther ought it to serue an absurditie whiche I say, that God foresaw not onely the fall of the first man, & in him the ruine of his posteritie, but also disposed it after his owne will. For as it belongeth to his wisdom, to foreknow all thinges that shalbe: so it belongeth to his power, to rule and gouerne all thinges with his hand. And this question Augustine very well discusseth, as he doth other, sayeng: We most holsonly confesse that which we most rightly beleue, that the God and Lord of all thinges, which created all thinges very good, and foreknew that euell thinges should spring out of good, and knewe that it moze perteyned to his almighty goodnesse euen of euell thinges do well, than not to suffer them to be euell: that he so ordered the life of Angels and men, that in it he might firste shewe what free will could do, and then what the benefitt of his grace and iudgement of iustice could do.

Here they runne to the distinction of will and permission, by which they will haue it graunted that the wycked doe perish, God only permitting but not willing it. But why should we saye that he permitte it, but bycause he so willet. Howebeit it is not likely, that man by himself, by the onely permission of God, without any his ordinance, brought destruction to himself: as though God apointed not, of what condition he would haue the chiefe of his creatures to be. I therefore wil not dout to cofesse simply with Augustine, that y will of God is a necessitie of thinges & that what he willet, it must of necessitie come to passe: as those things shal truely come to passe which he hath foreseen. Now if for excuse of themselves and of the vngodly, eyther the Pelagians, or Manichees, or Anabaptistes, or Epicureans (for with these lower sectes we haue to do in this question) shall object against vs necessitie wherewith they be bound by the predestination of God: they bring nothing lit to the purpose. For if predestination be nothing els but a dispensation of righteousnesse of God, which is hidden in deede, but yet without faulte: For asmuch as it is certayne y they were not vnworthy to be predestinate to that estate, it is also as certayne that y destruction is mozte righteous whiche they entre into by predestination. Howeouer their destruction so hangeth vpon the predestination of God, that bothe cause and matter thereof is founde in themselves. For the first man fell, because the Lord so iudged it to be expedient: why he so iudged, is vnknewen to vs: yet it is certayne that he so iudged for no other reason but because he saw that therby the glozie of his name should be worthily set forth. When thou hearest mentio of y glozie of God, there thinke of his righteousnesse: For it must be righteous that

Enchir. ad  
Laur.

8

De Gen. ad.  
lecter. lib. 6.  
cap. 15.



Gen. l. p. 77  
 besetueth prayse. Man therefore falleth, the prouidence of God so ordaining it: but he falleth by his owne fault. The Lord had a litle before pronounced, that all the thinges whiche he had made were very good. Whence therefore cometh that peruersnesse to man, to fall away from his God: Least it should be thought to be of creation, the Lord with his commendation allowed that which came from himself. Therefore by his owne euellnesse he corrupted the nature whiche he had received pure of the Lord, and by his fall he drew his whole posteritie with him into destruction. Wherefore let vs rather beholde an euident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of mankinde, whiche is nerer to vs, than searche for a hidden & vtterly incōprehensible cause thereof in the predestination of God. Neyther let it greue vs so far to submit our wit to the vnmeasurable wisdom of God, that it may yeld in many secretes of his. For, of those thinges which it is neyther granted nor lawfull to know, the ignozance is well learned: the couetyng of knowlege, is a kinde of madnesse.

9  
 Some mā parhappes wil say, that I haue not yet brought enough to subdue that wicked creuse. But I verily confesse that it can neuer be brought to passe, but that vngodlinesse will alway grudge & murmur against it: yet I think that I haue spoken so much as might suffice to take away not only all reason but also all coloz of gainesaying. The reprobate wold be thought excusable in sinning, bicause they can not escape the necessitie of sinnyng: specially si the such necessitie is cast vpon them by the ordināce of God. But we denie that they are therby wel excused, bicause the ordināce of God, by whiche they cōplaine that they are destinate to destruction, hath his righteousnesse, vnknewē in deede to vs, but yet most certaine. Wherupō we cōclude, y they beare no euell which is not layed vpon them by the most righteous iugemēt of God. Then, we teache that they do ouerthwartly, which to seke out the beginning of their dānatiō, do bend their eyes to the secret closets to the counsel of God, and wink at the corrupted nature, frō whence their dānation springerh. And this withstandeth y they cā not impute it to God, for y he witnesseth of his owne creation. For although man is create by y eternal prouidēce of God to that calamitie, wherunto he is subiect: yet y mater therof he toke of himself, not of God: for as much as he is by no other meane so losse, but bicause he wente out of kinde from the pure creation of God into a corrupt & vnpure peruersnesse.

10  
 Now the aduersaries of Gods predestination do sclander it also w a thirde absurditie. For whē we impute it to nothing els but to y choise of the wil of God, that they are made free frō the vniuersal destructiō, whō he maketh heires of his kingdome, therby they gather y there is with him accepting of per sones, whiche y Scripture euery where denieth: & therefore, that either the Scripture disagreeeth with it self, or that in the electiō of God there is respect of deseruinges. First, y scripture in an other sense denieth, y God is an acceptor of per sones, thā as they iudge it. For by the name of Personē, it signifieth not a man, but those thinges which beyng seen with eyes in man are wont to procure either fauoz, grace, & dignitie, or hatred, cōtempt, & shame: as, richesse, wealth, power, nobilitie, office, contree, excellencie of beautie, & such other: on the other side pouertie, neede, basenesse, vilenesse, contēpt, and such



such other. So Peter and Paule do teache that the Lord is not an acceptor of persones, because he putteth not difference betwene the Jewe & the Grecian, to refuse the one & embrace y other for only respecte of nation. So James bleseth the same wordes whē he mindeth to affirme, that God in his iudgement nothing regardeth richesse. But Paule in an other place speaketh thus of God, that in iudgynge he hath no consideration of freedome or bondage. Wherefoze there shal be no contrarietie if we shal say y God accoꝝdyng to the will of his good pleasure without any deseruyng cholet to his sonnes whom he wil, reiecting & refusing other. But the matter may thus be opened, that men may be moze fully satisfied. They aske howe it cometh to passe, that of two betwene whome no deseruyng putteth any difference, God in his electing passeth over the one & taketh the other. I on y other side do aske them, whether thei thinke that in him that is taken there is any thing y may make the minde of God to encline toward him. If thei confesse (as thei needes must) y there is nothing, it shal folow y god loketh not vpon mā, but frō his owne goodnesse fetcheth a cause why to do good to him. Wheras therfoze God chooseth one mā, refusing an other, this cometh not of respect of man, but of his mercie alone, whiche ought to haue libertie to shew forth and vtter it self where and whē it pleaseh him. For we haue in an other place also shewed, that there were not from the beginning many called noble, or wise, or honozable, that God might humble the pride of flesh: so far is it of, that his fallow was bound to persones.

Wherefoze many do falsly & wickedly accuse God of partial vnrigh-  
teousnesse, for y he doth not in his pꝛedestination kepe one self course to-  
ward al men. If (say thei) he finde a guilty, let him egally punish all: yf  
he finde them vngilty, let him withhold the rigoꝝ of his iudgement  
from all. But so they deale with him, as if eyther mercie were foꝝbid-  
den him, or when he would haue mercie he be compelled altogether to  
geue ouer his iudgement. What is it that they require: if all be guilty,  
that al may together suffer all one peyne. We graunt the guiltinesse to  
be comon, but we say that the mercie of God helpeth some. Let it help  
all, say they. But we answer, that it is rightfull that he should also in  
punishyng shew himself a rightfull iudge. When they suffer not this,  
what do they els but eyther goe about to spoyl God of his power to  
haue mercie, or at leaste to graunt it him vpon this condition, that he  
vtterly geue ouer his iudgmēt. Wherefoze these sayengs of Augustine  
do very wel agree together. Sithe in the first man the whole masse of  
mankinde fell into condemnation, these vessels that are made of it to  
honoz, are not y vessels of their own righteousnesse, but of y mercie of  
God: & wheras other are made to dishonoz, the same is not to be im-  
puted to vnrighfulness but to iudgement &c: That to those whom he  
refuseth, God redꝛeth due peyne: to those whome he calleth, he geueth  
vnderferued grace: that thei are deliuered from al accusation, after the  
manner of a creditoꝝ, in whose power it is, to foꝝgeue to the one, and  
aske of y other. Therfoze y Lord also may geue grace to whō he wil,  
bycause he is mercifull: & geue it not to all, because he is a iust iudge.  
He may by geuing to some, y which they do not deserue, shew his free  
grace: and by not geuing to all, declare what all deserue. For wheras

Act. 10.  
Rom. 11.  
Gal. 3.  
1 Cor. 13.  
Jam. 2. 1.  
Col. 3. 11.  
Eph. 6. 1.

Aug. ad  
Bonif. lib. 1  
cap. 7.

1. Cor. 13.  
1 Cor. 13.

11

Epist. 1  
de pꝛac  
& gra

De bono  
perfeu. 1  
12.



Rom. vi.  
vi.

Paule wryteth that God enclosed all vnder sinne, that he might haue mercie vpon all, it is therewithall to be added that he is dettor to no man: bicause no mā first gaue to him, that he may require like of him.

12

This also they often say, to ouerthrowe predestination, that while it standeth, all carefulnesse and endeuor of well doying falleth awaye. For whoe (say they) shall heare that eyther life or death is certainly appointed for him by the eternall decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his minde that it maketh no matter how he behaue himself, sithe the predestination of God can by his worke be nothing hindered or furthered: So shall al men dissolutely throw forth theselues, and after a desperate manner runne hedlong whether their lust shall carrie them. And verily they say not altogether falsly, for there be many swine, whiche with filthy blasphemies defile the doctrine of predestination, and by this pretense also do mocke out all admonishmentes & rebukynge, sayeng, God knoweth what he hath ones determined to do with vs: if he haue decreed our saluation, he wil bring vs to it at the time appointed: if he haue predestinate our death, we should trauaile in vaine to the contrarie. But the Scripture, when it teacheth with how much greater reuerence and religiousnesse we ought to think of so great a misterie, doth both instruct the godly to far other sense, and well cōfute these mens outrage. For it doth not speake of predestination to this ende, that we should be encouraged to boldnesse, and with vnlawful rashnesse attempt to searche the vnattained secretes of Gods: but rather that beyng humbled and abaced we should learne to tremble at his iudgement, & reuerently to loke vpon his mercie. To this mark the faithfull wil leuell theselues. As for that filthy groyning of swine, it is well confuted of Paul. They say that they goe carelesly forward in vices: bicause if they be of the nūber of the elect, their vices shall nothing hinder them, but that they shall at length be brought to life. But Paul telleth that we be to this ende, that we should leade a holy and faultlesse life. If the marke of that electiō is directed vnto be holinesse of life, it ought moze to awake and stirre vs vpon cherefully to practise that holinesse, than to serue for a clokyng of slouthfulnesse. For howe greatly do these thinges differ the one from the other: to cesse frō well doying, bicause election sufficeth to saluatiō: and that the appointed end of election is that we should applie our selues to the endeuor of good doynge. Away therfore with such sacrileges, which do wrongfully misturne the whole order of electiō. Where they stretch their blasphemies further, when they say that he whiche is reprobate of God, shall lose his labor if he goe about to make himselfe allowable to him with innocencie and honestie of life: therein they are taken with a most shamelesse lie. For, whense could such endeuor come but of election: For whosoener be of the nūber of the reprobate, as they are vessels made to dishonor, so they cesse not with continuall wicked doynge to prouoke the wrath of God agaynst themselues, and by euident tokens to confirme the iudgement of God whiche is already pronounced vpon them: so far be they from struyng with him in vaine.

1. iij.

13

But other do maliciously and shamefully sleaude this doctrine, as though it did overthrow al exhortatiōs to godly liuing. For which matter in olde time Augustine was burdened with a greate malice.

whiche



Which he wiped away with his booke of Correption and Grace wri-  
 ten to Valentine, the redyng whereof will appease al godly and trac-  
 table men: yet I wil touch a fewe thinges, which (as I trust) shall sa-  
 tisfie them that be honest and not contentious. We haue already seen  
 how open and lowde a preacher of the free election Paule was: was  
 he therfore colde in admonishyng and exhortyng? Let these good ze-  
 lous men compare their earnestnesse with his, & it shall be found in them  
 ise in comparison of his incredible heate. And truely this principle ta-  
 keth away all doutes, that we are not called to vncleannesse, but that  
 euery man should possesse his bestell in honoz, &c. Agayne, that we are  
 the handy worke of God created to good workes whiche he hath pre-  
 pared that we should walke in them. Summarily, they that are euen  
 but meanelly exercised in Paule, shall without long declaration easily  
 perceiue how fitly he maketh these thinges to agree, which they sayne  
 to disagree. Christ commaundeth that men beleue in him: yet is his  
 definitiue sentence neyther false nor contrarie to this commaundement,  
 where he sayth, Roman can come to me, but he to whome it is geuen  
 of my father. Let preachyng therfore haue his course, whiche maye  
 bring men to sayth, and with continuall profityng holde them faste in  
 perseuerance. Neither yet let the knowlege of predestination be hin-  
 dered, that they which obey may not be proude as of their owne, but  
 maye glozie in the Lord. Christ not for nothyng sayth, Whoe so hath  
 eares of hearyng, let him heare. Therfore when we exhorte & preach,  
 they that haue eares do willingly obey: but who so lack eares, in them  
 is fulfilled that whiche is wrytten, That hearyng they heare not. But  
 why (sayth Augustine) hold some haue, & other not haue: Whoe hath  
 knowen the minde of the Lord: Must that therfore be denied which  
 is open, bicause that can not be comprehēded whiche is hidden: These  
 saynges I haue faithfully reported out of Augustine: but bicause  
 paraduventure his wordes shall haue moze auctoritie than mine, goe  
 to, let vs bring forth the very wordes that are red in himself. If when  
 this is heard, many are turned into dulnesse and sluggishnesse, and  
 beyng enclined fro labour to lust do goe after their desires: ought that  
 therfore to be accompted false whiche is spoken of the foreknowlege  
 of God: If God haue foreknowen that they shall be good, shall they not  
 be good, in how great euellnesse soeuer they nowe liue: and if he haue  
 foreknowen that they wil be euell, shall they not be euell, in how great  
 goodnesse soeuer they be nowe seen: Shall therfore those thinges which  
 are truely spokē of the foreknowlege of God, be for such causes either  
 to be denied or to be left vnsspoken of: namely then when if they be not  
 spoken of, men goe into errozs: The rule (sayth he) to kepe truthe vn-  
 spoken, is one thing, and the necessitie to speake truth is an other. As  
 for the causes of leauyng truth vnsspoken, it were long to search them  
 out al: of whiche yet this is one, that they be not made worse whiche  
 vnderstande it not, while we meane to make them moze learned that  
 vnderstand it, whoe when we speake any such thing are in deede not  
 made moze learned, nor yet are made worse. But when a true thing  
 is in such case, that when we speake it, he is made worse that can not  
 conceiue it: and when we speake it not, he is made worse that can con-  
 ceiue it: what thinke we now to be done: is not the truth rather to be

1. Thel  
 bit.  
 Eph. ii

John.  
 lii.

Mat. v  
 li.

Esa. vi.  
 Lib. de  
 no perse  
 cap. 15.

Cap. i. 6.



spoken, that he maye conceiue it, that can conceyue it: that kepe it vn-  
spoken, that not only neither of them maye conceiue it, but also he that  
moze vnderstandeth may be the woꝛse: wheras if he did heare & con-  
ceiue it, by him also many shold learne: And we wil not say that which,  
as the Scripture witnesseth, we lawfully might haue spokē. For we  
feare forsothe least when we speake, he be offended that can not con-  
ceiue it: but we feare not least while we holde our peace, he that can  
conceyue truthe be deceiued with falshed. Whiche sentence he at the  
last shortly knittynge vp, moze plainly also confirmeth. Wherefoze if  
the Apostles & they which followed them, the doctozs of the Church,  
did both, namely both godlyly preache of the eternall election of God,  
and holde the saythfull in awe vnder the discipline of godly life: why  
doe these our aduersaries beyng confuted with inuincible violence of  
truthe, thinke that they saye well in sayeng that that whiche is spo-  
ken of predestination is not to be preached to the people although it  
be true. yea it must in any wise be preached, that he which hath eares  
to heare may heare. But who hath eares if he haue not receiued them  
fro him that promisseth that he will geue them? Cruely let him ꝑ recei-  
ueth not, refuse it: so that yet he which receiueith it, do take & drinke, do  
drinke & liue. For as godlinesse is to be preached, ꝑ God may be rightly  
woꝛshipped: so is also predestination, that he whiche hath eares to  
heare of the grace of God, may glozie in God and not in himself.

And yet that holy man, as he had a singular desire to edifie, so tem-  
pereth the manner of teaching the truthe, that offense be wisely auoy-  
ded so far as it lawfully maye be. For he sheweth that those thinges  
which are truely sayd, maye also be conueniently sayd. If any man do  
thus preache to the people. If ye beleue not, the cause is for that ye  
are already predestinate of God to destruction: suche a man doth not  
only cherish slouthfulnesse, but also maineteyne wickednesse. If any  
man also stretch his sayeng to the time to come, and saye that they  
whiche heare, shall not beleue, bicause they are reprobate: this shall be  
rather a cursyng than a teachyng. Such therfoze Augustine not vn-  
woꝛthily biddeth to departe from the Church, as foolish teachers, and  
vnlucky and ill prophecieng Prophetes. In an other place he truely  
affirmeth that it is to beholden that a man then profiteth with rebu-  
kyng, when he hath mercie and helpeth whiche maketh to profit  
whome he wil, euen without rebukyng. But why some thus, & some  
otherwise? God forbiddeth, that that we should saye that the power of  
iudgyng belougeth rather to the claye than to the pottier. Agayne af-  
terward. When men by rebuking either come oz retorne into the way  
of righteousnes, who woꝛketh saluatiō in their heartes but he which  
when any whosoever he be planted & watereth, geueth the encrease,  
whom when he wil saue, no freewill of man resisteth: It is therfoze  
not to be doubted that the willes of men can not resist the will of God  
(which both in heauen & earth hath done what soeuer he would, and  
which hath also done those thinges that are to come) but that he may  
do what he wil, for asmuch as euen of the very willes of men he doth  
what he wil. Agayne, whē he wil leade mē to him, doth he binde them  
w cozpozal bondes: he inwardly woꝛketh, inwardly holdeth heartes,  
inwardly moueth heartes, & draweth them with their willes which he  
himself



himself hath made in the. But, that which he by and by addeth ought in no wise to be omitted: that because we know not whome belongeth or not belongeth to the number of the predestinate, we ought so to be affectioned that we would all men to be saued. So shall it come to passe, that whome soeuer we finde, we shall trauaile to make him partaker of peace. But our peace shall rest vpon the childen of peace. Therfore for our part, we must applie holme and sharp rebuking to all men like a medicine, that they perish not, nor destroye other, but it shall be the worke of God to make it profitable to them whome he hath foreknown and predestinate.

### The. xxiii. Chapter.

**T**hat Election is stablished by the calling of God: but that the reprobate do byng vpon themselves the iust destruction wherunto they are apoynted.

**B**Ut, that the matter maye moze plainely appere, we must entreate bothe of the calling of the elect, and of the blinding and hardening of the wicked. Of the first of these I haue already spoken somewhat, when I confuted their error, whiche thing that the generalnesse of the promises extendeth egally to all mankind. But this election which otherwise God hath hidden with himselfe he doth not without choyle at length disclose by his calling, which a man maye therefore call the testifieng of it. For, whome he hath foreknown, them he hath also foreappointed to be fashioned like the image of his sonne: whome he hath foreappointed, them he hath also called: whome he hath called, them he hath also iustified, that in time to come he maye glozifie them. When the Lord hath by electing already adopted his into the number of his childen: yet we see how they entre not into possession of so great a benefit, but when they be called: on the other side, how beyng called they do now enioye a certaine communicatng of his election. For whiche reason Paule calleth the Spirit whiche they receiue, bothe the Spirit of adoption, and the seale, and earnest of the inheritance to come: namely because it doeth with the testimonie thereof stablish and seale to their heartes the assurednesse of the adoptio to come. For though y prechng of the Gospell spryng out of the fountayne of election: yet because it is also comon to the reprobate, therfore it could not by it it selfe be a sure profe thereof. But God effectually teacheth his elect, that he may byng them to sayth: as we haue before alleged out of the wordes of Christ. Whoe so is of God, he & none other seeth the Father. Againe, I haue shewed thy name to the men whome thou haste geuen me: whereas he sayth in an other place, No man can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. Whiche place Augustine wisely wryeth, whose wordes are these. If (as Trueth sayth) euery one that hath learned, cometh: who soeuer cometh not, certainly neyther hath he learned. It doth not therfore folow that he which can come, also cometh, vnlesse he haue bothe willed and done it. But euery one that hath learned of the fathet, not only can come, but also cometh, whē now there is present bothe the profit of comming, and the affection of willyng, and the effect

Rom. vii.  
viii.

Ro. viii.  
Eph. i. p

Jh. vi. p  
Jh. xvi. 1  
Johu. v  
xliii.  
Lib. de  
Grat. Chr  
sti. contr  
Pelag. c  
Celest. ca  
14. & 31.



effect of doying. Also in an other place moze plainly. What is this els, Euery one that hath heard of the father, and hath learned, cometh to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the father and cometh not to me: For if euery one whiche hath heard of the father and learned, cometh: truly euery one that cometh not, hath not heard of the father, nor learned: for yf he had heard and learned, he would come. This schole is far from the senses of the flesh, in whiche schoole the father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the sonne. And a litle after. This grace which is secretly geuen to the heartes of me, is receyued of no hard heart: for it is therfore geuen, that the hardnesse of the heart may first be take away. When therfore the father is heard within, he taketh away the stony heart, and geueth a fleshy heart. For so he maketh the childzen of promise and vessels of mercie, whiche he hath prepared to glozie. Why therfore doth he not teache all, that they maye come to Christ, but bicause all whome he teacheth, by mercie he teacheth: whome he doth not teache, by iudgement he doth not teache: by cause he hath mercie vpon whome he will, & hardeneth whome he will. Therfore God assigneth them for childzen to himself, and appointeth himself father to them, whome he hath chosen. For by calling he bringeth them in to his householde, & vniteth himselfe to them, that they maye be one together. But when Calling is ioyned to Election, in that manner the Scripture sufficiently signifieth that in it nothing is to be required but the mercie of God. For if we aske, who he calleth and for what reason: he answereth, whome he had elected. But when we come ones to election, there the only mercie of God appereth on euery side. And here that sayeng of Paul truely hath place, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie: Neyther yet that same so as they comonly take it, which part it betwene the grace of God, and the willyng & runnyng of man. For they expound it, that the desire and endeuor of man haue in deede no force of themselues, vnlesse they be prospered by the grace of God: but when they are holpen by his blessing, then they affirme that they haue also their partes in obteynnyng saluation. Whose cauillation I had rather confute with Augustines wordes than mine owne: If the Apostle meant nothyng els but that it is not of him only that willeth or runneth, vnlesse the Lord be there present mercifull: we maye contrarywise turue it agaynst them and saye that it is not of only mercie, vnlesse there be present willyng and runnyng. But if this be openly wicked, let vs not dout that the Apostle geueth al to the mercie of the Lord, and leaueeth nothyng to our willes or endeuors. To this effect speaketh that holy man. And I set not a straw by that nice sutteltie, that they say that Paul would not haue so sayd vnlesse there had ben some endeuor and some will in vs. For he did not consider what was in man: but when he sawe that some did assigne part of saluation to the endeuor of men, he simply condemned their erroz in the first parte of the sentence, and in the second he chalèged the whole summe of saluation of the mercie of God. And what other thing do the Prophetes trauaile about, but continually to preache the free calling of God?

2  
Moreouer the very nature also and dispensation of Calling doth clearly shew it, which consisteth not in the only preaching of the word, but

De pr. edf.  
sanct. ca. 8.

Ro. 4. 16.

Exchir. ad  
Laurent.  
cap. 31.



but also in the enlightening of the Spirit. To whome God offereth his word, is shewed vs in the prophet: I am foūd of them that sought me not: I haue openly appered to them that did not aske for me. To a people whiche hath not called vpon my name I haue sayd, Loe I am present. And least the Jewes should thinke that this kindenesse belōged only to the Gentles, he doth also put them in remembrance from whence he toke their father Abraham, when he vouchesaued to ioyne him to himself, namely from mere idolatrie, in whiche he was drowned with all his. When he first shi[n]eth with the light of his worde to men not deseruyng it, he therein sheweth an example playne enough of his free goodnesse. Herc therefore the vnmeasurable goodnesse of God sheweth forth it self, but not buto saluation to all: bicause for the reprobate there abideth a moze greuous iudgement, for that they refuse the testimonie of the will of God. And God also, to set forth his glorie, withdraueth frō them the effectual force of his Spirit. Therefore this inward callng is a pledge of saluation, whiche can not deceyue vs. For which purpose maketh that sayeng of John, Thereby we know that we are his childzen, by the Spirit which he hath geuē vs. And least flesh should glozie, that it dyd at the least answer to him when he called and of his owne will offered himself, he affirmeth that it hath no eares to heare, no eyes to see, but whiche he hath made: and that he maketh them, not accoꝝdyng to euery mans thankfulnessse, but accoꝝdyng to his owne election. Of which thing you haue a notable example in Luke, where bothe Jewes and Gentiles in common together heard the preaching of Paule and Barnabas. Wheras they were at that time all taught with one selfe same word, it is sayde that they beleued whiche were ozdeyned to euerlastyng life. With what face may we denie that the Calling is free, in whiche euen to the very last part election reigneth alone?

But here we must beware of two erroꝝ: bicause many make man a woꝝker together with God, that he by his consent maye make the election to be of force: so by their opinion, the will of man is aboue the counsell of God. As though the Scripture did teache, that it is onely geuē vs that we may beleue, and not rather sayth it self. Other some, although they do not so weaken the grace of the Holy ghost: yet beyng led by I wote not what reason, hange election vpon faith as though it were doubtful, yea and vneffectual vntil it be confirmed by faith. It is in deede certaine that it is confirmed, as toward vs: and we haue already shewed that the secret counsel of God beginneth to shine out, whiche was befoze hidden: so that by this worde you vnderstand nothyng els, than that it is approued which was vnknown, and is as it weare sealed with a seale. But it is falsly sayd, that election is then and not till then effectual, when we haue embraced the Gospell, and that therof it taketh liuely strēgth. We must in deede from thense fetch the certaintie of it: bicause if we attempt to reache vnto the eternall ordinance of God, that deepe bottomlesse depth will swallow vs vp. But when God hath opened it vnto vs, we must climbe vp hier, least the effect should drowne y cause. For what greater absurditie oz shameful vniustice is there, than that when the Scripture teacheth that we are enlightened as God hath chosen vs, our eyes should be so da-  
seled

Esa. lxx.

Job. xxii. iii.

1. John. i. xiiii.

Act. xiii. xiiii.

3



seled with this light, that they should refuse to loke vpon electiō: Yet in the meane time I denie not, that to the ende we maye be certayne of our saluation, we must beginne at the woꝝd, and that our affiaice ought therewith to be contented, that we maye call vpon God by the name of Father. For some quite contrarie to righte order, that they maye be certified of the counsell of God (which is nere vnto vs, in our mouth and in our heart) do couet to flie aboue the cloudes. Therefore that rashnesse is to be restrained with sobrietie of faith, that it maye suffice vs that God in his outward woꝝde is a witnessse of his hidden grace: to that the conduit pipe out of whiche there floweth water largely for vs to drinke, doe not hinder but that the springhed maye haue his due honoz.

4 Therefore as they do wrongfully, whiche hang the strength of election vpon the faith of the gospel, by which faith we fele that electiō perteyneth to vs: so we shall kepe the beste order, if in sekynge the certaintie of our election, we sticke fast in these later signes, whiche are sure witnessinges of it. Satan doth with no tētation either moze greuously, or moze dangerously astonish the faithful, than when disquieting them with doubt of their election, he doth also moue them with a peruerse desire to seke it out of the way. I cal it sekynge out of the way, when a wretched man enterpriseth to bzeake into the hidden secretes of the wisdomē of God, and to pearce euen to the hiest eternitie to vnderstand what is determined of himself at the iudgemēt seate of God. For then he throweth himselfe hedlong to be swallowed vp into the depth of the vnumeasurable deuourynge pit, then he wrappeth himselfe with innumerable snares and such as he cā not winde out of: then he ouerwhelmeth himselfe with the bottōlesse depth of blinde darknesse. For so is it rightfull that the foolishnesse of the wit of mā be punished with so horrible ruine, when he attempteth of his owne force to rise vp to the height of the wisdomē of God. And so much moze deadly is this tentation, as there is none to which we are cōmonly all moze bēt. For there is most rarely any man to be found, whose minde is not sometime stricken with this thought. Whence hast thou saluation, but of the Election of God: And of Election what reuelation hast thou: whiche thought, if it haue ones taken place in any man, eyther perpetually bereth the miserable man with terrible tormentes, or vtterly dismayeth him. Cruely I would haue no surer argument than this experiēce to proue, howe wrongfully such men imagine of predestination. For the minde can be infected with no erroꝝ moze pestilent, thā that which plucketh downe and thrusteth the conscience from her peace and quietnesse toward God. Therefore if we feare shipwreck, we muste diligently beware of this rocke, whiche is neuer stryken vpon without destruction. And though the disputynge of predestination bee esteemed like a dangerous Sea, yet in passynge through it there is found a safe and quiet yea and pleasant saylynge, vnlesse a man doe wilfully couet to be in danger. For as they do drowne themselues in the deadly bottomlesse depth, whiche to be certified of their election doe enquire of the secret Counsell of God without his woꝝde: so they whiche doe rightly and orderly searche it in suche sorte as it is conteyned in the woꝝde, receyue thereof a singular frute of comfozt. Let this therefore  
be



be our way to searche it, that we beginne at the calling of God, & ende in the same. Howebeit this withstandeth not, but that the faithfull may thinke that the benefites whiche they dayly receiue at the hande of God, doe descend from that secret adoption: as they saye in *Esaye*, Thou haste done maruells, thy thoughtes are olde, true, and faithfull: for asmuch as by that adoption as by a token, the Lordes will is to cōfirme so much as is lawfull to be knowē of his cōsel. But least any man should thinke this a weake testimonie, let vs consider how much bothe clearenesse and certaintie it bringeth vs. Of whiche thing *Bernard* speaketh fitly. For after that he had spoken of the reprobate, he sayth: The purpose of God standeth, the sentence of peate standeth vpon them that feare him, bothe coueryng their euels, and rewarding their good thynges: so as to them after a maruellous manner not on-ly good thinges, but also euell doe worke together vnto good. Whoe shall accuse the elect of God? It sufficeth me to all righteousnesse, to haue him alone mercifull, to whome alone I haue sinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute to me, is so as yf it neuer had ben. And a litle after: O place of true reste, and to whiche not vnworthily I maye geue the name of a bedchamber, in whiche God is seene not as troubled with wrath, not as withholden with care, but his wil is pro-ued in him good, and well pleasynge, and perfect. This sight doth not make afrayde, but calmeth: doth not stirre vp vnquiet curiosnesse, but appeaseth it: doth not wery the senses, but quietet them. Here is quiet truely taken. God beyng appeased, appeaseth all thynges: and to beholde him quiet, is to be quiet.

First if we seke a fatherly kindenesse and fauorable minde of God, we must turne our eyes to Christ, in whome alone the soule of the father resteth. If we seke saluation, lyfe, and the immortallite of the heauenly kingdome, we muste then also flee to no other: for asmuch as he alone is bothe the fountayne of lyfe, and authoz of saluation, and heir of the kingdome of Heauen. Howe whereto serueth elec-tion, but that beyng adopted of the heauenly father into the degree of chyldren, we maye by his fauour obteyne saluation and immorta-litie: Howe so euer in sekyng thou tollest and shake it, yet thou shalt finde that the vttermoste marke of it extendeth no further. Therefore whome God hath taken to his chyldren, it is not sayd that he hath cho-sen them in themselues, but in his Christ: bycause he could not loue them but in him, nor geue them the honour of the inheritance of his kingdome, vnlesse they had firste ben made partakers of him. If we be chosen in him, we shall not finde in our selues the certaintie of our election: no, nor yet in God the father, yf we imagine him naked without the Sonne. Christ therefore is the mirrour, in whome we bothe muste, and without deceite maye behold our election. For sithe it is he into whose bodie the father hath apoynted to graffe all them whome from eternitie he hath willed to be his, that he maye take for his chyldren so many as he reknowlegeth amonge his members: we haue a witnesse playne and sure enough, yf we are wrytten in the boke of life, if we cōmunicate with Christ. And yf sure cōmuniō of himself he gaue vs, when by the preaching of the Gospel he testified that he was geuen

Esa. 34.

5  
Matt. iii.  
p. 11:

Eph. i. 11.



Rom. vii. geuen to vs of the father, that he with all his good things should be  
 ppi. oures. We are sayd to put on him, & to growe together into him, that  
 we maye liue: because he liueth. So oft is this doctrine repeted, The  
 Jh. iii. xv. father spared not his only begotten sonne, that whosoever beleueth  
 Jh. v. piii in him, maye not perish. But he that beleueth in him, is sayd to haue  
 John. vi. passed from death into life. In which sense he calleth himself the bred  
 ppi. of life, which who so eateth, he shall not die for euer. He (I say) hath be  
 a witnesse to vs, that they shall be receyued of the heauenly father in  
 place of his children, of whome he hath ben receiued by sayth. If we  
 couet any moze than to be accompted among the children and heires  
 of God, then we maye climbe aboue Christ. If this be our vttermoste  
 marke: how much be we mad in sekyng without him that whiche we  
 haue already obtained in him, and which maye be found in him alone?  
 Mozeouer sithe he is the eternal wisdom, the vchangeable truth,  
 and faste settled counsell of the father: it is not to be feared least that  
 which he declareth to vs in his word, should varie any thing be it ne-  
 uer so litle from that will of the father whiche we seke: but rather he  
 faithfully openeth it vnto vs, such as it was from the beginnyng, and  
 euer shall be. The practise of this doctrine ought also to be in vse in  
 prayers. For though the faith of electio doth encourage vs to cal vpon  
 God: yet when we make our prayers, it were vnozderly done to thrust  
 it into the presence of God, or to couenant with this condition. Lord,  
 if I be elected, heare me: for as much as he willeth vs to be content with  
 his promises, and no where els to seke whether he wil be entreatable  
 to vs or no. This wisdom shall deliuer vs from many snares, if we  
 can skill to applie that to a right vse whiche hath ben rightly writtten:  
 but let vs not vndiscretely draw hether and thither that which ought  
 to haue ben restrayned.

6 There is also for stablisyng of our affiance an other stape of elec-  
 tion, whiche we haue sayd to be ioynd with our calling. For, whome  
 Christ taketh beyng enlightened with the knowlege of his name into  
 the bosome of his Church, them he is sayd to receiue into his faith &  
 protection. And whome so euer he receiueth, they are sayd to be com-  
 mitted to him of the father, and deliuered to his trust, that they maye  
 be kept into eternall life. What meane we? Christ crieth out with a  
 lowde voyce, that so many as the father willeth to be saued, he hath  
 deliuered them into his protection. Therefore if we list to know whe-  
 ther God haue care of our safetie, let vs seke whether he hath com-  
 mitted vs to Christ, whome he hath made the onely sauioz of all his.  
 Some if we dout whether we bee receyued of Christ into his sayth  
 and keepyng, he pzeuenteth our doutyng, when he voluntarily offreth  
 himself to be our shepheard, and pronounceth that we shall be in the  
 number of his shepe if we heare his voyce. Let vs therefore embrace  
 Christ, beyng liberally set open for vs, and coming to mete vs: he shall  
 number vs in his flocke, and shall kepe vs enclosed with in his folde.  
 But there entreth into vs a carefulnesse of our state to come. For as  
 Paul teacheth that they are called, which were before chosen: so Christ  
 sheweth that many are called, but few are chosen. yea and also Paule  
 himselfe in an other place diuorteth vs from carefulnesse: Let him  
 that standeth (sayth he) loke that he fall not. Againe, Art thou grafted  
 into

John. vi.  
 ppi. and  
 ppi. vi.

Joh. i. iii.

Rom. vii.  
 ppi.  
 Mat. ppi.  
 ppi.  
 i. Cor. i.  
 ppi.



into the people of God: Be not proude, but feare: for God is able to cut the of againe that he maye graffe other. Finally wee are sufficiently taught by experience it selfe, that calling and faith are of small value, vnlesse there be adioyned continuance which happeneth not to al me. But Christ hath deliuered vs from thys care: for verily these promyses haue respect to the time to come. All that my father geueth mee, shall come to me: and him that shall come to mee, I will not cast him oute of doers. Againe, This is the will of him that sente me, the father, that I lose nothing of al things that he hath geuen me, but may raise them vp againe in the last day. Againe. Whoe heare my voice and thei folowe me: I knowe them, and I geue them eternall life, and thei shall not perishe for ever, neither shall any man take them out of my hande. The father which gaue them to me, is greater then all: and no man can take them out of the hande of my father. Now when he pronounceth, Euery tree whiche my father hathe not planted, shall be plucked vp by the roote: he signifieth on the contrary side, that thei can neuer be plucked from saluation, which haue roote in God. Wherewith agreeth that saieng of Ihon, If thei had ben of vs, thei had not at all gone out from vs. Herebpon also commeth that noble glozieng of Paul against Life and Death, present thinges and thinges to come: which glozieng must nedes be grounded vpon the gift of continuance. Neyther is it any doubt that he directeth this saieng to all the faithfull. In an other place the same Paul saith. He that hath begonne in you a good worke, shall ende it euen vntil the day of Christ. As also Dauid, when his faith fainted, leaned vpon this stay: Thou shalt not forsake the worke of thy handes. And nowe neither is this doubtfull, that Christ when he prayeth for all the faithfull, asketh the same thinge for them whiche he asketh for Peter, that their faith maye neuer faint. Whereby we gather, that thei are out of danger of falling awaie, bycause the sonne of God, askinge stedfaste continuance for their godlinesse, suffered no deniall. What woulde Christe haue vs to learne hereby, but that wee shoulde truste that we shall perpetually be safe, bicause we are ones made his.

But it dayly happeneth, that thei whiche semed to be Christes, do agayne reuolt from him & fal. yea & in the very same place where he affirmeth that none had perished of them which were geuen him of the father, yet he excepteth the sonne of perdition. That is true in dede: but this is also as certaine, that such did neuer cleaue to Christ with that affiance of heart w<sup>ch</sup> whiche I saie & the assurednesse of our election ys stablished. Thei went out from vs (saith Ihon) but thei were not of vs: for if thei had ben of vs, thei had still taried with vs. Neither do I deny that thei haue like signes of calling as the elect haue: but I do not graunt that thei haue that sure stablishment of election which I bidde the faithfull to fetch out of the worde of the Gospell. Wherfore let not suche examples moue vs but that we quietly reste vpon the promise of the Lord, where he pronounceth, & al thei are geuen to him of the father, which receiue him with true faith, of whom sith he is their keper & Pastor, none shall perishe. Of Judas we shall speake hereafter. Haule doth not counsell Christians from assurednesse altogether, butte from carelesse and loose assurednesse of the fleshe, whiche draweth w<sup>ch</sup> it, pride, presumptio, and disdaine of other, and quenchereth humilitie and

Ihon. vii.  
ffrou. f

Jo. i. xvi

Matt. xiii.

i. Ihon. i.  
ff  
Rom. viii.  
ffvii.Philip. i.  
xvi.Psalme. c.  
ffviii. viiiLuc. xxi.  
ffxii

7

Ihon. xvi.  
ffii.

i. Jh. ii. xix

Jh. iii. xvi.  
f. vi. ffvii



Of the manner howe to receiue

the reuerence of God, & bringeth forgetfulnes of grace receiued. For he speaketh to þe Gentiles, whome he teacheth, þe thei ought not proudly & bngently to reproche þe Jewes for this, that the Jewes beinge disherited, thei were set in their stede. Feare also he requireth, not whereto thei sholde be dismaied & stagger, but whych framing vs to þe humbler receiuing of the grace of God, shold abate nothing of þe affiance therof, as we haue said in an other place. Beside þe, he doth not there speake to enery mā particularly, but to þe sectes theselues generally. For when þe Church was diuided into two parts, & ennie bred dissensio, Paul putteth þe Gētiles in minde þe their beig supplied into þe place of þe peculiar & holy people, ought to bee to the a cause of feare & modesty. And among the ther wer many puffed vp w glozy, whose vaine bostig it was profitable to beat downe. But we haue in an other place shewed, þe our hope is extended to þe time to come euen beyonde death, & þe nothing is more contrarye to the nature of it, than to doubtte what shall become of vs.

8 That saieng of Christ, of many being called but few chosen, is very il take after þe māner. Ther shalbe nothing doubtful if we hold faste þe which ought to be clere by þe things aboue spokē, þe ther ar two sortz of calling. For ther is an vniuersal calling wherby through þe outward preaching of þe word, God calleth al together to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto þe sauour of death, & vnto matter of more greuous cōdemnatio. The other is a special calling whiche for þe most part he bouche saueth to geue only to þe faithfull, whē by þe inward enlightning of his spirit he maketh þe the word preached is setled in their hearts. Yet somtime he maketh the also partakers of it whō he enlighteneth but for a time, & afterward by þe deseruig of their vnthankfulness forsaketh the & striketh the w greater blindenes. Nowe when þe Lorde sawe þe Gospel to be published far & wide, & to be despised of many, but to be had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the persō of a Kinge, which preparinge a solemne feast sendeth his messingers rounde about to bidde a greate multitude to be his gēstes, and yet can get but a fewe, because euery one allegeth lettes for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled vpon their refusal, to cal out of the hie waies euery one that he meteth. Hetherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstand of the outward callinge. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth aboute the tables, to chere his gēstes. If he finde any not clothed with a weddinge garment, he wil not suffer him with his vncleanlines to dishonoure the solemnitie of the feast. This part of the parable, I grant, is to be vnderstand of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Suche dishonors and as it were botches of his Church, the Lorde wyll not suffer for euer: but, as their fylthinesse deserueth he wil caste them out. Therefore few ar chosen out of a great numbre of them þe are called, but yet not w þe calling by which we say þe the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that general calling is also common to the wicked: but this special Calling bringeth w it þe spirit of regeneratio, which is þe earnest & seale of þe inheritance to come, wherw our hearts are sealed by agaiñ þe day of þe lord. In a sūme sith hypocrites boast of godlines as wel as þe true worshipers of god, Christ pronouēth þe at length thei shalbe cast out of

at. p.ii.

Eph. i. p.ii



the place which they wrongfully possesse: as it is said in  $\psi$  psalm, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle. The innocent in handes, & the man of a pure heart. Againe in an other place. This is the generation of the that seeke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Jacob. And so dothe  $\psi$  Spirit e exhorte the faithful to sufferance, that they take it not greivously  $\psi$  the Israelites be mingled w $\theta$  the in  $\psi$  Church: for at length their visor shall be plucked from them & they shall be cast out with shame.

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 $\psi$ sa. xv. $\psi$ sa. xlii.

8

 $\psi$ sa. xviii. $\psi$ hon. vi. $\psi$ hon. xli. $\psi$ hon. xlii.

Homil. 38.

Eze. xlii.

 $\psi$ hil. iiii. $\psi$ sa. lxxv.

9



## Of the manner howe to receiue

the reuerence of God, & bringeth forgetfulnes of grace receiued. For he speaketh to þe Gentiles, whom he teacheth, þe they ought not proudly & vngently to reproche þe Jewes for this, that the Jewes beinge dispersed, they were set in their stede. Feare also he requircth, not whereto they sholde be dismayed & stagger, but whych framing vs to þe humbler receiuing of the grace of God, shold abate nothing of þe assurance therof, as we haue said in an other place. Beside þe, he doth not there speake to enery mā particularly, but to þe sectes theselues generally. For when þe Church was diuided into two parts, & enuie bred dissensio, Paul putteth þe Gentiles in minde þe their beinge supplied into þe place of þe peculiar & holy people, ought to bee to the cause of feare & modesty. And among the ther wer many puffed by the glory, whose vaine boasting it was profitable to beat downe. But we haue in an other place shewed, þe our hope is extended to þe time to come euen beyonde death, & þe nothing is more contrarye to the nature of it, than to doubt what shall become of vs.

8 That saying of Christ, of many being called but few chosen, is very ill takē after þe māner. Ther shall be nothing doubtful if we hold faste þe which ought to be cleare by þe things aboue spokē, þe ther ar two sorts of calling. For ther is an vniuersal calling wherby through þe outward preaching of þe word, God calleth al together to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto þe saueur of death, & vnto matter of more greuous cōdemnatio. The other is a special calling whiche for þe most part he vouche saureth to geue only to þe faithfull, whē by þe inward enlightning of his spirit he maketh þe the word preached is settled in their hearts. Yet sometime he maketh the also partakers of it whō he enlighteneth but for a time, & afterward by þe deseruig of their vnthankfulness forsaketh the & striketh the with greater blindness. Nowe when þe Lorde sawe þe Gospel to be published far & wide, & to be despised of many, but to be had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the persō of a Kinge, which preparinge a solemne feast sendeth his messengers rounde about to bidde a greate multitude to be his gēstes, and yet can get but a fewe, because euery one allegeth lettes for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled vpon their refusal, to cal out of the hie waies euery one that he meteth. Hetherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstand of the outward callinge. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth aboute the tables, to chere his gēstes. If he finde any not clothed with a weddinge garment, he wil not suffer him with his vncleanlines to dishonoure the solemnitie of the feast. This part of the parable, I grant, is to be vnderstand of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Suche dishonours and as it were botches of his Church, the Lorde wyll not suffer for euer: but, as their fylthinesse deserueth he wil caste them out. Therefore few ar chosen out of a great numbere of them þe are called, but yet not by þe calling by which we say þe the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that general calling is also common to the wicked: but this special Calling bringeth with it þe spirit of regeneratio, which is þe earnest & seale of þe inheritance to come, whereto our hearts are sealed by against þe day of þe lord. In a sūme sith hypocrites boast of godlines as wel as þe true worshipers of god, Christ pronouceth þe at length they shall be cast out of  
the



the place which they wrongfully possesse: as it is said in  $\psi$  psalm, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle: The innocent in handes, & the man of a pure heart. Again in an other place. This is the generation of thē that seeke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Jacob. And so dothe  $\psi$  Spirit exhorte the faithful to sufferance, that they take it not greuously  $\psi$  the Israelites be mingled w thē in  $\psi$  Church: for at length their visor shall be plucked from them & they shall be cast out with shame.

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psa. cv.

psa. cxii.

8.

Iho. xvii.

Ihon. vi.

Iho. viii.

Ihon. xii.

Homil. 38.

Eze. xii.

Phil. iiii.

psa. lxxv.

9



Of the manner howe to receiue

his hand is stretched out to their saluacion. For thei þ dreme that sed  
 their very natiuitie there is planted in their heartes I wote not what  
 sede of election, by þ vertue whereof thei are alwaie enclined to godly-  
 nes & to þ feare of God, thei both are not holpē to proue it by þ autho-  
 ritie of Scripture, & also are confuted by experience it selfe. Thei do in-  
 dede bring forth a fewe examples to proue þ the elect euen before their  
 enlightning, were not vtterly strangers from religiō: that Paul in his  
 being a Pharisee liued vnreprouable, that Cornelius was by almes &  
 pzalers accepted of God: & such other. Of Paul, we grant to them: of  
 Cornelius, wee saye that they are deceiued. For it appeareth þ he was  
 then already enlightned & regenerate, so that he wanted nothing but  
 the clere reueling of the Gospel. But what wil thei wzing out by these  
 fewe examples: that al the elect are alway endued w the spirit of gods  
 linelle: No more than if a man by shewing þ byrightnesse of Aristides,  
 Socrates, Zenocrates, Scipio, Curlius, Camill<sup>o</sup>, & other, holde therof  
 gather that al thei that are left in blindnesse of idolatrie, wer desirous  
 folowers of holines & honestie. yea and the Scripture in more places  
 than one, openly crieth out againste them. For, þ state which Paul des-  
 cribeth of þ Epheliās before their regeneraciō, sheweth not one grain  
 of this sede. Ye were (saith he) deade w defaultes & sinnes, in which ye  
 walked accordng to þ time of this worlde, accordng to þ prince of the  
 ayre, which now worketh in þ obstinate children: among whome we all  
 also were sometime conuersant in þ lustes of our fleshe, doing those thin-  
 ges þ liked oure fleshe & minde. And we were by nature the children of  
 wrath, as other also were. Again, Remembre þ ye were sometime wout  
 hope, & lacked God in the world. Again. ye were sometime darkenesse:  
 but now ye are light in the lord: walke as þ children of light. But par-  
 aduenture thei wil haue these thinges to be referred to þ ignorance of  
 þ true God, wherew thei denie not þ the elect are holden before þ they  
 be called. Albeit this were a shamelesse cauilling, sith he therof conclu-  
 deth, that thei ought nowe noe more either to lie or to steale: yet what  
 will thei answer to other places: as is that place to the Corynthians,  
 where when he had pronounced that neither whozemongers, nor ido-  
 latrers, nor adulterers, nor weakelings, nor bnggerers, nor theues,  
 nor couetous men, shalbe heires of þ kingedome of God: he by & by ad-  
 deth that thei wer wrapped in the same haynous offenses before that  
 thei knew Christ: but now that thei are bothe washed by his bloode &  
 made free by his Spirit. Againe an other place to the Romaines. As  
 ye haue geuen your membes bond to vncleannesse, & to iniquitie vnto  
 iniquitie, now yeld them in bondage to righteousnesse. For what frute  
 had you of those thinges, in whiche ye are nowe worthily ashamed. &c.

What manner of sede of election, I pzale you, dyd then budde in  
 them, whtche being manifoldly desiled in all their life, as it were wyth  
 desperate wickednesse, wallowed in the most abhominable and accur-  
 sed sinne of all. If he woulde haue spoken after their opinion, he shold  
 haue shewed how much thei were bound to the bountifullnesse of God,  
 by which thei had ben preserued from slyding into so great filthinesse.  
 So Peter also shoulde haue exhorted his to thankefulnesse for þ per-  
 ptual sede of election. But hee contrary wisse pūcteth them in mynde  
 that þ time past sufficed to make an ende of the lustes of the Gentiles.

What

Phil. iii. b  
 1. Cor. x. ii.

Eph. ii. ii.

Ep. b. viii  
 Eph. iii.  
 Rom.

1. Cor. vi.  
 1. Cor.

Rom. vi.  
 1. Cor.

11

1. Pet. iii.  
 iii.



ende of the **lives** of the **Gentiles**. What if we come to examples: what bidde of righteousnesse was there in Rahab the harlot, before faith: in Manasse, when Hierusalem was dipped and in a manner drowned in the bloode of the Prophetes: in the Chese, which amonge his laste gaspinges beganne to thinke of repentance: Away therefore with these argumentes, whiche silly curious men do rashely deuise to themselves without the Scripture. But let that abide certaine with vs, which the Scripture hathe, that all haue strayed like losse shepe, euery one hathe swarued into his owne waye, that is, perdition. Out of this goulfe of perdition, whome the Lorde hath determined ones to plucke sothe, them he differreth tyl hys fyt time: onely he preferueth them, that they fall not vnto vnardonable blaspheme.

As the Lorde by the effectualnesse of hys callinge towarde the electe, maketh perfecte the saluation, wherevnto he hadde by eternall counsell appoynted them: so he hathe hys iudgementes againste the reprobate, whereby he executeth his counsel of them. Whome therefore he hath created vnto the Game of life, and destruction of deathe, that thei shoulde be instrumentes of his wrathe, & examples of his seruicite: fro the, & they may com to their end, somtyme he taketh awaie & power to heare his word, & somtyme by the preachinge of it hee more blyndeth & amaseth the. Of the fyst maner, wheras there be innumerable examples, lette vs choose out one moze cleare and notable than all the reste. There passed awaye about fower thousande yeares afore Christe, in whyche hee hydde from all the Gentiles the lyghte of hys healthe bringing doctrine. If any ma aunswer that he therefore made them not to enioye so greate a benefit bycause he iudged them unworthy, they whiche come after shall not be proued any moze woorthy. Of whiche thyng, byside the experience, Malachie is a substantiall witness, wich reproouinge infidelitie mingled with grosse blasphemies, yett declareth that there shall come a redeemer. Why therefore is hee rather geuen to these than to those: He shall trouble hymselfe in vaine, & shall here search for a cause hyer than the secret & vnsearchable counsell of God. Neither is it to bee feared least any scholer of Dorphirie, shoulde freely gnaw at the righteousnesse of God while we answer nothing in defense of it. For when we say that none perishe vnderferuing, and that it is of the free bountyfulnesse of God that some be deliuered, ther is largely enoughe saide for the setting forth of his glozie, so that it needeth not our shyftinge. The soueraigne iudge therefore maketh awaie for his predestination, when whom he hath ones reiected, them beinge deprived of the communicatinge of his lyghte hee leaueth in blindenesse. Of the other manner there are bothe dayly examples, and also many contened in the Scripture. One selfe same preachinge is commonly made to a hundred, twenty receiue it with ready obedience of faith: the rest do either set naught by it, or scorne it, or hysse it out, or abhorre it. If any man aunswer that this diuerlitie proceedeth of theyr malice and peruerfnesse, he shall not yett satisfie vs: bycause the others witte also shoulde be possessed with the same malice, vnlesse God dyd amende it with his goodnesse. Therefore we shall still be encombred, vnlesse we call to mynde that whiche Paule saith, Who maketh thee to differ: Wherby he signifieth that some excell other some, not by theyr

Jos. ii. l.  
ii. kin. xii.  
rb. l.  
Lut. xlii.  
vbi.

Esa. lxxx.  
vi.

12

Mal. i.  
i.

i. Cor. iiii.  
vii.



owne vertue, but by the onely grace of God.

13 Why therefore dothe he in graunting grace to those passe ouer these? Of those Luke sheweth a cause, Bycause they are ordeined to life. Of these, what shal we think, but bicause thei are the vessels of wrath vn- to dishonor. Wherefore let it not greue vs to saye with Augustine. God (sayth he) might turne the will of the euell into good, bicause he is al- mighty. He mighte in dede. Why therefore doth he it not? bicause he wold not. Why he wold not, is in himself. For we ought to be no more wise than we ought to be. And that is much better, than to shift with Chrysostome, and say that he draweth him that is willing & reacheth his hand, that the difference may not seme to stand in the iudgemēt of God, but in the only wil of men. Truly it so standeth not in the propre motion of man, that euen the godly & they that feare God haue neede of a singular instruction of y<sup>e</sup> Spirit. Lydia y<sup>e</sup> purple seller feared God, and yet it behoued that her heart shold be opened, that she might ha- ken to the doctrine of Paul, & profit in it. This is not spokē of one wo- man alone, but that we shold know that the profiting of euery man in godlinesse is the secret worke of the Spirit. This verily can not be brought in questiō, that y<sup>e</sup> lord sendeth his word to many, whose blind- nesse he will haue to be more enforced. For, to what purpose doth he bidde so many cōmaūdemētys to be carried to Pharao: was it bicause he hoped y<sup>e</sup> with often repeted messages he wold be appeased. No, but before he beganne, he foreknew & foretolde y<sup>e</sup> end. Goe (sayd he to Mo- ses) & declare to him my wil: but I wil harden his heart, that he obey not. So when he stirreth vp Ezechiel, he warneth him aforehand that he sendeth him to a rebellious and stubborne people: to the end that he should not be afrayde if he perceiue himself to singe to deaf men. So he foretelleth to Jeremie, y<sup>e</sup> his doctrine shold become a fier, to destroye & wast the people like stuble. But the prophetic of Esaye yet more en- forceth it. For he is thus sent of the Lord: Goe and saye to the children of Israell: With hearing heare ye, and vnderstande not: With seying see ye, and know not. Make obstinate the heart of this people, & make heauy their eares, and ouer playster their eyes: least peradventure they maye see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnder- stand with their heart, that beyng turned they may be healed. Behold he directeth his voice to them, but that they maye ware more deff, he lighteth a light, but that they maye be made more blinde: he sheweth forth doctrine, but that thei may be made more dul: he layeth to the & remedie, but not that thei may be healed. And John alleging this pro- phetic, affirmeth y<sup>e</sup> the Jewes could not beleue the doctrine of Christ, bicause this curse of God lay vpo<sup>n</sup> them. Neither can this also be in cō- trouersie, that whom God will not haue to be enlightened, to them he deliuered his doctrine wrapped vp in darke speches, that thei may no- thing profit thereby but to be thrust into greater dulnesse. Christ also testifieth, that he doth therefore expound only to the Apostles the pa- rables in whiche he had spoken to the multitude, bycause to them it was geuen to know the misteries of the kingdome of God, but to the common people not so. What meaneth the Lorde (wilt thou saye) in teachynge them, of whome he prouideth that he maye not bee vnderstanded? Consider whense is the faulte, and thou wilt cesse to aske.



aske. For in the worde how great darknesse soeuer there be, yet there is alwaie light enough to conuince the conscience of the wicked.

Now remaineth for vs to see, why  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  lord doth  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  which it is plaine  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  he doth. If it be answered  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  it is so done bicause men haue so deserued by their vngodlinesse, wickednesse, & vnthankfulnesse:  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  same shall in dede be wel & truely saide: but bicause there appeareth not yet  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  reaso of this diuersitie, why when some are bowed to obediencc, other some continue hardned, in searching it we must nedes go to  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  which Paule hath noted out of Moses, namcly that God hath raised them vp from the beginning,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  he might shew his name in  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  whole earthe. Whereas therfore  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  reprobate do not obey the word of God opened vnto them, that shalbe wel imputed to the malice & peruersenesse of their heart, so that this be therewithal added  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  thei are therfore geuen into this perversnesse, bicause by the righteous but yet vnsearchable iudgement of God thei are raised vp to set forth his glorie w<sup>th</sup> their damnation. Likewise when it is said of  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  sonnes of Heli,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  thei harkened not to holosome warninges, bicause  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  lord willed to kil them: it is not denied  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  the stubbornesse proceded of their own naughtinesse: but it is therwal touched why thei were left in stubbornesse, when  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  Lord might haue softened their heartes, namly bicause his vnchangeable decree hadde ones appointed them to destruction. To the same purpose serueth  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  saieing of Thon, When he had done so great signes, no man beleued in him: that  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  word of Esaië might be fulfilled, Lorde, whoe hath beleued our hearing: for though he do not excuse  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  stiffnecked frō blame; yet he is content w<sup>th</sup> that reaso,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  the grace of God is vnfauorie to men, till the holy ghost bring taste. And Christ alleging  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  prophetic of Esaië, Thei shall al be taught of God, lendeth to no other end but to proue  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  the Jewes at reprobate & strangers frō  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  Church, bicause they ar vnapt to learne: & he bringeth no other cause therof but for  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  the promise of God dothe not pertaine to thē. Which thig this saieing of Paul confirmeth,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  Christ which to  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  Jewes is an offense, & to  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  gentiles foolishnes, is to  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  called  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  strength & wisdom of God. For when he hath tolde what comonly happeneth so ofte as the Gospel is preached, namly  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  some it maketh more obstinate, & of some it is despised, he saith  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  it is had in price of thē only which ar called. He had in dede a litle before named thē beleuers; but he meant not to take away  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  due degree frō  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  grace of God which goeth before faith, but rather he added this seconde saieing by waie of Correction,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  thei which had embraced  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  Gospel shold geue  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  praise of their faith to the calling of God. As also a litle after he teacheth  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  they are chosen of God. When  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  vngodly heare these thinges, thei crie oute that god w<sup>th</sup> inordinate power abuseth his pooze creatures for a sporte to his crueltie. But we which know  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  al men are so many waies endangered to the iudgment seate of God,  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  being asked of a thousand thynges thei can not satisfie in one, doe confesse  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  the reprobate suffer nothing which agreeeth not w<sup>th</sup>  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  most iust iudgment of God. Whereas we do not clerely atteine  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  reaso therof, let vs not be discōtēt to be ignorāt of somwhat, wher  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  wisdom of god lifteth vp it self into so great height.

But forasmuch as ther ar a few places of scripture wont to be objected, in which God seemeth to denie  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$  it is done by his ordinance that the wicked do perish, but by this  $\text{\textcircled{p}}$ , he crieng out against it, thei wilfulli bring

14

Rom. ix.  
xvii.1. Sam. ii.  
xxv.Thon. vii.  
xxvii.Thon. vi.  
xlv.1. Cor. i.  
xxiii.

15



Death vpon themselves: let vs by brefely declaring these places, shewe  
 that thei make nothing again the sentence aboue set. Ther is brought  
 forth a place of Ezechiel, that God wil not the death of a sinner, but ra-  
 ther that he may be tourned & liue. If thei wil extende this to all man-  
 kinde: why doth he not moue many to repentance, whose mindes are  
 moze pliable to obediēce, than theirs which at his dayly allurements  
 ware harder & harder. With the Sodomites (as Christ witnesseth) the  
 preaching of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel & miracles wold haue brought forth moze frute  
 than in Iurie. How commeth it to passe therfore, if God wil al to be sa-  
 ued, that he openeth not the gate of repentance to those miserable mē  
 that wold haue been moze ready to receiue grace? Hereby we see y<sup>e</sup> the  
 place is vviolently wrested, if the will of God, whereof the Prophet ma-  
 keth mention, be set against his eternall counsel, whereby he hath se-  
 uered the elect from the reprobate. Now if we seke for the true natural  
 meaning of the Propet: his purpose is to bryng hope of pardon to the  
 penitent. And this is y<sup>e</sup> summe, y<sup>e</sup> it is to be doubted but y<sup>e</sup> God is readie  
 to forgeue so sone as the sinner turneth. Therefore he willet not his  
 death, in so much as he willet his repentāce. But experience teacheth  
 that he so wylleth them to repent whome he generally calleth to him,  
 y<sup>e</sup> yet he toucheth not al their heartes. Yet is it therfore to be said that  
 he dealeth deceitfully, bicause although y<sup>e</sup> outward voice do but make  
 them vnercusable which heare & do not obey it, yet it is truly accōpted  
 the testimonie of y<sup>e</sup> grace of God, by which testimonie he reconcileth mē  
 to himself. Therfore let vs holde this for y<sup>e</sup> meaninge of the Prophet,  
 y<sup>e</sup> the death of a sinner pleaseth not god: y<sup>e</sup> the godly may haue affiāce,  
 y<sup>e</sup> so sone as thei shalbe touched w<sup>th</sup> repentance, there is pardō ready for  
 thē w<sup>th</sup> God: & the wicked may fele y<sup>e</sup> their fault is doubled, bicause they  
 answer not to so great mercifull kindenesse & gentlenesse of God. The  
 mercie of God therfore wil alwaie mete repentance, but to whome re-  
 pentance is geuen, both al the Prophetes, & Apostles, & Ezechiel him-  
 selfe do plainly teach. Secondly ther is alleged a place of Paul, wher  
 he saith y<sup>e</sup> God willet al mē to be saued, which although it haue a di-  
 uerse meaning from y<sup>e</sup> other, yet in somthing thei agre together. I an-  
 swer, first y<sup>e</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> rest of the terte it is made plaine howe he willet. For  
 Paul coupleth together, y<sup>e</sup> he willet thē to be saued, & to come to y<sup>e</sup> ac-  
 knowledginge of the trueth: If they will haue this to bee determined  
 by y<sup>e</sup> eternal counsel of God, y<sup>e</sup> thei receaue y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of saluaciō: what  
 meaneth that sayenge of Moses, What nation is so noble, that God  
 commeth neare to it as hee dothe to thee? Howe came it to passe that  
 God restrained from many peoples the lyghte of the Gospell, whiche  
 other enioyed: Howe came it to passe that the pure knowledg of godly-  
 nesse neuer came to some, and some scarcely tasted so muche as any  
 darke pynacles of it: Hereof yt shall nowe be easye to gather, where-  
 to Paule tendeth. He hadde commaunded Timothee to make solemne  
 prayers in the Churche for kinges and pynces. But when it seemed  
 somewhat an absurditie that prayers shoulde bec made to God for a  
 kynde of menne in a manner despetred ( bicause they were not onely  
 strangers frō the body of Christe, but also endeuored with al theyr for-  
 ces to expresse his kingdom) he added, y<sup>e</sup> the same is acceptable to God  
 which willet al mē to be saued. Wherbi verily he signifieth nothing els  
 but



but that he hath stopped by þ way vnto saluation to no degree of mē: but rather that he hath so powred out his mercie þ he willeth no man to be voide of it. The other sentēces do not declare what God hath by his secret iudgement determined of al men: but do shewe that there is pardon redy for al sinners which do only turne themselues to require it. For if they more stilly stande vpon this that it is sayd that he will haue mercie vpon all, I will on the contrarie side answer them with that whiche is wrytten in an other place, That our God is in heauen where he doeth whatsoeuer he wil. This word therfore must so be expounded þ it may agree with the other, I wil haue mercie vpon whom I wil haue mercie, and I wil shew mercie to whom I wil shew mercie. He that chooseth out them whō he will haue mercie on, doth not geue it to all. But lithe it clearly appereth that in that place is spoken not of all particular men, but of degrees of men, we will make no longer disputing about it. Howbeit it is also to be noted, that Paule doth not affirme what God doth alway and euery where & in all men: but leaueh it to him at his libertie at length to make Kinges & magistrates partakers of the heauēly doctrine, although by reason of their blindness they do now rage against it. They seme to presse vs more strōgly with obiecting the place of Peter, that God willeth none to perish, but receyuieth al to repentance. But the vndoing of this knot doth by & by offer it selfe in the second worde, because the will to receyue can not be vnderstāded to be any other than that which is euery where taught. Truly the turning is in the hand of God: whether he wil turne all or no, let him selfe be asked, when he promiset h that he will geue to a certayne fewe men a fleshy heart, leauyng to other some a stony heart. It is true in deede, that vnlesse he were ready to receyue them whiche call vpon his mercie, this sayeng should be false, Turne to me, and I wil turne to you. But I saye that none of all mortal men doth come to God but he that is preuented of God. And if repentance were in the will of man, Paule would not say, If peradventure he geue them repentance. yea vnlesse the same God which with word exhorteth al mē to repentance, did with secret mouyng of his spirit byyng the chosen to it: Jeremie would not say, Turne me, Lorde, and I shalbe turned: for when thou hast turned me, I haue repented.

But (thou wilt say) yf it be so, there shalbe final truthe in the promyses of the gospel, which when they testifie of the will of God, affirme þ he willeth þ which is against his inuolable decree. Not so. For howe soeuer the promyses of saluation be vniuersall, yet they nothyng disagree with the predestination of the reprobate, so that we direct our myndes to the effect of them. We knowe that then and not till then the promyses are effectuell to vs, when we receyue them by sayth; on the other side when sayth is made voyde, the promyse is there withall abolished. If this be the nature of them, let vs then see whether these thynges disagree together: that it is sayde that God hath from eternitie ordeyned whome he will embrace with loue, and vpon whome he will exercise wrath: and that he promiset h saluation to al without difference. Truly I say that they agree very well. For in so promisyng he meaneth nothing els than þ his mercie is set open for al which do couet & craue it: which thing none do but they whō he

Pl. xvi. ii.

Ero. xxxii. ff.

Ere. xxxv. ff.

Zach. i. ii.

ii. Tim. ii. ff.

Jer. xxx. ff. viii.



hath enlightned. And them he enlightneth, whom he hath predestinat  
to saluacio. Thei (I saie) haue þ truth of þ promises sure & vnshaken,  
so as it can not be said þ there is any disagreement betwene þ eternal  
election of God, & the testimonie of his grace which he offereth to the  
faithful. But why nameth he Al. verily þ the cōsciences of þ godly may  
þ more safely rest, when ther vnderstand þ ther is no dyfference of syn-  
ners, so þ fairly be presēt: & that þ wicked may not cauil for their excuse,  
þ thei want a lactuary wherunto thei may wdrawe themselves from  
þ bondage of sinne, when w their owne vnthankfulnesse thei refuse yf  
being offred thē. Therefore when þ mercie of God is by þ Gospel offred  
to both sortes, it is faith, þ is to say þ enlightnig of god, which maketh  
difference betwene þ godly & vngodly, so as þ one sort selet þ effecti-  
ualnesse of þ gospel, & the other sort obtaine no frut therof. The enlight-  
ning it self also hath þ eternal electiō of God for þ rule thereof. The cō-  
plaint of Christ, which thei allege, Ierusalē, Ierusalem, howe oft haue  
I willed to gather together thy chickens, but þ woldest not. maketh  
nothing for thē. I grant þ Christ ther speaketh not only in þ person of  
mā, but also reprocheth them þ in al ages thei haue refused his grace.  
But we must define þ wil of God which is entreated of. for neither is  
it vnknowen, how diligently God endeouored to kepe stil þ people, & w  
how great stifenesse thei euen from þ first to þ last being geuen to theyr  
wādering desires refused to be gathered together: but it foloweth not  
therof that þ counsel of God was made voide by þ malice of mē. They  
answer & say that nothing lesse agreeth w the nature of God than to  
haue a doble wil in him. Which I grant to thē, so that thei sitly expoūd  
it. But why do thei not consider so many testimonies, where God put-  
ting bpō him the affections of man descēdeth beneath his owne maie-  
stie. He saith that he hath w stretched out armes called the rebellious  
people, that he hath early & late traualled to bring them backe to him.  
If thei wil applie al these things to god, & not consider the figure, ther  
shal arise many superfluous cōtentions, which this one solution bring-  
geth to agrement, þ the proprietie of mā is figuratiuely applied to god.  
Howbeit the solution whiche we haue brought in an other place large-  
ly sufficeth, that although the will of God be, as to our seuse manifold:  
yet he doth not in himselfe dyuersly will this and that, but accordinge  
to hys wisdom, which is diuersly manifolde (as Paul calleth it) he a-  
mafetoure senses, till it shall be geuen vs to knowe that he maruey-  
lously willet that which now semeth to be against his will. Thei also  
mocke with caullations, that sith God is the father of al, it is vnright-  
eous that he hold disherit any that hath not before w his own fault  
deserued this punishment. As though the liberalitie of God stretcheth  
not euen to hogges & dogges. But if they speake onli of mankinde, let  
them answer why God bounde himself to one people, to be the father  
therof: & why also out of the same people he pycked a smal numbze as  
it were a floure. Butte their owne luste of euell speakynge hindereth  
these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth forth  
his sunne to shine vpon the good and euell, that the inheritance is lai-  
ed vp for a fewe, to whome it shall one day be sayd, Come ye blessed of  
my father, possesse the kingdom. &c. Thei obiect also that God hateth  
none of these thinges that he hath made. Which although I graunte  
them,

Mat. xxiij  
xxvii.

Esa. lvi. ii

Eph. iii. r

mat. b. rto  
Mat. xv.  
xxviii.



them, yet this remaineth safe whiche I teache, that the reprobate are hatefull to God, and that very rightfully, because thei beinge destitute of his Spirit can bring forth nothing but cause of curse. Thei saie further, that there is no difference of the Jewe and the Gentile, and therefore that the grace of God is wythout difference set before all menne: namely if thei grant (as Paule determineth) that God calleth as well out of the Jewes as out of the Gentiles, accordyng to hys good pleasure, so that he is bounde to no man. After this maner also is that wypped awaie whiche thei object in an other place, that God hath enclosed al thynges vnder sinne, that he may haue mercie vpon all: namely because he will that the saluacion of all them that are saued be ascribed to his mercie, although this benefite be not common to al. Now when many thynges are alleaged on both partes, let this be our conclusion, to tremble with Paule at so great depth, and if wanton tongues shall be busie, that we be not ashamed of thys his crieng out, O man, what arte thou that striuest with God: for Augustine truely affirmeth that thei do peruerly which measure the righteousnesse of God by the measure of the righteousnesse of man.

Rom. ii. p. lviij.

Rom. xi. p. lxxij.

Ro. ix. p. lxxv. De prede. &amp; grati. cap. 2.

## The. xxv. Chapter.

Of the laste Resurrection.

**A**lthough Christ the sonne of righteousnesse, hauing ouercome death, shining by the Gospel, geueth vs the lighte of life (as Paule witnesseth) whereby also it is saide that by beleuing we haue passed from death into life, beinge nowe not foreiners and strangers, but citizens with the saintes; & of the householde of God, whiche hath made vs to sit with the onely begotten sonne himself in heavenly places, that nothing may be wanting to perfect felicitie: yet least it shold be greuous vnto vs to be exercised vnder this harde warfare, as though we had no frute of the victorie which Christ hath gotten, we must holde fast that which is in an other place taught of the nature of hope. For, because wee hope for those things which appeare not, and (as it is said in an other place) saithe is a demonstratio of things inuisible: so long as we are enclosed in the prison of the flethe, we are wayfaring from the Lorde. For whiche reason the same Paul saith in an other place that we are deade, & that our life is hidde with Christ in God, & that when he which is our life, shall appeare, then shall we also appeare with him in glorie. This therefore ysoure condition, that with liuing soberly & iustly & godlily in this world, we loke for the blessed hope, and the coming of the glorie of the greate God, & of our saviour Iesus Christ. Here we neede a singular patience, & wee be not wearied & either tourne backe our course, or forsake our standing. Therefore whatsoener hath bene hereto set out concerning our saluacion, requireth mindes lifted vp to heauen, & we may loue Christ whom we haue not seen, and beleuyng in hym maye reioyse wyth vnspeakable and glorious ioyfulness, till wee receyue the ende of oure saythe, as Peter telleth vs. After which manner, Paul saith the saythe and charitie of the godly hath respect to the hope which is laied vp in heauen.

i. Tit. i. p. lxxv. Ihon. v. p. lxxij.

Eph. ii. p. lxxv.

Rom. viii. p. lxxv.

Heb. xi. p. lxxv.

ii. Cor. v. p. lxxv.

Colos. iii. p. lxxv.

Tit. ii. p. lxxv.

i. Peter. i. p. lxxv.

Colos. i. p. lxxv.

When



Of the manner howe to receiue

When we thus with out eyes fastened vpon Christ do hang of heauen,  
 & nothing w<sup>h</sup> holdeth them in earthe, from carrieng vs to the promised  
 blessednesse: then is that truely fulfilled, Our heart is where our trea-  
 sure is. Herebpon cometh that faith is so rare in the world, bicause no-  
 thing is more hard to our dulnesse thē through innumerable steppes to  
 climbe v<sup>o</sup> above them w<sup>h</sup> endeuoringe forward to the price of our hea-  
 uenly calling. To the great heape of miseries wherw<sup>h</sup> we be almoste o-  
 uerwhelmed, are added the mockinges of vngodly men, wherw<sup>h</sup> our  
 simplicitie is railed at, when volutarily forsakinge the allurementes  
 of present good thinges, we seeme to folowe the blessednes hidden frō  
 vs, as it were a fleeing shadow. Finally aboue & beneth vs, befoze vs &  
 behinde vs, violent tentations besege vs, to the susteining of the feare  
 wherof our courages shold be far to weake, vnlesse beinge vncumbred  
 of earthly thinges thei were fast bound to y<sup>e</sup> heauenly life, which in se-  
 ming is far frō vs. Wherfore only it hath soundly profited in y<sup>e</sup> Gospel,  
 whiche is enured to a continual meditation of the blessed resurrection.

2 Of y<sup>e</sup> soueraigne ende of good thinges, y<sup>e</sup> philosophers haue in olde  
 time curioully disputed, & also strined among theselues: yet none except  
 Plato, acknowledged the soueraigne good of man to be his conioyning  
 w<sup>h</sup> God. But what māner of cōioyning y<sup>e</sup> was, he colde not perceaue so  
 much as w<sup>h</sup> any smale taste. & no maruel, sith he had neuer learned of y<sup>e</sup>  
 holy bonde therof. To vs the only & perfect felicitie is knowne euen in  
 this earthly wayfaring: but, such as daily more & more enkindleth our  
 heartes w<sup>h</sup> desire of it, till y<sup>e</sup> ful enioyning may satisfie vs. Therefore I  
 said y<sup>e</sup> none receiue frute of y<sup>e</sup> benefites of Christ, but thei y<sup>e</sup> lift v<sup>o</sup> theyz  
 mindes to y<sup>e</sup> resurrectiō. For, Paul setteth v<sup>o</sup> this marke to y<sup>e</sup> faithful,  
 toward which he saith y<sup>e</sup> he endeuoreth, & forgetteth al things til he cō  
 to it. And so much y<sup>e</sup> more cherfulli ought we to trauail toward it, least  
 if this world w<sup>h</sup> hold vs, we suffer greuous punishmēt for our slothful-  
 nesse. Wherfore in an other place he marketh y<sup>e</sup> faithful w<sup>h</sup> this mark, y<sup>e</sup>  
 their conuersatiō is in heauē, frō whēse also thei loke for their sauour.  
 And y<sup>e</sup> their courages shoulde not faint in this race, he ioyneth al crea-  
 tures companions w<sup>h</sup> them. For, bicause euery where ar seen deformed  
 ruines, he saith y<sup>e</sup> al things in heauen & earth doe endeuour to y<sup>e</sup> rene-  
 wing. For sith Adam by his fal dissolved the perfect ordre of nature to  
 the creatures, their bondage is peinesful & greuous, wherunto they are  
 subiect by reaso<sup>n</sup> of the sinne of mā, not for that thei are endued with a-  
 ny feling, but for y<sup>e</sup> they naturally couet y<sup>e</sup> perfect estate frō which they  
 are fallen. Therefore Paul saith y<sup>e</sup> thei grone, & are as in peine of childe  
 bearing, that we to whom are geuen the first frutes of the Spirit, may  
 be ashamed to pyne awaie in our corruption, & not at the least to folow  
 the dead elementes, which beare peine of an others sinne. And y<sup>e</sup> more  
 to picke vs forward, he calleth the last cōming of Christ our redempti-  
 on. It is true in dede that al the partes of our redemption are already  
 fulfilled: but bicause Christ hath ones ben offered for sinnes, he shall be  
 seen againe without sinne vnto saluacion. With what miseries soeuer  
 we be pressed, let this redēptiō susteine vs euē vntill y<sup>e</sup> performāce of it.

3 The very weight of y<sup>e</sup> thing it self shal whet our endeuor. For neither  
 doth Paul w<sup>h</sup>out cause affirme y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> whole gospel is void & deceitful, vn-  
 lesse y<sup>e</sup> dead do rise againe: bicause our state shold be more miserable thā  
 the

Matt. vii.  
 xxi.

Phil. iij.  
 vii.

Ro. viii.  
 xix.

Heb. i.

1. Cor. xv.  
 iiii.



the state of al men, namely sith we lieng open to þ hatredes & reprocþes of many, are euery houre in danger, yea & are as thepe appointed to þ slaughte: & therfore þ authoritie therof shold fal away not only in one part, but also in þ whole sūme whiche bothe our adoptiō & the effect of our saluaciō cōteineth. And so let vs be hedefully bent to this most earnest thing of al, þ no cōtinuance of time may make vs wery. For which purpose I haue differred to this place þ whiche I had brefely to entreate of it, þ the readers may learne, when thei haue receiued Christe þ authoz of their saluatiō, to rise vp hie, & may knowe þ he is clothed w heavenly immortalitie & glorie, þ the whole body may be made lyke fashioned to þ heade: as also þ holy ghost oftentimes setteth forthe in his persō an exāple of þ resurrectiō. It is a thing harde to be beleued, þ bodie when thei haue been cōsumed w rottenesse, shal at their appointed time rise vp againe. Therfore where many of þ Philosophers haue affirmed soules to be imortal: þ resurrectiō of þ flesh hath ben allowed of few: wherein although ther was no excuse, yet we ar thereby put in minde, þ it is to harde a thing to draw mans senses to beleue it. That faith may overcome so great a stoppe, þ scriptur ministreth two helpes: þ one is in þ likenes of Christ, þ other is þ almightines of god. Nowe so oft as þ resurrectiō is thought of, let þ image of Christ come into our mindes: whiche in þ nature þ he toke of vs, so ranne out þ race of mortal life, þ now hauing obtained immortalitie, he is to vs a pledge of þ resurrectiō to cō. For in þ miseries wherw we ar beseged, we carie about his mortifieng in our flesh, þ his life may be openli shewed in vs. And we may not seuer him frō vs, neither can we possibly, but that he must be torne in sum' er. Wherbpō cometh þ argument of Paul, If the deade do not rise againe, then neither is Christ risen againe: because verily he taketh þ principle for cōfessed, þ Christ was not made subiect to death, nor obtained victorie of death by rising againe, priuately for him self: but, þ that was begone in þ heade which must nedes be fulfilled in al þ membres, accordinge to þ degree & ordre of euery one. For it were not right þ thei shold in al pointes be made egal w him. It is said in þ Psalm. Thou shalt not suffer thy meke one to see corruptiō. Although a portiō of this trust perteme to vs according to the measure of gift, yet the ful effect hath not appeared but in Christ, whiche being free frō all rotting hath receiued againe his body whole. Now least the felowship of blessed resurrectiō w Christ shold be doubtful to vs, þ we may be contented w this pledge, Paul expressely affirmeth þ he therfore sitteth in heauen, & shal come at þ last day a iudge, þ he may make oure base and vile body likefashioned to his glorious body. In an other place also he teacheth, þ God rayled not vp his sonne frō death to þ entent to shew a token of his power: but to stretche out the same effectual force of the Spirit toward vs which are faithful: whome he therfore calleth life, while he liueth in vs, bycause he was geuen to this ende that he shold make aliue þ which is mortall in vs. I knit vp in a brefe abridgement those things which might both be more largely handled & ar worthi to be more gorgeously set out: & yet I trust þ the godli readers shal in few words fide matter enough which mai suffice to edifie their faith. Christ therfore is risen againe, þ he might haue vs cōpanions of þ life to come. He was raised vp of þ father, in so much as he was þ head of þ church,

II. Cor. iiii.  
8.I. Cor. xv.  
iii.

Ps. lxi. 7.

Psalm. lxxi.  
vii.

from



Of the manner howe to receiue

trō which he doth in no wise suffer himself to be plucked away. He was raised by by þ power of þ Spirit, which is common to vs vnto the office of quickening. Finally he was raised by, þ he shold be resurrection & life. But as we haue saide þ in this mitoure, there is to be seen of vs a liuely image of the resurrection, so let it be to vs a sure substance to stay our minde, so þ yet we be not lotheful or wery of longe tarieng: by cause it is not our part to measure þ seasons of times by our will, but patiently to rest, til God at his owne fit time repaire his kingdome. To which purpose semeth þ exhortatio of Paul. The first frutes is Christ: & then thei þ are Christes, euery one in his ordre. But þ no questio shold be moued of þ resurrection of Christ, by þ which þ resurrection of vs all is founded, we se by how many & how diuerse meanes he hath made it approued by witnesse to vs. Fine nosed men will laugh at the hystorie which þ Euangelistes rehearse, as at a childish mockerie. For of what importance shall þ message be which feareful silly womē bring, & afterward þ disciples cōfirme beig i a māner astonished: Whi did not Christ rather set by þ triumphinge ensignes of his victore in þ middelt of the temple & the market place. Why came he not forth terrible into þ sight of Pilate: Why doth he not also proue himselfe to þ prestes & to whole Hierusalem þ hee is risen by aliue againe. As for þ witnesses which he chose, prophane men wil scarcely grant them to be sufficient. I answer þ although in these beginnings þ weakenesse therof was contēptible, yet al this was gouerned by þ wonderful prouidence of God: þ partly the loue of Christe and zele of godlinesse, & parily their owne hardnesse of belefe should carry them in hast to þ sepulchre which had lately ben dismayed for feare, þ thei might not only be seing witnesses of þ thing, but also sholde heare of the Angels þ whiche they saw wifh their eies. How shal we suspect their credit, whoe thought it to be a fable whiche thei had heard of the womē, til they were brought to the present sight of the thyng it self. As for al þ people and the Ruler himself, after that they had be largely couinced, it is no maruel if as wel þ sight of Christ, as other signes, was not graūted thē. The sepulchre was sealed by, þ watchemen watched it, þ third day the body was not found, The soldiours corrupted w monie scattered a rumor þ his Disciples had stole him away. As though thei had had power to gather a band together, or had armure, or were practised men to enterprise any such feate. If þ soldiars had not courage enough to driue thē away, why did they not pursue them, that with þ help of the people thei might haue takē some of them. Pilate therfore with his ring truely sealed the resurrectio of Christ: & the watchemen whiche were set at the sepulchre both in their holding their peace & in their lieng, were made publishers of þ same resurrection. In the meane time þ voice of Angels sounded. He is risen, he is not here. The heavenly glistering plainly shewed þ they were not men but Angels. Afterward, if there remained any douting, Christ himselfe toke it away. The disciples saw him oster than ones, and also felt his seete and his hādes, and their hardnesse of beleuing not a litle profited to the strengthenyng of our faithe. He disputeth among them of the misteries of the kingdome of God, and at þ laste in their sightes beholding him, he ascended into heauen. And not only this sight was shewed to þ xi. Apostles, but also he was seen at ones of moe than fine hundred

l. Cor. xv.

Mat. xvij.  
lvi. and  
xviii. xi.

Luk. xxij.  
vj.

Act. i. iij.



hundred brethren. Now when he sent the holy ghost, he shewed a sure  
 prooffe not only of life, but also of the soueraigne power: as he had said  
 before, It is profitable for you & I goe: otherwise the holy ghost shall  
 not come. But nowe Paule was ouerthrowen by the waye not by the  
 strength of a deade man, but he felt him whome he persecuted to haue  
 most hie power. To Stephan he appeared for an other ende, namely  
 that with assurednes of life he might ouercome the feare of death. To  
 discredit so many authenrike witnesses, is not onely a parte of distrust-  
 fulnesse, but also of frawarde and furious stubbournesse.

This which we haue said, in prouing the resurrection our senses must  
 be directed to the infinite power of God, Paule bresely teacheth, that  
 he may make (saith he) our vile body likefashioned to the bodye of hys  
 brightnes, accordig to the working of his power, by which he may sub-  
 due al things to himself. Wherfore nothing is more vnmete, than here  
 to haue respect what may naturally be done, wher an inestimable my-  
 racle is set before vs, which is the greatnes therof swalloweth vp our  
 senses. yet Paul by setting forthe an exāple of nature, reprocueth theyz  
 dulnes which deny the resurrection. Thou foole (saith he) & which thou  
 sowest is not quickened vnlesse it first die. &c. He saith & in sede is sen a  
 forme of the resurrection, bicause out of rottennes groweth corne. Nei-  
 ther were it so harde a thinge to beleue, if we were as heedeful as we  
 ought to be to the miracles which throughout al the costes of & world  
 doe offer themselues to oure eies. Butte lette vs remembre that  
 none is truely perswaded of the resurrection to come, but he which being  
 rauished into admiratio, geueth to the power of God his glorie. Esaiē  
 lifted vp w this affiance, crieth oute, Thy deade shall liue, my carcase  
 shall rise again. Awake ye, a praise, ye dwellers of the dust. In despeired  
 case he listeth vp himself to God the author of lyfe, in whose hande are  
 the ends of death, as it is said in the psal. Job also being liker to a car-  
 rion thā to a mā, trusting vps the power of god sticketh not as though  
 he were whole and sounde to lifte vp himselfe to that daye saienge, I  
 knowe that my redeemer liueth: and in the laste daye he shall rise vpon  
 the duste (namely to shewe forthe his power therein) and I shall a-  
 gaine be compassed with my skinne, and in my flesh I shall see God, I  
 shall see him; and none other. For albeit that some doe suttley wreste  
 these places, as though they oughte not to bee vnderstande of the  
 resurrection, yet they strengthen that whiche they couet to ouer-  
 throwe: bycause the holy menne in theyz euels seeke comforte from no  
 where els, than from the lykenesse of the resurrection. Whyche better  
 appeareth by the place of Ezechiel. For when the Jewes beleued not  
 the promise of their retourne, and objected that it was no more lykely  
 that a waye shoulde bee made open for them, than that deade menne  
 shoulde come out of theyz graue: there was a vision shewed to the  
 prophet, a syelde ful of drye bones: those the Lorde comāunded to take a-  
 gaine flesh and sinewes. Although vnder that figure he raiseth by the  
 people to hope of retourne: yet the mater of hoping he gathereth of the  
 resurrection: as it is to vs an examplar of the deliuerances which the  
 faithful do fele in this world. So Christ, when he had taught that the  
 voyce of the Gospell geueth life: bicause the Jewes receiued not this,  
 he

1. Cor. xii.  
 vi.  
 Ihon. xvi.  
 Act. ix. xiii  
 Act. vii.  
 lv.

4  
 Phil. iii. ff

Esa. xxxvi  
 ff.

ps. lxxviii.  
 Job. xiv.  
 ff.

Ez. xxxvii.  
 viii.

Ihon. v.  
 ff.



he by and by saide further. Maruell not at this, bicause the houte cometh in whyche all that are in the graues shall heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and shall come forth. Therefore after thys example of Paule, let vs already cherefully triumph in the middest of battels, by cause he whiche hath promised life to come, is mighty to kepe þ which is lefte with him: and so lette vs glorie that a crowne of righteousnesse is laide by for vs, whiche the iust iudge shall deliuer vs. So shall it come to passe, that what soeuer greues we suffer, thei shall be to vs a shewing of the life to come, bicause it agreeth with the nature of God to render affliction to the wicked whiche afflict vs: but to vs which are vniustly afflicted, rest at the appearing of Christ with the Angels of his power, in a flame of fire. But that is to be holden whiche he addeth by and by afterwarde, that he shall come that he may be glorified in his saintes, & be made wonderfull in al them that haue beleued, bicause the Gospel hath ben beleued.

5 But althoughe the mindes of men ought to haue ben continually occupied in this studie: yet as though thei would of set purpose destroy all remembrance of the resurrection, they haue called death the bitter most bounde of all thinges and the destruction of man. For verily Salomon speaketh of the common and receiued opinion, when hee saith that a liuing dogge is better then a deade Lion. And in an other place. Whoe knoweth whether the soule of a man go bpward, & the soule of a beast goe downwarde. But in al ages this brutish senselesse erroze hath ben comon in the worlde, yea & hath broken into þ Church it self: for, the Sadduces haue presumed to professe openly that there is no resurrection, yea and that soules are morral. But that this grosse ignorance holde not helpe to excuse any man, the infideles euen by very instinct of nature haue alwaye had an image of the resurrection before theyr eies. For to what purpose serued that holy and inuiolable manner of burieng, but to be an earnest of newe life. Neither may it be answered that this spring of erroze: bicause the religiousnesse of buriall was alway in bre amonge the holy fathers, and God willed the same manner to remaine amonge the Gentiles, that an image of the resurrection set before them might awake their drowsinesse. But althoughe that ceremonie wanted his vse of profitinge; yet it is profitable for vs if we wisely marke the ende of it, bicause it is no slender confutation of vnbelefe, & al together professed þ which no man beleued. But Satan hath not only astonished the senses of men, so that thei haue buried with the bodies the remembrance of the resurrection, but also hath practised to corrupt this parte of doctrine with diuerse fained inuentions, that at length it mighte bitterly die. I passe ouer howe in Paules time Satan beganne to pinche at it: but in a little after there folowed the Millenaries, whiche limited the reigne of Christe to a thousande yeares. Their erroze is so childishe, that it nedeth not or is not worthy of any confutatiō. Neither doth the Reuelatiō make on their side, by whiche it is certaine that thei colored their erroze: forasmuche as in the place where he mentioneth the numbze of a thousande, hee entreateth not of the eternall blessednesse of the Church, but only of the diuers troubles which were to come vpon the Church, while it yet traualled in earth. But the whole Scripture crieth out that there shall be

li Tim. liii  
vyl

Ec. ix. liii

Ec. iii. xxi

Marc. xii.  
xviij.

Luch. xi.

xx. viij.

Ac. ii. vliij.

Reue. xi.  
viij.



No end of the blessednesse of the elect, nor of the punishment of the reprobate. Now of all things which bothe are hidden from our sight and do far passe the capacitie of our minde, eyther we muste fetch the credite out of the certaine oracles of God, or we muste bitterly caste it away. They which assigne to the chyldzen of God a thousand yeres to enioye the inheritance of the life to come, do not marke how great a dishonour they do bothe to Christ and his kingdome. For yf they shall not be clothed with immortallitie: then neyther is Christ hymselfe, to whose glorie they shall be newly fashioned, receiued into the immortall glorie. If their blessednesse shall haue any end: then the kingdome of Christ, vpon the stedfastnesse whereof it standeth, endureth but for a tyme. Finally eyther they are most buskillfull of all matters concerning God, or they go about with crooked maliciousnesse to ouerthrow the whole grace of God and power of Christ, the fulfillyng wherof is no otherwise perfect, but when sinne beyng blotted out & death swallowed vp, eternall life is fully restozed. But very blinde men may see how fondly they playe the fooles, which feare that they should ascribe to God to great crueltie if the reprobate be condemned to euerlasting paynes. The Lord forsothe shall do wrong, if he denie his kingdome to them which haue by their vnthankfulnesse made themselues vnworthy of it. But (say they) their sinnes endure but for a tyme. I graunt: but the maiestie, yea and the righteousnesse of God, which they haue offended by sinnyng, is eternall. Worthyly therfore the remembrance of iniquitie dyeth not: But so the payne exceedeth the measure of the faulte. This is a blasphemie not to be suffred, when the maiestie of God is so litle set by, when the despising therof is esteemed at no greater value than the destruction of one soule. But let vs leaue these trifles, least contrarie to that which we haue befoze sayd, we may seme to iudge their dotages worthy of confutation.

By side these, there haue ben two other dotyng errors brought in by men peruersly curious. The one sort thought, as though the whole man died, that the soules shall rise agayne with the bodies. The other for asmuch as they graunt that the soules be immortall spirites, say that they shall be clothed with new bodies: whereby they denie the reuurrection of the flesh. Of the first sort, bycause I haue touched somewhat in speakyng of the creation of man, it shall be enough for me to warne the reders agayne, how beastly an errour it is to make of a spirit fashioned after the image of God, a vanishing blast which doth nothing but quicke the body in this fragile life: and to byng the temple of the holy ghost to nothyng: finally to spoyle that part of vs wherein dimmesse chesely shyneth and markes of immortallitie appere, to spoyle it (I say) of this gift: so that the estate of the body should be better and moze excellent than the estate of the soule. The Scripture teacheth far otherwise, which compareth the body to a cotage, out of whiche it sayth that we remoue when we die, because it esteemeth vs by that part which maketh vs differing from brute beastes. So Peter beyng nie to death, sayth that the tyme is come, when he muste laye awaye his tent. And Paul speaking of the faithful, after that he hath sayd: That when our earthly house shall be dissolued, there is a bildyng for vs in heauen, adioyneth that we are wayferyng from the Lord so long as



we abide in the body, but do desire the presence of God in the absence of the body. If the soules do not ouerliue the bodies, what is it that hath God present when it is seuered from the body? But the Apostle taketh away all doutyng, when he teacheth that we are ioyned in fellowship to the spirites of the righteous. By whiche woordes he sheweth, that we are ioyned in fellowship to the holy fathers, whiche euen beyng dead doe kepe the same godlinesse with vs, so that we can not be the members of Christ vnlesse we growe together with them. Vnlesse also the soules beyng vnclouted of the bodies, did kepe still their substance & were able to receyue blessed glozie, Christ wold not haue sayd to the these, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. Hauing so clere testimonies, let vs not dout after the example of Christ when we are dyeng, to commend our soules to God, or after the example of Stephen to commit them to Christ to kepe, which not vnworthily is called a faithfull shepherd and bishop of them. To enquire of their meane state, is neyther lawfull nor expedient. Many do much comber themselves with disputing what place they kepe, and whether they do now enioye the heauenly glozie or no. But it is follie and rashnesse, to searche depelier of vnknown things, than God doth geue vs leaue to know. When the Scripture, hath sayd that Christ is present with them, and receiue them into paradise that they maye enioy comfozt, on the other side that the soules of y reprobate do suffer suche peines as they haue deserued: it goeth no further. What teacher or maister shall nowe open to vs that whiche God hath hidden? Of the place, the questio is no lesse fond and vayne: for asmuch as we know that there is not the same dimension of the soule which is of the body. Whereas the blessed gathereng together of holy spirites is called the bosome of Abraham, it is enough for vs after this wayfaryng to be receyued of the common father of the faithfull, that he may communicate with vs the frute of his sayth. In the meane time like the Scripture eue ry where biddeth vs to hang vpon the expectation of Christes cōming, and differreth the crowne of glozie till then: let vs be content with these bondes apointed vs of God: namely, that the soules of the godly haung ended the labor of their warfare doe goe into a blessed rest, where with happy ioyfulnesse they loke for the enjoyeng of the promised glozie: and that so all things are holden in suspense till Christ the redemer appere. As for the Reprobate, it is no dout that they haue the same estate which Jude assigneth to the Deuels, to be holden bound with theynes, till they be drawn to the punishment whereunto they are condemned.

7 No lesse monstrous is their erroz, whiche imagine that soules shall not receyue againe the same bodies wherwith they are now clothed, but shall haue new and other bodies. And the reason of the Manichees was very triflyng, that is, that it is not mete that flesh which is vnclane should rise againe. As though there were no vnclaneesse of soules, which yet they debazred not from the hope of euerlasting life. It was therefore all one as if they should say y that which is infected with the filth of sinne can not be cleansed by God. For I now passe ouer that dotage, that fleshe was naturally vnclane, because it was create of the Deuel. Only I shew that what so euer is now in vs vnworthy



worthy of heauen, it hindereth not the resurrection. And first, wheras  
 Paule biddeth the faithfull to cleanse themselues from all defilyng of  
 the fleſhe and of the Spirit, therupō foloweth the iudgement which  
 he in an other place pronounceth, that euery man ſhal receiue by his  
 body eyther good or euel. Wherewith agreeth that which he writeth  
 to the Corinthiās, That y<sup>e</sup> life of Jeſus Chriſt may be openly ſhewed  
 in our mortall fleſh. For which reaſon in an other place he doth no leſſe  
 pray that God preſerue the bodies whole vnto the day of Chriſt, than  
 the ſoules and ſpírites. And no maruell, bicauſe it were a moſt great  
 abſurditie that the bodies which God hath dedicate to be temples to  
 himſelfe, ſhould fall away into rottenneſſe without hope of riſyng a-  
 gaine. What ſay we to this, that thei are alſo the members of Chriſt:  
 that God commaundeth all the partes of them to be ſanctified to him-  
 ſelfe: that he willeth his name to be praiſed with tonges, pure handes  
 to be liſted by to him, ſacrifices to be offered: What madneſſe is it ther-  
 fore that that part to which the heauenly iudge hath vouchſaued to  
 graunt ſo great honoz, ſhould be brought from a mortall man into duſt  
 without any hope of reſtozing: Likewise when Paule exhorteth vs  
 to ſuffer the Lord as well in body as in ſoule, bycauſe both belong to  
 God, verily he ſuffreth not that which he chalengeſh to God as ho-  
 ly, to be adiudged to eternall rottenneſſe. Neyther is there a plaince  
 determinatiō of the Scripture for any thing, thā for the riſyng againe  
 of this fleſh which we beare. This corruptible (ſayth Paule) muſt put  
 on vncorruption, and this mortall muſt put on immortallitie. If God  
 did make new bodies, where is this changyng of qualitie: If it had  
 ben ſayd that we muſt be renewed, the doubtful ſpeache peraduenture  
 mought haue geuen occaſion to their cauillatiō. But now when poin-  
 tyng with his ſingat to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he pro-  
 miſeth to them vncorruption, he plainly enough denieth any new bo-  
 dies to be made. Yea he could not (ſayth Tertullia) ſpeake moze plain-  
 ly, vnleſſe he had holden his owne ſkinne in his hand. And they can by  
 no cauillation eſcape frō this, that where in an other place he ſayth  
 that Chriſt ſhal be the iudge of the woꝛld, he allegeth this testimonie  
 of Eſaye, I liue, (ſayth the Lord) euery knee ſhal bowe to me: for as  
 much as he plainly pronounceth that they to whō he ſpeaketh ſhal be  
 ſubiect to yeld an accompt of their life: which could not agree, if newe  
 bodies ſhould be brought befoze the iudgement ſeate. Nowe in the  
 woꝛdes of Daniel there is no doubtfulneſſe: And many of them that  
 ſlepe in the earth of duſt, ſhall awake, ſome to eternall life, and ſome to  
 reproches & to euerlaſtyng contempt: ſithe he fetcheth not new matter  
 out of the fower elementes to make men, but calleth dead men out of  
 their graues. And this very plaine reaſon teacheth. For if mortallitie  
 which toke beginnyng at the fall of man, be accidental: then the re-  
 payyng, which Chriſt brought, pertaineth to the ſame body which be-  
 gan to be mortall. And truely, wheras the Athenians laughed when  
 Paule affirmed the reſurrection, therupon we may gather what man-  
 ner of reſurrection he preached: and that ſame laughyng not ſmally  
 anayleth to ſtrengthen our faith. The ſayeng of Chriſt alſo is woꝛthy  
 to be noted: feare not them which kil the body, & can not kil the ſoule:  
 but feare him which can thꝛowe both the ſoule and the body into hell

ii. Cor. b  
 i.  
 ii. Cor. b.  
 ii. Cor. ii  
 r.  
 i. Theſ. b  
 xxij.  
 i. Cor. vi  
 xv.  
 i. Tim. ii  
 viii.  
 i. Cor. vi  
 xx.  
 i. Cor. xv  
 liii.  
 Ro. piii  
 ii.  
 Eſa. xliij  
 xviii.  
 Dan. xii.  
 Matth. p  
 xxviii.



Of the manner how to receiue

of fire. For there is no cause to feare, vnlesse the body whiche we now beare be subiect to punishmēt. And no lesse plaine is an other sayeng of the same Christ, The houre cometh, when all they y are in graues, shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and shall come forth: they that haue done good, into the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euil, into the resurrection of iudgement. Shall we say that soules rest in the graues, that they lieng there may heare Christ: and not rather that at his comaundement the bodie shall retorne into the liuelinesse which they had lost: Moreover if we shall haue new bodie genē vs, where is the likefastioning of the head and the membres: Christ rose againe: was it with forgyng to himselfe a newe body: No, but as he had sayd befoze, Destroy this tēple, and in thzee daies I wil bulde it vp: he toke againe the same body which he had befoze bozne mortall, for he had not much profited vs, if a newe body beyng put in place, the olde body had ben destroyed which was offred vp for a sacrifice of satisfactorie cleansing. We must also holde fast that felowship whiche the Apostle preacheth: That we rise againe, bicause Christ hath risen againe: for nothyng is lesse probable than that our flesh in whiche we beare about the mortifieng of Christ, should be depriued of the resurrection of Christ. Whiche verily appered by a notable example, when at the risyng agayne of Christ, many bodie of the Saintes came out of the graues. For it canne not bee denied that this was a forshewyng, or rather an earnest of the laste resurrection whiche we hope for: suche as was befoze in Enoch and Elias, whome Tertullian calleth New possessors of the resurrection: bycause they beyng in body and soule deliuered from corruption, were receyued into the keepyng of God.

8 I am ashamed in so cleare a matter to spende so many wordes: but the readers shall contentedly beare this trouble with me, that no hole maye be open for frowarde and bolde wittes to deceyue the simple. The flyeng spirites wyth whome I nowe dispute, byyng forth a fained inuētō of their owne bzayne, that at the resurrection there shall be a creation of new bodie. What reason moueth them to thinke so, but bicause it semeth to them incredible, y a carion consumed with so long rottēnesse should retorne into his aūcient state: Therfoze only vndelcie is the mother of this opinion. But vs on the other side the Spirit of God eche where in the Scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of our flesh. For this reason baptisme (as Paule witnesseth) is to vs a seale of the resurrection to come: and likewise the holy Supper allureth vs to the trust thereof, when we receyue with our mouth the Signes of spiritual grace. And truely the whole exhortation of Paule, that we geue our mēbres to be weapong vnto the obediēce of righteousnesse, should be cold vnlesse that were ioyned whiche he addeth afterward, He that hath raised vp Christ frō the dead, shall quicken also your mortal bodie. For, what should it profit to applie our feete, handes, eyes, and tonges vnto the seruice of God, vnlesse they were partakers of the frute & reward: which thing Paul plainly confirmeth with his owne wordes, sayeng: The body not to fornication, but to the Lord: and the lord to the body. And he that hath raised vp Christ, shall also rayse vp vs by his power. More plaine are those

John .v.  
viii.

Th.ii. xij.

1. Cor. xv.  
ii.

Mat .xviii.  
li.

Candidati,  
nec clo-  
hed in  
white, as  
were a-  
mong the  
Romanes  
they that  
were su-  
ters for or  
nerby e-  
lected into  
office.

Col. ij. xij

1. Cor. vij.  
iij. & viij.  
Ro. viij. ij.

1. Cor. vi.  
xij. & xv.  
xij.



those wordes which folow : that our bodies are the temples of the holy ghost & the members of Christ. In the meane time we see how he ioyneth the resurrection with chastitie & holinesse, as a litle after he sayth that the price of redemption pertaineth also to the bodies. Now it were not resonable that the body of Paul, in which he hath borne the printes of Christ, & in which he honorably glorified Christ, should lose y<sup>e</sup> reward of the crowne. Whereupon also came that glozieng, We loke for the redemer from heauen, which shall make our vile body likefashioned to the body of his brightnesse. And if this be true, that we must by many afflictions entre into the kingdome of God, no reason suffreth to debarre the bodies from this entrie, which God both exerciseth vnder the standard of the crosse, & honozeth with the praise of victorie. Therfoze of this matter there arose among the Saintes no douting, but y<sup>e</sup> they hoped to be companios of Christ, which remoueth into his owne persone al the afflictions wherewith we are proued, to teache that they bring life. yea and vnder the law he exercised the holy fathers in this faith with an outward ceremonie. For to what purpose serued the vsage of burieng, as we haue already shewed, but that they should know that there is new life prepared for the bodies that are layed vp. Hereunto also tended the spices and other signes of immoztalitie, wherewith vnder the law the darknesse of faith was holpen cuē as it was by the sacrifices. Neither was that māner bredde by superstitiō, for asmuch as we see y<sup>e</sup> the Spirit doth no lesse diligently reherse burialles than the chiefe misteries of faith. And Christ commendeth that worke as a special worke, truely for none other reson but bicause it listeth by our eyes frō beholding of the graue which corrupteth & destroyeth all, to the sight of the renewyng. Moreouer the so diligent obseruing of the ceremonie whiche is praysed in the fathers, sufficiently proueth y<sup>e</sup> it was to them a rare & pretious help of faith. For neither would Abrahā haue so carefully prouided for the burieng place of his wife, vnlesse there had ben set before his eyes a religion and a profit hier than the world, namely y<sup>e</sup> garnishing the dead body of his wife with the signes of the resurrection he might cōfirme both his owne faith & the faith of his household. But a clerer profe of this thing appereth in the exāple of Jacob, which to testifie to his posteritie y<sup>e</sup> the hope of the promised land was not euen by death fallen out of his minde, cōmaunded his bones to be caried thether. I besech you, if he was to be clothed with a new body, should he not haue geuen a sond cōmaūdiement cōcerning dust y<sup>e</sup> should be brought to nothing. Wherfoze if their authoritie of the Scripture be of any force with vs, there cā be required of no doctrine either a moze clere oz moze certaine profe. For this euen children vnderstand by the wordes of Resurrectiō, & sayng vp againe. For neither can we cal it the Resurrection of that which is now first created, neither should that sayeng of Christ stād fast, Whatsoeuer the Father hath geuen me, it shall not perishe, but I will raise it vp in the last day. To the same purpose serueth the word of Sleping, which pertaineth only to the bodies. Wherupō also burieng places were called Cœmeteria, Sleping places. Now it remaineth that I speake somwhat of y<sup>e</sup> manner of the resurrection. I vse this word, bicause Paul calling it a misterie, exhorteth vs to sobrietie, & biddeth the libertie to dispute like

Gal. vi.

Phil. iii.

Act. xiii.

Mat. xxv.

Gen. xlii.

Ge. xlii.

John. vi.

i. Cor. xv.



Philosophers freely & suttelly of it. First we muste holde, as we haue sayd, that we shall rise againe in the same fleshe whiche we beare, as touchyng the substance, but the qualitie shall be other. As when the same fleshe of Christ whiche had ben offered for sacrifice, was rayled by againe, yet it excelled in other qualities as yf it had ben altogether another fleshe. Whiche thing Paule declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one substance of the fleshe of a man, and of a beast, but not al one qualitie: as all starres haue like matter, but not like brightnesse: so he teacheth that though we shall kepe stil the substance of our body, yet there shall be a change, that the state of it may be muche moze excellent. The body therefore, that we maye be rayled by agayne, shall not perish nor vanishe awaye: but puttyng of corruption, it shall put on vncorruption. But for as much as God hath al the elementes ready at his becke, no hardinesse shall hinder him, but that he may commaund both the earth & waters & fier, to reder that which semeth to be consumed by them. Whiche also Esay testifieth, though not without a figure, where he sayth, Beholde, the Lord shall goe forth of his place, that he maye visit the iniquitie of the earth: and the earth shall discouer her bloud, and shall no moze hide her dead. But there is to be noted a difference betwene them that haue ben dead long befoze, and those who that daye shall finde aliue. For we shall not all slepe (as Paul sayth) but we shall all be changed: that is to saye, it shall not be of necessitie that there be a distance of time betwene death and the beginnyng of the seconde life: bycause in a moment of time, and in the twinkling of an eye, the sound of the trompet shall pearce, to rayse by the dead vncorruptible, and with a sodeyne change to fashion agayne the liuing into the same glozie. So in an other place he comforteth the saythful whiche muste die: bycause they whiche shall then remayne aliue shall not goe befoze the dead, but rather they shall first rise agayne whiche haue slept in Christ. If any object that sayeng of the Apostle, that it is apointed to all mortall menne ones to dye, it is easy to answere it with sayeng that when the state of nature is changed, it is a kinde of death, and is firstly so called. And therefore these thinges agree wel together, that all shall be renewed by death when they shall put of their mortall bodie: and yet that it is not necessarie that there be a seuering of the bodie and the soule where there shall be a sodeyne changing.

But here ariseth a harder question: by what right the resurrection whiche is the singular benefit of Christe is common also to the wicked and the accursed of God. We knowe that all were in Adam condemned to death: Christ came the resurrection and lyfe. Came he to geue life to all mankinde vniuersally without choyse? But what is moze agaynst reason, than that they should by their obstinate blindness obteyne that which the godly worshippers of God do obteine by onely faith? Yet this remaineth certaine, that there shall be one resurrection of iudgement, and an other resurrectio of life, and that Christ shall come to seuer the Lambes from the Goates. I answer, that this ought not to seme strange, the likenesse whereof we see in dayly experience. We see that in Adam we were depzued of the inheritance of the whole worlde, and that we are by no lesse iuste reason debarred

from

1. Cor. xv.  
11.

1. Cor. xv.  
6.

1. Thes. iiii.  
10.

1. Heb. ix.  
10.

1. Th. ii. xv.

1. Mat. xxv.  
11.



from common foode, than from the eatyng of the tree of lyfe. Whence then commeth it to passe, that God doth not onely make his sunne to ryse vpon the good and euell, but also as touchyng the vles of this present lyfe, his inestimable liberalitie continually floweth forth to them with large plentuousnesse: Hereby verily we knowe that those thinges whiche properly belong to Christ and his members, doe also ouerflowe to the wicked: not that it is their rightfull possession, but that they maye be made the moze inexcusable. So the wicked do oftentimes finde God beneficiall, by moze than meane proues, yea suche as somtime do darken all the blessings of the Godly, but yet do turne to their greater damnation. If any man obiect, that the resurrection is not fitly compared to sadyng and earthly benefites: here also I answer that so sone as they were estranged from God the fountayne of life, they deserued the death of the Deuell, whereby they should be vtterly destroyed: Yet by the maruelous counsell of God there was founde a meane state that out of lyfe they mighte liue in death. No moze absurditie ought it to seme, yf the resurrection happen to the wicked, whiche draweth them agaynst their willes to the iudgement seate of Christ, whome nowe they refuse to heare for their mayster and teacher. For it were a small peyne to be consumed awaye with death, yf they were not, to suffer punishment for their obstinacie, bzoughte before the iudge, whose vengeance they haue without ende and measure prouoked agaynst themselues. But although we muste holde that whiche we haue sayd, and whiche that notable confession Paule befoze Felix conteyneth, that he loketh for the resurrection of the righteous and wicked: yet the Scripture oftentimes setteth forth election together with the heauenly glozie to the only children of God: Because Christ properly came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the worlde. Therefore in the Crede there is made mention of the blessed life only.

But for as much as the Prophecie of death swallowed by by victorie, shall then and not till then be fulfilled: let vs alwaye haue in mynde the eternall felicitie, the ende of the resurrection: of the excellencie whereof, yf all thinges were spoken whiche the tonges of men where able to speake, yet scarcely the smallest parcell thereof should bee expressed. For howe so euer we truely heare that the kyngdome of God shall be stuffed full with bzygthnesse, ioye, felicitie, and glozie: yet those thynges that are spoken of are mozte farre removed from our sense, and remayne as it were wrapped in darke speaches, vntill that daye come when he himselfe shall geue to vs his glozie to be seene face to face. We know (sayth John) that we are the chyldren of God, but it hath not yet appered. But when we shall be lyke to him, then we shall see him such as he is. Wherfoze y Propheys, because they could by no wordes expresse the spiritual blessednesse in it self, did in a manner grooly port tray it out vnder bodily thinges. But for as much as the feruentnesse of desire must w some tast of y swetenesse be kindled in vs, let vs chesely continue in this thought, y if god do as a certaine fountaine which can not be drawn drie, cōteyne in him the fulnesse of al good things, nothing is beyōd him to be coueted of them y tend to-

Matth. 1  
16.Act. xxii  
16.10  
Ole. vii.  
viii.  
1. Cor. xv  
liii.

1. Jh. iii. ii



Of the manner how to receiue

ward the soueraigne good and the ful perfection of felicitie: as we are taught in many places. Abraham, I am thy reward exceeding great. With which sayeng accordeth Dauid, The Lord is my portiō, the lot hath very wel fallen to me. Againe in an other place, I shalbe satisfied with thy countenance. But Peter pronounceth that the faithfull are called to this end, that they may be made partakers of the nature of God. How so: because he shalbe glorified in all his saintes, and shalbe made wonderfull in them that haue beleued. If the Lord will enterparten his glorie, power, and righteousnesse with his elect, yea and will geue himself to them to be enjoyed, and (which is better) will after a certayne manner growe into one with them: let vs remeber that vnder this benefit is conteyned all kinde of felicitie. And when we haue much profited in this meditation, let vs reknowledge that we yet staye beneth at the bottome of the rootes, if the conceiuyng of our minde be compared with the highnesse of this misterie. Wherefoze in this behalfe we muste kepe sobrietie, least with hōme muche greater boldinesse we shal stie vp on hye beyng vnmindfull of our owne smal measure, so muche moze the brightnesse of the heauenly glorie ouerwhelme vs. We fele also how the vnmeasurable gredinesse to knowe moze than is lawfull, tickleth vs: from whence bothe triflyng and hurtfull questions do spryng from time to time: triflyng I call those of whiche there can no profit be gathered. But this seconde kinde is worse, bycause they whiche geue themselues to them, doe entangle themselues with pernicious speculations, and therefore I call them hurtfull. That whiche the Scriptures do teache, ought to be out of all dout with vs: namely that as God diuersly distributyng his gistes to the Saintes in this world, doth vnequally enlighten them, so the measure of glorie shal not be equal in heaue where God shal crowne his gistes. For neyther doth this belong indifferently to all whiche Paule sayth, Ye are my glorie and crowne in the daye of Christ: nor also that sayeng of Christ to the Apostles: Ye shall sit iudgyng the twelue tribes of Israell. But Paule (whiche knewe that as God enricheth the holy ones with spirituall gistes in earth, so he beautifieth them with glorie in heauen) douteth not that there is a peculiar crowne layed vp for him accordyng to the rate of his labors. And Christ, to set forth to the Apostles the dignitie of the office which they dyd beare, telleth them that the frute thereof is layed vp for them in heauen. So Daniel also sayth, But the wise shal shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they whiche iustifie many, as Sterres to the worldes ende and for euer. And yf a man heedefully consider the Scriptures, they doe not only promise eternall lyfe to the saythfull, but also speciall rewarde to euery one. Whereupon commeth that sayeng of Paule, The Lord render to him in that daye. Whiche the promise of Christ confirmeth, Ye shall receyue a hundred folde in the eternall life. Finally as Christ beginneth in this worlde the glory of his bodye with manifolde diuersitie of gistes, and increaseth it by degrees: so he shal also make it perfect in heauen.

But as al the Godly will receyue this with one consent, bycause it is sufficiently testified by the worde of God: so on the other side leauyng crabbed questions, whiche they shal know to be a hinderance to



to them, they will not passe their apoynted bondes. As for my part, I doe not onely pzinately forbear superfluous searchoyng of vnprofitable thinges, but I also thynke that I ought to beware that I do not whith the answeryng nourishe the lightnesse of other. When hungry of bayne knowledge doe aske howe greate shalbe the distance betwene the Prophetes and the Apostles, and agayne betwene the Apostles and the Martyrs: how many degrees Virgins differ from married folkes: finally they leaue no corner of heauen vnsearched. Then it commeth in their mindes to enquire to what purpose serueth the repairing of the worlde, sith the children of God shal nede nothing of all this so greate and incomparable plentie: but shal be lyke to the Angels, whose not eatinge is a Signe of the eternall blessednesse. But I aunswere y in the very syghte there shal be so great pleasantnesse, so greate swetenesse in the onely knoweledge withoute any vse, that this felicitie shal farre passe all the helpes wherewith we be now holpen. Let vs imagine oure selues to be sette in the moste wealthy coaste of the worlde, and where we shal wante no plersure: yet whoe is there whome his sickenesse do not somtime hinder and not suffer to vse the benefites of God: Who is there whose course his owne intemperance doth not ofte breake in sunder: Wherebpon foloweth that a cleare enjoyng and pure from al faulte, although there be no vse of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicitie. Some goe further and aske whether Drosse and other corruptions in metalles, bee not far from restozing and are contrarie to it. Whiche though in some respect I graunt them, yet I loke with Paule for the repairing of these faults which toke their beginning at sinne, towarde whiche repairing they gzone and are in trauaile. Yet they procede further, and aske what better estate is prepared for man, sith the blessing of issue shal them be at an ende. This knot is also easy to be loosed. Whereas the Scripture so honorably letteth out that kinde of blessing, that is referred to the encrease wherewith God continually draweth forward the ordze of nature her marke: but in the perfectio it is knowen that there is an other manner. But sith the vnware are easily taken with allurementes, and then the maze draweth them in depelier, and at length when euery mans deuises please himselte there is no ende of stryuyng: therefore let this be a shozte waye for vs, to be contented with the glasse & darke speach until we shal see face to face. For fewe of a greate multitude care whiche waye they may go to heauen: but all do befoze their time couet to knowe what is done there. All being commonly sluggish & slow to enter into battells, do already paint out to themselues imagined triumphes.

Now bycause noe description canne matche the greuousnesse of the vengeance of God vpon the reprobate, they tormentes and peines are figured to vs by bodyly things, namely by darkenesse, weping, gnawinge of teethe, vnquencheable fyre, and a woyme endlessly gnawinge the hearte. For by suche manners of speache it is certaine that the Holy ghooste meante to trouble all oure senses wyth horroz: as when yt ys sayde that there ys prepared from eternitie a deepe Hell, that the nourishmentes thereof are fyre and

Ro. viij.  
xiii.

1 2  
Mat. viij.  
xii. & xiii.  
xiii.  
Mat. ix.  
xlii.  
Esa. lxxv.  
xviii.

much



Of the manner how to receiue

much wood: that the blast of the Lord, as a streame of bremstone, doth set it on fier. As by such thinges we muste be holpen after a certaine manner to conceiue the miserable state of the wicked, so we ought chiefly to fasten our thought vpon this howe wretched a thing it is to be estranged from the felowship of God: and not that only, but also to fele the maiestie of God so bent against thee, that thou canst not escape but be fast strayned of it. For first his displeasure is like a most violent fier, with touchyng whereof all thinges are deuoured and swallowed vp. Then, all creatures so serue him to execute his iudgement, that they to whome the Lord shall so shewe his wrath, shall fele the heauen, earth, sea, and beastes, as it were with cruell indignation enflamed against them and armed to their destruction. Wherefore it is no small thyng that the Apostle pronounceth when he sayth that the vbeleuyng shall suffer eternal punishmēt by dyeng from the face of the Lord, and from the glozie of his power. And so oft as the Prophetes do caste vs in feare with bodily figures, although they speake nothing excessiuelly for our dulnesse, yet they adde foreshewynges of judgement to come, in the sunne and the moone and the whole frame of the world. Wherefore the vnhappy consciēces do linde no rest, from beyng vexed and tossed with a terrible whirlewinde, frō feelyng themselves to be tozne in pecces by God beyng angirly bent agaynst them, from beyng pearced and launced with deadly stinges, from trēbling at the lighrening of God, and beyng brooled with the weight of his hand: so that it is much moze ease to entre into al bottomlesse depthes and deuouryng pittes, than to stande one moment in those terroz. What and how great then is this, to be pressed with euerlastyng and neuer cessing siege of him: Of whiche thyng the .xc. Psalme conteyneth a notable sentence: that although with onely sight he scatter abzode all mortall men and byyng them to nought, yet his worshippers, howe muche moze ferefull they are in the world, so much moze he enforceth them and pricketh them forward loden with the crosse, vntill he be all in all.

The ende of the third Boke.













tution of Christen religion, vvhich entreateth of  
the outvard meanes or helpes, vvhherby God  
allureth vs into the felovvshyp of Christ  
and holdeth vs therein.

## The first Chapter.

Of the true Church with which we ought to keepe vnitie, because it is  
the mother of al the godly.



That by faith of the Gospel Christ is become ours, and  
we be made partakers of the saluation broughte by him  
and of eternal blessednesse, is already declared in the last  
booke. But because our rudenesse, and slouthfulnesse,  
yea and vanitie of witte, doe nede outwarde helpes  
whereby fayth in vs maye both be engendred, and  
growe and encrease in proceeding towarde the marke wherunto it ten-  
deth: God hath also added them, therby to prouyde for our weakenesse.  
And that the preaching of the Gospell might flozyshe, he hath left this  
treasure with the Church. He hath appointed Pastors and teachers,  
by whoes mouth he myght teache them that be his: he hath furnyshed  
them with authoritie, finally he hath left nothyng vndoone that might  
auaile to the holy consent of faith and right order. First of all he hath  
ordained Sacramentes, which we fele by experience to be moze than  
profitable helpes to nourishe and confirme faith. For because beeyng  
enclosed in the prison of our fleshe, we do not yet attaine to the degree  
of Angels, God applying hymselfe to our capacitie accordyng to hys  
wonderful Providence, hath appointed a meane wherby we being far  
distant fro him might come vnto hym. Wherfore the order of teaching  
requireth that now we entreate of the Church, and of the gouernemēt,  
orders, and power of it, and then of the Sacramentes, and lastely also  
of ciuile order: and therewithall that we call away the godly readers  
from these corruptions wherewyth Satan in the Papane hath depra-  
ued all thynges that God had appointed for our saluation. I will be-  
gin at the Church, into whoes bosome God wil haue hys children to  
be gathered together, not onely that they should by her helpe and mi-  
nisterie be nourished whyle they are infantes and pong chyl dren, but  
also be ruled by her motherly care tyll they growe to ryper age, and at  
length come to the marke of fayth. For it is not lawfull that those  
thynges be seuered which God hath conioyned, that to whom he is a  
father, the Church be also their mother: and that not onely vnder  
the lawe, but also sines the comyng of Christe, as Paule wytnesseth,  
which teacheth that we are the children of the newe and heauenly Hieru-  
salem.

Eph. iii.  
ri.

Pa. r. ix.  
Gal. viii.  
rvi.

In the Crede, where we professe that we beleue the Church,  
that is not spoken onely of the visible Church whereof we now  
entreate, but of all the electe of God, in whose number they are also  
comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore thys worde

A. i.

Beleue



Beleue is there set, because oftentimes there can no other difference be  
 noted betwene the children of God and the vngodly, betwene his pecu-  
 liar flocke and sauage beastes. For wheras many doe enterlace this  
 worde in, that is without probable reason. I graunt in dede that it is  
 the moze commonly bled, and also wanteth not the consenting testimo-  
 nie of antiquitie, forasmuch as euen the Nicen Crede, as it is reported  
 in the Ecclesiasticall histozie, addeth the preposition in. But there with-  
 all we maie marke by the writings of the auncient Fathers, that it  
 was in old time receiued without controuersie to say, that they beleued  
 the Church and not in the Church. For Augustine, and that auncient  
 writer whatsoeuer he was, whoes work remaineth vnder the name of  
 Cyprian concerning the exposition of the Crede, do not onely so speake  
 themselves, but also do expzessly note that it should be an vnproper ma-  
 ner of speaking if the preposition were adioyned, and they confirme  
 their opinion with no trifling reason. For we therefore testifie that we  
 beleue in God because vpon him as a true speaker our minde repositeth  
 it selfe, and in him our confidence resteth which could not so conuenient-  
 ly be spoken to say in the Church, no moze than it could be sayed, I be-  
 leue in the forgoeuensse of sinnes, or in the resurrection of the fleiue.  
 Therefore although I would not strine about woordes, yet I had ra-  
 ther folowe the proprietic of speakyng that shoulde be fittest to expresse  
 the matter, thā curiously to seke for formes of speche wherby the mat-  
 ter may without cause be darkened. But the ende is, y we should know  
 that although the deuill attempt all meanes to ouerthrowe the grace  
 of Chziste, and though the ennemies of God be carried with violente  
 rage to the same entente: yet it can not be extinguished, nor the bloude  
 of Chzist be made barren, but that it will byyng forth some fruite. And  
 so is both the secrete electiō of God, and his inward callyng to be cō-  
 sidered: because he alone knoweth whoe be hys, and holdeth thē enclo-  
 sed vnder a seale as Paule termeth it: sayyng that they beare hys to-  
 kens wherby they maye be seuerally knowen from the repobate.  
 But because a small and contemptible numbet lyeth hid vnder a huge  
 multitude, and a fewe graines of wheate are couered wyth a heape  
 of chaffe, to God onely is to be lefte the knowledge of his Church, the  
 fundation whereof is his secrete election. But it is not sufficiente to  
 conceiue in thoughte and mynde the multitude of the elect, vnlesse we  
 thinke vppon suche an vnitie of the Church into whiche we be truly  
 perswaded that we our selues be engrafted. For vnlesse we be vnder  
 our head Chziste vnited together wyth all the reste of his members,  
 there abydeth for vs no hope of the inheritaunce to come. It is there-  
 fore called Catholike or vniuersall, because we can not fynde two  
 or thzee Churches but that Chziste muste be some in sonder, whyche  
 can not be done. But all the electe of God are so knitt together in  
 Chziste, that as they hang vpon one head, so they may growe together  
 as it were into one body, cleauing together wyth suche a compacting of  
 ioyntes as the members of one selfe body: beeing truly made one,  
 whiche with one hope, fayth, Charitie, with one selfe Spirite of God  
 dooe lyue together, beeing called not onely into one inheritaunce of  
 eternall lyfe, but also into one partaking of one God and Chziste.  
 Wherefore although the sorowefull desolation that on eche syde  
 presenteth



presenteth it selfe in sighte, crieth out that there is nothing lefte of the Church, yet lette vs knowe that Christes death is frutefull and that God maruellously as it were in secrete cozners preserueth his Church. As it was sayed to Elias, I haue kept to my selfe seuen thousande men that haue not bowed their knee befoze Baal.

1. Tim. v.  
vbit.

Albeit this article of the Crede doeth in some respecte belong to the outwarde Church, that every one of vs shoulde holde himselfe in brotherly consente with all the children of God, shoulde yelde vnto the Church that authoritie whiche it deserueth, finally shoulde so behaue himselfe as a shepe of the flocke. And therefore is adioyned the communion of Saintes. Whiche parcell, although commonly the old wryters doe leaue it out, yet is not to be neglected: because it very wel expresth the qualitie of the Church: as if it had been sayed that the Saintes are gathered together into the felowshyppe of Christ with this condition, that whatsoeuer benefites God bestoweth vpon them they shoulde continually communicate them one to an other. Wherby yet the diuersitie of graces is not taken away, as we knowe that the gyftes of the Holy ghost are diuersly distributed: neyther is the order of ciuile gouernemente disturbed, by whiche it is lawfull for every man priuately to enioye his owne possessions, as it is necessarye, that for preseruatiyon of peace among men, they shoulde haue among them selues peculiare and deuyded properties of thynges. But there is a communitie affirmed, suche as Luke describeth, that of the multitude of the beleuers there was one harte and one soule: and Paule, when he exhorteth the Ephesians to be one body, one Spirite, as they be called in one hope. For it is not possible, if they be truly perswaded that God is the common father, and Christ the common head to them all, but that being conioyned among themselues with brotherly loue, they shoulde continually communicate those thynges that they haue. Nowe it muche behoueth vs to knowe what profyete therupon returneth vnto vs. For we beleue the Church to thys ende, that we may be certainly perswaded that we are the members of it. For by thys meane, our saluation resteth vpon sure and sounde stapes, that it, although the whole frame of the world be shaken, can not come to ruine and fall downe. Firste it standeth wyth goddes election, neyther can it varpe or faile but together wyth hys eternall Providence. Then, it is after a certayne manner ioynd wyth the stedfastnesse of Christe, whiche will no moze suffer his faithfull to be plucked from hym, than hys owne members to be rente and tozne in peces. Beside that, we are assured that trueth shall alwaye abyde wyth vs, so long as we are holden in the bosome of the Church. Laste of all that we fele that these promises belong to vs, there shall be saluation in Syon, God shall for euer abide in Hierusalem, that it may not at any time be moued. So muche can the partaking of the Church doe, that it holdeth vs in the felowshippe of God. Also in the very worde Communion is muche comforte: because while it remayneth certayne, that what soeuer the Lorde geueth to hys and oure members, belongeth to vs, oure hope is by all theyr good thynges confirmed. But in suche sorte to embrace the vnitie of the Church, it is not nedefull (as we haue already sayed) to see the Church it selfe wyth

3

Acte, liii  
rrr.  
Eph, liii  
liii.Joel, ii.  
rrr.  
Abd, rbit.  
Dr. pl. vi,  
vi.

A.ii.

our



our eyes, or fele it with our handes: but rather by thys that it consisteth in faith, we are admonished that we oughte no lesse to thinke it to be, when it passeth our vnderstanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our fayth therefoze the woꝛse, because it conceiueth it vnknown: for asmuche as we are not here in commaunded to discern the reprobate from the electe (whiche is the office of God onely, and not oures) but to determine assuredly in our mindes, that all they that by the mercifull kindnesse of God the father throughte the effectuall working of the Holy ghost, are come into the partaking of Christ, are seuered into the peculiar righte and proper possession of Christe: and that, for asmuche as we be in the number of those, we are partakers of so greate a grace.

4

But lithe it is nowe our purpose to entreate of the visibill Church, lette vs learne euen by thys one title of Mother, howe muche the knowledge thereof is profitable, yea necessarye for vs: for asmuche as there is no other entrey into life, vnlesse she conceiue vs in her wombe, vnlesse she byng vs fourth, vnlesse she fede vs with her bꝛeastes, fynallye vnlesse she kepe vs vnder her custodye and gouernaunce, vntyll suche tyme as beyng vnclothed of mortall fleshe we shall be lyke vnto Angels. For oure weakenesse suffreth vs not to be dismissed from schole, tyll we haue been scholars throughtout þ whole course of our lyfe: Beside that oute of her bosome there is no forgiveness of synnes, and no saluation to be hoped for, as wytnesseth Esaye and Joel, with whom agreeth Ezechiel when he declareth that they shall not be in the number of Goddes people whome he putteth awaye from the heauenly lyfe. As on the contrarie side, they are sayed to wyꝛte their names among the citezens of Hierusalem, that turne themselues to the folowynge of true godlynesse. After whiche manner it is also sayed in an other Psalme: Remember me, Lord, in the good wyll of thy people: visite me in thy saluation that I maye see the benefytes of thy electe, that I maye be merry in the myꝛth of thy people, that I maye reioyse wyth thy enherytaunce. In whiche woꝛdes the fatherly fauoure of GOD, and the peculiar testimonie of the Spirituall lyfe is restrayned to hys flocke, so that the departynge from the Church is alwaye damnable.

Mat. xxi.  
xxx.  
Cl. xxxviii  
xxxii.  
Joel, ii,  
xxii.  
Eze. xlii.  
ix.

Psal. cxi,  
iii.

5

But lette vs procede to prosecute that whiche properly belongeth to this place. Paule writeth that Christ, that he might fulfill all thynges, gaue some Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and teachers, to the restorynge of the holy ones, into þ worke of ministerie, vnto the edification of the body of Christe: vntill we all come into the vnitie of fayeth, and of the acknowledgyng of the sonne of God, vnto a perfecte manne, and to the measure of the ful growen age of Christ. We see how God, whiche was able to make the that he hys perfecte in a momente, yet wyll not haue them growe into manly age but by the bynging by of the Church. We see the meane expressed, for that vnto the Pastors is enioyned the preachynge of the heauenly doctrine. We see how all, not one excepted, are broughte into one rule, that they shoulde wyth milde Spirite and willing to learne, yelde themselues to the teachers appoynted for that vse. And by  
thys

Eph. iiii.  
xi.



this marke Esaye had longe befoze sette out the kingdome of Chyriste,  
 where he sayeth: My Spirite whiche is in thee, and the woordes that  
 I haue putte in thy mouth shall neuer departe, neyther oute of thy  
 mouth, noz out of the mouth of thy sede and thy childzens children.  
 Wherebpon foloweth that they are woorthy to perishe wyth famyne  
 and pining hunger, whosoeuer they be that refuse the Spirituall  
 meate of the soule reached vnto them of God by the handes of the  
 Churche. God doeth breath fayth into vs, but by the instrumente of  
 his Gospel, as Paule sayeth that fayth is by hearyng. As also wyth  
 God remaineth hys power to saue, but (as the same Paule witnesseth)  
 he uttereth and displayeth the same in the preaching of the Gospel. For  
 thys reason in olde time he wylled that there shoulde be made holye as-  
 semblyes to the sanctuarie, that doctryne utterd by the mouth of the  
 Priest shoulde nourishe the consente of fayth. And to no other ende  
 those glozious titles haue respect, where the temple is called the rest of  
 God, and the sanctuarie his house, where he is sayed to syt betwene the  
 Cherubins, but to byyng estimation, loue, reuerence and dignitie to the  
 ministerie of the heavenly doctrine, whiche otherwoyse the syghte of a  
 mortall and despised man would not a little diminishe. Therefore that  
 we shoulde knowe, that out of earthen vessels is broughte fourth vnto  
 vs inestimable treasure, God himselte commeth fourth, and in as much  
 as he is authoz of this degree, so he wil haue himselte to be acknowl-  
 edged presente in his institution. Therefore after that he hath forbydden  
 his to geue themselues to iudgement by flying of birdes, to south say-  
 ings, magicall artes, necromancie and other superstitions, he imme-  
 diatly addeth that he will geue them that whiche oughte to suffice in  
 steade of al, y<sup>e</sup> is to saye, that they shal neuer be destitute of Prophetes.  
 But like as he set not the olde people to Angels, but raised vp teachers  
 out of the earth, whiche mighte truely perfozme the office of Angels:  
 so at thys daie also his will is to teache vs by men. And as in the olde  
 time he was not contente with the onely lawe, but added Priestes for  
 expositors, at whose lippes the people shoulde enquire for the true mea-  
 ning therof: so at thys day he not only willeth vs to be hedefully bent to  
 reding, but also appointeth maisters ouer vs, by whose tranail we may  
 be holpen: wherof commeth double profite. For on the one parte by a  
 very good tryal it proueth our obedience, where we heare his ministers  
 speaking euen as it were himselte. On the other side it also prouydeth  
 for our weakenesse, while after the manner of men he had rather speake  
 vnto vs by interpzeters to allure vs vnto him, than with thondryng  
 dzine vs away fro hym. And truely how expedient this familiar maner  
 of teaching is for vs, al the godly do fele by the feare wherwith y<sup>e</sup> maie-  
 stie of God doth woorthily astonishe them. But they that thynke that the  
 authozitie of the doctrine is abaced by the contempt of the men that are  
 called to teache, do be wozay their vnthankefulnesse: because among so  
 many excellent giftes wherewith God hath garnished mankinde: this  
 is a singular prerogatiue, that he bouchesauely to consecrate the mou-  
 thes and tonges of men to himselte, that hys owne voyce shoulde sound  
 in them. Wherefoze on oure behalues lette vs not be greued obedi-  
 entlie to embrace the doctrine of saluation sette fourth by hys com-  
 maundemente and by hys owne mouthe: because althoughe the po-



wer of God is not bounde to outwarde meanes, yet he hath bounde vs  
 to an ordinarpe manner of teaching: whiche whyle phzentyke menne  
 refuse to kepe, they wrappe themselues in many deadly snares. Eytter  
 pryde, oz disdainefulnesse, oz enuie moueth many to perswade them-  
 selues that they can sufficiently pzofyt by their owne priuate readyng  
 and study, and so to despise publike assemblies, and to accompte prea-  
 ching superfluous. But sith they do as muche as in thē is lose oz bzeake  
 in sonder the holy bonde of vnitie, no man escapeth the due punishment  
 of thys diuorce, but he bewitcheth hymselfe wyth pestylente errors  
 and mozte wicked dotages. Wherfoze, that the pure simplicitie of Faith  
 maye flourish among vs, lette vs not be greued to vse thys exercyse  
 of godlynesse, whiche God by his institution hath shewed to be necessa-  
 rie for vs and so earnestly commendeth. But there was neuer yet found  
 any euen of the most wanton dogges whiche woulde say that we ought  
 to stoppe oure cares agaynst God: but in all ages the Prophetes and  
 godly teachers haue had a hard strife agaynst the wicked, whoes stub-  
 boznnesse can neuer come vnder this yoke, to be taughte by the mouth  
 and ministerie of menne. Whiche is as muche as to blotte oute the  
 face of God whiche shineth vnto vs in doctrine. For, in olde tyme  
 the saythfull were commaunded to seke the face of God in the Sanc-  
 tuarpe, and the same is so ofte repeted in the lawe, for no other cause  
 but for that the doctrine of the lawe and the exhortations of the Pro-  
 phetes were to them a liuely image of God: as Paule affirmeth that in  
 hys preaching shineth the glozpe of God in the face of Chryste. Howe  
 muche the moze detestable are the Apostates, whiche greedely seeke to  
 deuide Churches, as thonghe they did driue thepe from their foldes  
 and caste them into the mouthes of wolues. But we must holde that  
 whiche we haue alleged oute of Paule, that the Church is no other-  
 wyse bylde but by outwarde preaching, and that the holy ones are hol-  
 den together wyth no other bonde but when wyth learning and pzofy-  
 ting with one consente they kepe the order appointed by God to the  
 Church. To thys ende principally, as I haue sayed, the saythfull  
 in olde tyme vnder the lawe were commaunded to resozte to the sanc-  
 tuarie. Because when Moses speaketh of the dwelling place of God,  
 he doeth there withall call it the place of name, where God hath sette  
 the memozye of hys name. Whereby he playnly teacheth that without  
 the doctrine of godlinesse there is no vse thereof. And it is not doute-  
 ful but that for the same reason Dauid with greate bitternesse of Spi-  
 rite complayneth that he is by the tyrannous crueltie of hys enemyes  
 kepte from entring into the Tabernacle. It semeth commonlye to  
 many a childishe lamentation, because it shoulde be but a very small  
 losse, and also no greate pleasure shoulde be forgoone thereby, to wante  
 the entrie of the temple, so that there were enoughe of other delytes-  
 full thinges. But he bewaileth that with this one grieffe, anguyshe,  
 and sorowe, he is fretted and vexed and in a manner wasted, for no-  
 thyng is of greater estimation wyth the saythfull, than thys helpe  
 wherby God by degrees lyfteth by his on hys. For this is also to be no-  
 ted, that God in the mirroz of hys doctrine alway so shewed himselfe to  
 the holy Fathers, that the knowledge was spiritual. Wherfoze y temple is  
 called

Psa. cxv.  
 iiii.  
 i. Cor. iiii.  
 vi,

Exod. xx.  
 xxxiii.



called not onely his face, but also (to take awaye all superstition) hys foote stole. And thys is that happy metyng into vnitie of fayth, whyle from the hyst euen to the lowest all doe aspire to the head. All the temples that euer the Gentyles vpon any other purpose builded to God, were but a mere prophaning of hys worshyp: whereunto, though not with lyke grossenelle, yet somewhat the Jewes fell. Whereof Stephen out of the mouth of Clay reprocheth them, where he sayeth, that God dwelleth not in temples made wyth handes. . . . Because onely God doeth by hys worde sanctifie to himselfe temples to the lawefull vse. And if we rashly attempt any thing wythout his commaundemente, by and by to an euill beginning doe cleave newe deuises by whyche the euill is spreade abzode without measure. Yet Terres, when by the counsell of the Magitians he burned by or plucked downe all the temples of Greece, vndiscretely sayed, that the goddes to whō al thynges ought to be freely open were inclosed within wals and tyles. As though it were not in the power of God, to the entente he myght be nere vs, after a certayne manner to descende vnto vs, and yet neyther to chaunge place, nor to fasten vs to earthly meanes: but rather by certayne chariotes to carry vs by to his heauenly glozy, which with the inmeasurable greatnesse thereof fylleth all thynges, yea and in heygth surmounteth the heauens.

Now forasmuche as at this time there hath been greate strife about the effectualnesse of the ministerie, while some excessively amplifye the dignitie thereof: and some other affirme that that whiche is properly belonging to the Holy ghost is wrongfully geue away to mortal mā, if we thynke that ministers and teachers do pearce to the mindes and hartes, to amende as well the blindnesse of the mindes as the hardnesse of hartes: it is mete that we geue a ryght determination of thys cōtrouersy. All that they contend on both partes shal easily be accorded by expresly noting the places where God the authoz of preachyng ioyning his Spirite with it promisseth fruite therof: or againe, when seuering hymselfe from outward helpe he chalengeth to himselfe alone as wel the beginnynges of fayth as the whole course thereof. It was the office of the seconde Elias (as Malachie witnesseth) to enlighten the mindes, and to turne the hartes of fathers to the chylzen, and vnbelieuers to the wysedome of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that he sendeth the Apostles, that they shoulde byng fruite of theyr laboz. But what that fruite is Peter shortly defineth, saying that we be regenerate with incorruptible sede. And therefore Paule glozyeth that he by the gospell begate the Cozinthians, and that they were the scale of hys Apostleshypp: yea that he was not a lyterall minister, suche as dyd onely beate the eares wyth sounde of voyce, but that there was geuen hym an effectualnesse of Spirite, that his doctryne shoulde not be vnproftable. In whiche meaning also in an other place he saieth, that hys gospell was not in worde onely, but in power. He affyrmeth also that the Galathians by hearyng receiued the Spirite of fayth. Finallye in many places he maketh hymselfe not onely a woorker together wyth G O D, but also assygneth hymselfe the offyce of geuyng saluatyon. Truelye he neuer broughte fourth all these

Pr. cxxix  
vii.  
Pr. cxxix, b  
i Para.  
rxiix, ii,  
Acte. vii.  
xliiii,

6

Gal. xiii.  
vi,  
Job. xv.  
rvi.  
i. Pctc. i,  
rxi.  
i. Coz. iiii  
rv.  
i. Coz. ix.  
ii.  
ii. Coz. iiii  
vi.  
i Coz. ii.  
iiii.  
Ga. iiii ii.  
i, Coz. iii.  
ir.



1. The. iii.  
b.  
Ga. ii. viii  
1 Cor. xii.  
vii.

things to this entent to geue vnto himselve any thing were it neuer so little seuerally from God: as in an other place he thortlye declareth, saying: our labour was not vnprofitable in the Lord, according to his powet mightily working in me. Againe in an other place, he that was mightie in Peter towarde the circumcision, was also mightie in me towarde the Gentiles. But howe he leaueth nothing seuerally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as: he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that geueth the encrease. Againe: I haue laboured moze than all: not I, but the grace of God that was with me. And truely we must holde fast those sayinges, where God ascribing to himselve the enlyghtenyng of the mynde, and the renewing of the harte, teacheth that it is a roberie of God if man take vpon himselve any parte of either of them. In the meane time if any man offer hymselfe to the ministers whom God ordeyneth, willing to learne, he shall knowe by the frute, that thys manner of teachyng not in vaine pleased God, and that this yoke of modestie was not in vaine laied vpon the faithfull.

7

But as for the Church visible and whiche is within the compasse of our knowledge, what iudgemente is mete to be geuen therof, I thinke it already appeare evidently by that which we haue befoze sayed. For we haue sayed, that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Church after two sortes. Somtime when it nameth the church, it meaneth that church which is in dede befoze God, into which none are receiued but they that are both by grace of adoption the childzen of God, and by sanctification of the Spirite the true members of Christ. And then truely it comprehendeth not onely the holy ones that dwell in earth, but also all the electe that haue ben sins the beginning of the worlde. But oftentimes vnder the name of the Church it signifieth the vniuersall multitude of men scattered abrode in the worlde, whiche professe that they woorthyp one God and Christ, by Baptisme entre into hys fayth, by partaking of the Supper testifie their vnitie in true doctrine and charitie, haue an agremente in the worde of the Lorde, and for the preaching thereof doe kepe the ministerie ordeined by Christe. In thys church there be mingled many hypocrites whiche haue nothyng of Christ but the name and outward shewe: there be many ambitious, couetous, enuious, euill speakers, some of vnclene life: which be suffred for a time, either because they can not by lawfull order of iudgemente be couinced, or because there is not alway in vze that seueritie of discipline that oughte to be. Therefore as we muste nedes beleue that the Church which is inuisible to vs, is to be seen with the eyes of God onely: so are we commaunded to regarde thys Church whiche is called a Church in respecte of men, and to kepe the communion of it.

8

11. Tim. ii.  
xix.

Therefore so muche as behoued vs to knowe it, the Lorde hath sette it oute by certayne markes and as it were signes vnto vs. Thys is in dede the singular prerogative of God himselve, to knowe who be hys, as we haue already alleaged oute of Paule. And truely that the rashnesse of menne shoulde not crepe so farre, it is prouided, by the verye successe of thynges daylye puttyng vs in mynde; howe farre his secreete iudgementes dooe surmounte oure vnderstanding



dyng. For euen they that seemed moſte desperate, and accompted bra-  
 uerly paſte hope, are by his goodneſſe called backe into the waye: and  
 they that ſeemed to ſtande faſt in compariſon of other, doo oftentimes  
 fall. Therfoze accoꝝding to the ſecrete predeſtination of God (as Augu-  
 ſtine ſaith, there be many ſhepe without, and many wolues within. For  
 he knoweth them, and hath them marked that knowe neither hym  
 noꝝ them ſelues. But of thoſe that openly beare his badge, his onely  
 eyes doo ſee who be both holy without ſaynyng, and who will continue  
 euen to the ende, whiche is the very chiefe poynnt of ſaluation. Yet on  
 the other ſyde, ſozaſmuch as he ſoꝝaw it to be ſomedeale expediente,  
 that we ſhould knowe who were to be accompted his children, he hath  
 in this parte applied himſelfe to our capacitie. And becauſe the certaintie  
 of Faith was not neceſſarie, he hath put in place thereof a certayne  
 iudgement of charitie: wherby we ſhould acknowledge for membes of  
 the church thoſe that bothe with confeſſion of Faith, and with exam-  
 ple of lyfe, and with partakynge of ſacramentes, dooe profeſſe the ſame  
 God and Chriſt with vs. But as for the knowledge of the body thereof  
 howe much moze that he knew it to be neceſſary for our ſaluation, with  
 ſo muche the moze certayne markes he hath ſette it out.

Loe herebpon groweth and arſeth vnto vs, a face of the Church vi-  
 ſible to our eyes. For where ſoener we ſee the woꝝd of God to be pure-  
 ly preached and hearde, and the ſacramentes to be miniſtred accoꝝdyng  
 to the institution of Chriſt, there it is in no wiſe to be doubted that there  
 is ſome church of God: ſozaſmuch as his promiſe canne not deceiue,  
 Where ſoener two or thre are gathered together in my name, there I  
 am in the middes of them. But that we maie evidently vnderſtande  
 the ſunne of this matter, we muſt procede by theſe as it were degrees:  
 that is to ſay, that the vniuerſall church is a multitude gathered toge-  
 ther out of all nations what ſoener they be, which beyng ſundered and  
 ſeuerally ſcattered by diſtances of places, yet doeth agree in one truth  
 of godly doctrine, and is bounde together with the bonde of one ſelfe  
 religion: And that ſo vnder this are comprehended al particular Churches  
 whiche are in all towneſ and ſtreetes accoꝝdyng to the order of  
 mens neceſſitie, ſo that euery one of them may rightfully haue the name  
 and authozitie of a Church: And that all particular men which by pro-  
 feſſion of godlineſſe are reckened among ſuch Churches, although they  
 be in dede ſtraungers from the Church, yet doo after a certain maner  
 belong vnto it, tyll by publike iudgement they be baniſhed out of it.  
 Howbeit there is ſomewhat a diuers maner in iudgyng of priuate men  
 and of Churches. For it may fall in experience, that ſuch men as we ſhal  
 thynke not to bee altogether woꝝthy of the company of the godly, yet  
 we muſt be like brethren, and accompt them among the faithfull, for  
 the comon conſent of the Church, wherby they are ſuffered and borne  
 withall in the body of Chriſte. We dooe not by oure teſtimonie allowe  
 ſuche to be membes of the Church: but we leaue them the place that  
 they haue among the people of God, till it be by orderly ryght of lawe  
 taken away from them. But of the very multitude we muſt otherwiſe  
 thinke: which if it hath and honoureth the miniſterie of the Woꝝd, and  
 the adminiſtration of Sacramentes, it deſerueth without doute to be  
 eſtemed and iudged a Church: becauſe it is certain that thoſe thyngs



are not without fruit. So we do also preserve to the vniuersall Church her vnitie, whiche diuely the spirites haue alway trauailed to cut in sunder: neither doo we defraude of their authoritie those lawfull assemblies whiche are disposed accordyng to the fitnessse of places.

10 We haue sette for signes to discern the Church by, the preaching of the Worde, and the obseruyng of the Sacramentes. For these can be no where but they must bring forth fruite, and be prospered with the blessing of God. I doo not say, that wheresoeuer the worde is preached, there by and by springeth by fruite: but I saie that no where it is receiued and hath a staied seate, but that it bringeth forth the effectualnesse therof. Where the preaching of the gospel is reuerently heard, and the Sacraments are not neglected, howe soeuer it be, there for that tyme appeareth a not deceitfull & not doutfull face of the Church, wherof no man maye vnpunished eyther despise the authoritie, or refuse the admonitions, or resist the counsels, or mocke at the corrections: much lesse to depart from it, and to breake in sunder the vnitie of it. For the Lorde so highly esteemeth the Communion of his Church, that he compteth him for a traiterous runne away and forsaker of Religion, who soeuer shall stubboznelly estrange hymselfe from any Christian felowshyp, so that it be suche a one as hath the true ministerie of the Worde and Sacramentes. He so commendeth the Churches authoritie, that when it is violate, he iudgeth his owne diminished. Neither is it of small importunce, that the Church is called the pyller and strong stape of trueth and the house of God. By whiche wordes Paule signifieth, that to the ende the trueth of God shoulde not decay in the worlde, the Church is a faithfull keper therof: because Gods will was to haue the preaching of his worde kept pure, and to shewe hym self vnto vs a father of household by her ministerie and labour, while she feedeth vs with spirituall nourishments, and procureth all thyngs that make for our saluation. It is also no slender praise, that it is said that she is chosen and seuered by Christ to be his spouse, that shoulde be without wrinkle and spot, the body and fullnesse of hym. Wherupon soloweth, that departing from the Church is a denyng of God and of Christ. Therfore so much the more wee muste beware of so wicked disagreement. For whyle we goe about, so much as in vs lyeth, to procure the ruine of Gods truth, we are worthy that he shoulde sende downe his lyghtenyng with the whole violent force of his wrath to destroy vs. Neither can there be imagined any faulte more haynous, than with wicked breache of Faith to defile the mariage that the onely begotten sonne of God hath vouchsafed to contracte with vs.

11 Wherfore let vs diligently kepe these markes emprinted in our myndes, and let vs esteime them accordyng to the Lords wil. For there is no thing y<sup>e</sup> Satan more endeouureth than to take awaye and abolishe the one of these, or bothe: somtyme that when these markes are raced and blotted out, he may take awaye the true and naturall distinction of the Church: somtyme that when they are broughte in contempt, he maye with open falling awaye plucke vs from the Church. By his craft it is brought about, that in certayn ages paste, the pure preaching of the worde hath banished away: and now he doeth with as grea'e importunacye trauaile to ouerthrowe the ministerie, whiche yet Christ hath



so stablished in the Church, that when it is taken away, the edification of the Church perisheth. But now, howe dangerous, yea how deadly a tentation is it when it doeth but come in our mynde to depart from that congregation, wherein are seene the signes and tokens by which the Lorde thought his Church sufficiently described: We see howe great hede is to be taken on bothe sides. For, that we shoulde not be deceiued vnder the title of the Church, euery congregation that pretendeth the name of the Church must be examined by that maner of triall, as by a touchstone. If it haue in the word and Sacraments the order appointed by the Lorde, it wil not deceiue vs: let vs boldly yeld vnto it the honor due to Churches. But contrary wise if it boaste it selfe without the word & Sacraments, we must no lesse with fearefull consciēce beware of suche deceites, than on the other side we must flee rashnesse & pride.

Where as we saie that the pure ministerie of the word and the pure blage in celebratyng the Sacramentes, is a sufficient pledge and earnest, so that we maye safely embrace as the Church any felowshyppe wherein both these shalbe: this extendeth so farre that it is neuer to be caste of, so longe as it shall continue in those, although it swarme full of many other faultes. Yea and there maye some faultynesse creepe into it, in the admynistration eyther of Doctrine, or of the Sacramentes, whiche oughte not to cstraunge vs from the Communyon of it. For all the articles of true Doctrine bee not of one sorte. Some be so necessarie to bee knowen, that they oughte to be certayn and vndoubted to all men, as the prope principles of Religion: of which sort are, That there is one God. That Chyste is God, and the sonne of God: that oure Saluation consisteth in the mercye of God: and suche lyke. There bee other that beyng in controuersye betwene Churches, yet doo not breake the vnitie of Fayth. For those Churches that disagree aboute this one poynt, if withoute luste of contention, withoute stubburnesse of assymyng, the one thinke that soules when they departe from the bodies doo flye vp into heauen, and the other Church dare determyne nothyng of the place, but yet certaynely holdeth that they lyue to the Lorde. The wordes of the Apostle are: Lette Phil. iii. all vs that be perfecte thynke all one thyng: but yf ye thynke any vii. thyng otherwise, thys the Lorde shall also reuele vnto you, Doeth he not sufficientely shewe that diuersitie of opinions about these matters, that bee not so necessarye, oughte to bee no grounde of disagreement amonge Christians: It is in deede a principal pointe, that we agree in all thynges, But for as muche as there is no man that is not wrapped with some lyttell clowde of ignoraunce: eyther we muste leaue no Church at all, or we muste pardon a beyng deceyued in suche thynges as maye bee vnknewen withoute violating the summe of Religion, and without losse of saluation. But I meane not here to defend any errors be they neuer so litle, so as I wold think that they shuld be cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that we ought not rashly for euery light dissention forsake the Church, in which at least that Doctrine is retained safe and vncorrupted, wherin standeth the safetie of godlynesse, and the vse of Sacramentes is kept as it was institute by y<sup>e</sup> Lorde. In the mean tyme if we endeuor to amēd y<sup>e</sup> which displeaseth vs, we do therein accordyng to our dutie.

And



i. Co. in.  
rlii. xxx.

And herebinto belongeth that sayinge of Paule: If any thyng better be reueled to hym that sitteth, let the first holde his peace. Whereby it is euidente, that all the membzrs of the Church are euery one charged with endenour to publike edification, accorดยng to the measure of his grace, so that it be done comely and accorดยng to order: that is, that we neither doo forsake the communion of the Church, noz abiding in it, doo trouble the peace and well ordzed discipline thereof.

13

But in bearyng with the imperfection of life, our gentle tenderesse ought to go muche further. For herein is a very slipperye easynesse to fall: and herein with no small deuises doeth Satan laye wayte for vs. For there haue ben alway some, whiche fylled with false perswasion of perfect holynesse as though they were already made certayne ayzy spirites, despised the company of all men, in whom they sawe remainyng any thyng of the nature of man. Suche in old tyme were the Cathari, and they that were as madde as they, the Donatistes. Such at this day are some of the Anabaptistes, whiche woulde seeme to haue profited aboue the reste. Some there be that offende moze by an vndiscrete zeale of rygteousnesse, than by that madde pryd. For when they see amonge them to whom the Gospell is preached, the fruite of lyfe not agreablye aunswering to the doctrine therof, they by and by iudge that there is no Church. It is in dede a moste iust displeasure, and suche a one wherevnto in this moste miserable age of the worlde, we geue to muche occasion. Nether may we excuse our accursed slouthfulnesse, whiche the lord will not suffer unpunished: as euen alre dy he beginneth with greuous scourges to chastise it. Wee therfoze to vs, whiche with so dissolute licentiousnesse of wicked dooynges, make that weake consciences be wounded by reason of vs. But in this agayne they offende whō I haue spoken of, because they can not measure theyz beeyng displeased. For where the Lorde requireth clemencie, they leauyng it, doo geue them selues wholly to immeasurable rigozousnesse. For, because they thynke that there is no Church where there is not sounde purenesse and byrighnesse of lyfe, for hatred of synnes they departe from the lawfull Church, whyle they thynke that they swarue from a company of wicked men. They alledge that the Church of Chryste is holye. But that they maye also vnderstande that it is myngled of good and euill men, lette them heare this parable out of the mouthe of Chryste, wherin it is compared to a nette, in whiche synnes of all kyndes are gathered together: and are not chosen out tyll they bee layde abzode vpon the choare. Let them heare that it is lyke vnto a cozne fielde, whiche beyng sowen with good graine, is by the ennemies fraude scattered with tares, of whiche it is not cleansed vntyll the croppe bee broughte into the barne flooze. fynally let them heare that it is lyke vnto a flooze, wherein the wheate is so gathered together, that it lyeth hydden vnder the chaffe, tyll beyng clensted with fanne and syue it be at length laide by in þ gratner. If the Lorde pronounce that the Church shall euen to the daye of Judgement be troubled with this euyll, to be burdened with mynglyng of euyll men: they doo in vayne seeke for a Church sprynkled with no spotte.

Mat. xlii.  
rliii.  
Mat. xlii.  
rliii.  
Math. iii.  
xii.

14

But they crie out that it is an intollerable thyng, that the pestilence of vices so raungeth abzode. What if the saying of the Apostle dooe here



here also answer them: Among the Cozinthians not onely a few had gone out of the waie, but the infection hadde in a maner possessed the whole body: There was not onely one kynde of synne, but many: neither were they light offences, but certayn horrible outragious doings: it was not onely corruption of maners, but also of doctrine. What in this case saith the holy Apostle, that is to say, the instrument of the Holy ghoste, by whoes testimonie the Church standeth and falleth: Doth he require a diuision from them: Doth he banishe them out of the kingdom of Christ: Doeth he strike them with the extremest thunderbolt of curse: He not only doeth none of all these thyngs: but he both acknowledgeth and reporteth it a Church of Christ and felowship of saintes. If there remayne a Church among the Cozinthians, where contentions, sectes, and enuious partakynge doo broyle: where quarels and brabolynges be in bre, with a grebynelle of hauyng: where that wicked dooyng is openly allowed, whiche were abhominable amonge the very Gentiles: where Paules name is vniustly rayled at, whome they ought to haue honoured as their father: where some scozne at the resurrection of the dead, with ruine wherof the whole Gospel falleth: where the gracious giftes of God serue to ambition, and not to charitie: wher many things are vncomely and vnoorderly doone: and if therfore there styll remayne a Church, because the ministerie of the word and of the Sacramentes is there not refused, who dare take away the name of the Church from them: that can not be charged with the tenth part of these fautes: They that with so great precisenesse deale so cruelly against the Churches of this present tyme: what (I pray you) wold they haue don to the Galathians, which were almost vtter forsakers of the Gospel among whom yet the same Apostle founde Churches:

They object also, how that Paule greuouesly rebuketh the Cozinthians for sufferynge in their company a man that was a hainous synner, and then he setteth a generall sentence wherin he pronounceth, that it is vnlawfull euen to eate breade with a manne of reprochefull lyfe. Here they crie oute: If it be not lawfull to eate cominon breade, howe may it be lawfull to eate with them the breade of the Lorde. I confesse in dede that it is a greate dishonour, if hogges and dogges haue place among the children of God: it is also a muche more dishonour if the holy body of Christe be geuen forth to them. And truely if they bee well ordered Churches, they will not suffer wicked men in their bosome, and will not without choise admitte bothe woorthy and vniwoothy together to that holy banket. But forasmuch as y Pastors doo not alway so diligently wathe, yea and somtyme are more tender in bearyng with men than they ought to be, or are hindered so that they can not vse that seueritie that they woulde: it commeth to passe that euen they that ar openly euyl, are not alway thruste out of the company of the holy ones. This I graunte to bee a faulte: neyther wyll I dymynyshe it, si the Paule dooeth so Charpely rebuke it in the Cozinthians. But although the Church be slacke in her duetie, it shall not be therfore immediately in the power of every priuate man, to take vpon him selfe the iudgement to seuer him. I do in dede not deny that it is the dooyng of a godly man to withdrayw himselfe from al priuate company of euil men, to entangle himself in no willing familiaritie with them. But it is one thing to flee the

1. Cozi. i.  
ri. c. iii. iii.  
c. v. i. c. vi.  
vii. et. ix.  
i. c. xv. vii.

Galat. i.

15

1. Coz. v.  
ii.



the companie of euill men, and an other thyng for hatred of them to forsake the Communion of the Church. But where as they thinke it sacrilege to be partakers of the Lordes bread with them, they are therin muche moze rigorous than Paule is. For where he exhorteth vs to a holy and pure partakynge, he requyrez not that one should examin an other, or euery man the whole Church, but that they should echone proue hym selfe. If it were vnlawfull to communicate with an vnwoorthy man, then truly Paule would byd vs to looke circumspectly wherther there were any in the multitude, by whoes vncleannesse we might be defiled. Nowe when he requireth onely of euery man the prooue of themselues, he sheweth that it nothyng hurteth vs if any vnwoorthie doo thurst them selues in among vs. And nothyng els is ment by this whiche he saith afterwarde, He that eateth vnwoorthily, eateth & drinketh iudgement to hym selfe. He doeth not say, to other, but to himselfe. And rightfully. For it ought not to stande in the choise of euery particular man, who bee to be receiued, and who to be reiected. The knowledge hereof belongeth to the whole Church, which knowledge can not be had without lawfull order, as hereafter shall be saide moze at large. Therfore it shoulde be vtryghtuous, that any priuate man should be defiled with the vnwoorthynesse of an other, whome he neyther can nor ought to kepe backe from commynge to it.

16 But althoughe by this vndiscrete zeale of rightuousnesse this temptation doeth sometyme also entre into good men: yet this we shall finde that to muche precisenesse groweth rather of pride, disdainfulnesse, and false opinion of holynesse, than of true holynesse and true zeale therof. Therfore they that are bolder than other, and as it were standerdbearers to make any departyng from the Church, for the mooste parte doo it vpon no other cause, but in despisyng of all men to boast them selues to be better than other. Therfore Augustine saith well & wisely: When godly order and maner of Ecclesiasticall discipline ought principally to haue regarde vnto the vnitie of Spirite in the bonde of peace: whiche the Apostle commaunded to be kept by bearyng one with an other: and whiche beeyng not kepte, the medicine of reuenge is proued to be not onely superfluous, but also pernicious, and therfore nowe to be no medicine at all: those euill children, which not for hatred of other mens iniquities, but for affection of their owne contentions, doo gredily labour eyther wholly to drawe or at least to diuide the weake common peoples entangled with the boasting of their name, swelling with pride, madde with stubburnesse, traiterous with sleanders, troublesome with seditions, least they shuld seme to want the lyght of truth, doo pretende a shadowe of rigorous seueritie: and those thynges that are in the holy Scriptures commaunded to be done with a gentler kynd of healing, sayng the sinceritie of loue, and keepyng the vnitie of peace, to correct the faultes of brethren, they abuse it to sacrilege of schisme, and to occasion of cuttyng of. But to godly and quiet men he geueth this counsell, that they mercifully correct that whiche they can, and that whiche they can not, patiently beare, and grone and mouerne with loue, vntyll God eyther amende and correct them, or at the harvest roote by the sares, and fanne out the chaffe. Lette the godly trauaile to fortifie them selues with these armures, least while they seme to them selues strong and

1. Coz. ii.  
viii.

1. Coz. ii.  
viii.

Contra  
par. lib.  
ii, cap. i.

Eiusd.  
lib. ca. ii.



and couragious reuengers of rightnousnesse; they departe from the kingdom of heauen, which is the only kyngdom of rightnousnesse. For sicke it is Gods will to haue the communion of his Church to be kepte in this outward felowshyp: he that for hatred of euill men doth breake the toke of that felowshyp, entreteth into a waie wherby is a slippery falling fro the communion of saints. Let them thinke y in a great multitude there be many truly holy & innocent befoze the eyes of the Lord, whom they see not. Let them think that euen of them that be diseased there be many that doo not please or flatter them selues in their faultes, but beyng now and then awakened with earnest feare of God doo aspire to a greater bprightnesse. Let them thinke that iudgement ought not to be geuen of a man by one dede: forasmuche as the holiest do sometime fall away with a most greuous fal. Let them think that to gather a Church there lieth moze weight both in the ministerie of the woorde and in the partaking of the holy misteries, than that all that foze shoulde vanishe away by the fault of some wicked men. Last of all lette them consider, that in iudging the Church, the iudgement of God is of greater value than the iudgement of man.

Where also they pretend that the Church is not without cause called Holy, it is mete, to wey with what holinesse it excelleth: least if we will admitte no Church but suche a one as is in all pointes perfect, we leaue no Church at all: It is true in dede which Paul saith, that Christ gaue himself for the Church to sanctifie it: that he clensted it with the lauer of water with the woord of life, to make her vnto himself a glorious spouse hauyng no spotte or wrinkle &c. Yet this is also nothyng lesse true, that the Lord dayly woorketh in smoothyng her wrinkles and wyppyn away her spottes. Wher byon foloweth that her holynesse is not yet fully finished. Therfoze the Church is so holy, that it dayly profiteh and is not yet perfect: daiely procedeth, & is not yet come to the marke of holinesse: as also in an other place shalbe moze largely declared. Whereas therfoze the Prophetes prophetic that there shalbe a holy Hierusalem, through whiche strangers shal not passe: and a holy temple wherinto vncleane men shal not entre: let vs not so take it, as if there were no spotte in the membez of the Church: but for that with their whole endeuour they aspire to holinesse & sound purenesse, by the goodnesse of God clenness is ascribed to them, whiche they haue not yet fully obteneid. And although oftentimes there be but rare tokens of such sanctification among men: yet we must determine that there hath bene no time sith the creation of the worlde wherin the Lord hath not had his Church: and that there shall also be no tyme to the very ende of the worlde, wherin he shall not haue it. For albeit immediatly from the beginnyng the whole kynde of men is corrupt and defiled by the sinne of Adam: yet out of this, as it were a polluted masse, God alway sanctifieth som vessels vnto honour, that there shoulde be no age without felyng of his mercie. Which he hath testified by certayn promises: as these: I haue ordeined a testament to my elect: I haue sworne to Dauid my seruant, I will for euer continue thy seide: I will bulde thy seate in generation and generation. Agayn, the Lord hath chosen Syon, he hath chosen it for a dwelling to himself: This is my reste for euer. &c. Agayne, These thynges sayth the Lord which geueth the Sunne for the lpyght of the day, the moon and starres

17

Eph. v.  
rb.Joel. ii.  
rbii.  
Esa. lxxv  
viii.Psalme.  
lxxxv. iiii  
Psalm.  
cxxxv. xlii  
Vic. xxxi.  
xxxv.

for



for the light of the night. If these lawes shall faile befoze me, then the sede of Israell shall also faile.

18

Hereof Chzist him self, the Apostles, and in maner all the Prophets haue geuen vs example. Horrible are those descriptions wherin Esaie, Hieremie, Joel, Abacuc, and the other doo lament the sicknesses of the Church of Hierusalem. In the common people, in the magistrate, in the Priestes all things were so cozrupt, that Esaie douteth not to match Hierusalem with Sodom and Gomoztha. Religion was partely despised, partly defiled: in their maners are comonly reported theftes, extorsions, breaches of faith, murders and like mischieues. Yet therfoze the Prophets did neither erect to them selues new Churches, nor buyld by newe altars on whiche they might haue severall sacrifices: but of what soeuer maner men they were, yet because they considered, that God had left his woꝝd with them, & ordeined Ceremonies wherby he was there worshipped, in the myddest of the assemblie of the wicked they held by pure handes vnto hym. Cruely if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they would rather haue dyed a hundred tymes than haue suffred them selues to be drawen therevnto. Therfoze nothing withheld them from departing, but desire to the keeping of vnitie. But if the Prophets thought it against conscience, to estrange them selues from the Church, for many and great wicked doyngs, not of one or two men, but in maner of the whole people: then we take to muche vpon vs, if we dare by and by depart from the comunion of the Church, where not all mens maners doo satisfie eyther our iudgemente, yea or the Christian professon.

19

Now, what maner woꝝd was there in the tyme of Chziste and the Apostles: And yet that desperate vngodlynesse of the Pharisees, and s̄ dissolute licentiousnesse of liuing, which then eche where reigned, could not hynder, but that they vsed the same Ceremonies with the people, & assembled with the rest into one temple to the publike exercises of religion. Whereof came that, but because they knew that the felowship of euill men did not defile them, which with a pure conscience did communicate at the same Ceremonies. If any man be litle moued with the Prophets and Apostles, let him yet obey the authoritie of Chzist. Therfoze Cyprian well saieth, though there be sene tares or vncleane vessels in the Church, yet there is no cause why we shuld depart from the Church: we must onely labour that we may be wheate: we must vse diligēce and endeouour as muche as we may that we may be a golden or syluer vessell. But to breake the earthen vessels, is the only woꝝk of the Lord, to whom also is geuen an iron rodde. And let no man chalenge to hym selfe that whiche is proprely belongyng to the Sonne onely, to be able alone to fanne the flooze, and clense the chaffe, and seuer all the tares by mans iudgement. This is a pꝛoude obstinacie, and a pꝛesumption full of sacrilege, which a peruerse furour taketh to it selfe. &c. Therfoze let bothe these thynges remayn certainly fixed. First that he hath no excuse s̄ of his owne will forsaketh the outward comunion of the Church, where s̄ woꝝd of God is pꝛeached & the sacraments ministred: then that the faultes of a few or of many are no hindꝛance, but that we may therein rightly pꝛofesse our faith by the Ceremonies institute by God: bicause a godly conscience is not hurt by s̄ vnwoꝝthines of any other ether pastor

Lib. iii.  
epist. 5.



oz priuate mān, and the misteries are to a holy & bpright mā neuer the-  
lesse pure & holosome because they are together handled of vnclene mē.

Their precisenesse and disdainfulnesse procedeth yet further: because  
they acknowledge no Chirche but such a one as is pure from al spottes  
be they neuer so smal: yea they are angry w good teachers, for that in  
exhorting y faithful to goe forwarde, they teache them al their life long  
to grone vnder the burden of bices, and to flee vnto pardon. For they  
prate y by this meane mē be led frō perfection. I graunte in dede, y in  
earnest calling vpon perfection we ought not slowly oz coldely to tra-  
uail, much lesse to be idle: but to fil our mindes with confidence therof  
while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a deuclish inuention. There-  
fore in the Crede the forgeuenesse of synnes is aptly ioyned next after  
the Chirche. For none do atteine it, but only they that are citezens and  
of the household of the Chirch, as it is red in y Propete. Therfore the  
bilding of the heauēly Hierusalē ought to go before, wherin afterward  
this mercifulnesse of God maye haue place, y whofoeuer come vnto it,  
their iniquitie may be takē away. I say y it ought first to be bilded, not  
for y there cā be any Chirch wout y forgeuenesse of synnes, but because  
the lord hath not promised his mercy but in y Cōmunion of Sainctes.  
Therfore y fyrst entry for vs into y Chirch & kingdome of God, is the  
forgeuenesse of synnes, wout which we haue no couenaūt oz cōioping  
wyth God. For thus he sayeth by y Propete: In y day I wil strike you  
a couenant w the beast of y feld, w the fowle of the aire, & with the ver-  
min of y earth. I wil breake y sword & wat from out of the earth, & I  
wil make men to slepe wout feare. I wil espouse you vnto me for euer.  
I wil espouse you (I say) in righteousnesse, in iudgement, in mercy, and  
in cōpassions. We see how by his mercy y lord recōcileth vs to himselfe.  
And so in an other place, when he foresayth y the people shalbe gathe-  
red together agayne, whō he had scattered abrode in his wzath, he sai-  
eth, I wil cleanse thē frō al wyckednesse wherewith they haue synned  
agaynst me. Wherfore by y signe of washing we enter into y felowshyp  
of y Chirch: wherby we may be taught, y there is no entrie open for vs  
into the householde of God, vnlesse our fylthynesse be fyrst wiped away  
with hys goodnesse.

But by the forgeuenesse of sinnes y Lord doth not only receiue and  
adopt vs ones into y Chirch, but by y same he also pserueth & mayn-  
teineth vs stil in it. For to what purpose wer it, to haue suche a pardon  
graūted vs, as should serue for no ble: But every one of the godly is a  
wytnesse to himselfe y the mercy of God should be baill and mocking,  
if it should be graūted only but ones: because there is none y is not in  
his own cōsciēce priuie thzoughout his whole life of many weakenesses,  
which nede y mercy of God. And truly not in vain God promiset hys  
grace peculiarly to thē of his own household: & not in vain he cōmaun-  
deth the same message of recōciliatiō to be daily offred vnto thē. There-  
fore as thzoughout al our life we carry about vs y rēnantes of sine, vn-  
lesse we be susteined w the cōtinual grace of the lord in forgering oure  
synnes, we shal scarcely abide one momēt in y Chirch. But y lord hath  
called his vnto eternal saluatiō. Therfore they ought to thike y there is  
pardon alway ready for their sinnes. Wherfore we ought to holde assu-  
redly, that by the liberalitie of God by meane of Christes deseruing



through the Sanctification of the Spirit, sinnes, haue been and are daily pardoned to vs which be called & grafted into y<sup>e</sup> body of y<sup>e</sup> Church.

To deale this benefite vnto vs, the keyes were geuen to the Church. For when Christ gaue the Apostles commaundemēt, & deliuered them power to forgeue sinnes, he meante not this onely, y<sup>e</sup> they shoulde loose them frō sinnes y<sup>e</sup> wer frō vngodlinesse cōuerted to the faith of Christ: but, rather y<sup>e</sup> they shoulde continually execute this office among y<sup>e</sup> faythful. Which thing Paule teacheth, when he writeth y<sup>e</sup> the embassage of reconciliation was left with the ministers of the Church, wherby they shoulde oftentimes in Christs name exhort y<sup>e</sup> people to reconcile themselves to God. Therfore in the Cōmunion of Sainctes, by y<sup>e</sup> ministry of the Church it self, sinnes are cōtinually forgeuē vs, when y<sup>e</sup> Pziestes, or Bishops, to whom y<sup>e</sup> office is committed, doe w<sup>th</sup> the promples of the Gospel cōfirme godly consciences in hope of pardō & forgeuenesse: and that as wel publikeiy as priuately, according as necessitie requireth.

For there be very many, which for their weakenesse do nede a singular atonemēt. And Paul reporteth y<sup>e</sup> not only in commō preaching, but also in houses he had testified the fayth in Christ, and seuerally admonished euery one of y<sup>e</sup> doctryne of saluation. Therfore we haue here three thyngs to be noted: first, y<sup>e</sup> with how great holynesse soeuer y<sup>e</sup> children of God do excel, yet they be alway in this estate, so long as they dwel in a mortal body, y<sup>e</sup> without forgeuenesse of sinnes they can not stāde before God. Secondly, y<sup>e</sup> this benefite is so proper to y<sup>e</sup> Church, y<sup>e</sup> we can not otherwise enioy it, but if we abide in the Cōmunion therof. Thirdly, that it is distributed vnto vs by the ministers & Pastors, eyther by preaching of the Gospel, or by ministryng of the Sacramentes: & that in thys behalfe principally appeareth y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> keyes, which y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath geuen to the felshship of the faythful. Wherfore let euery one of vs thinke this to be his duty, no where els to seke forgeuenesse of sinnes, than where the Lord hath set it. Of publyke recōciliation which belongeth to discipline we shal speake in place fyt for it.

But forasmuch as those phrentyke Spirites y<sup>e</sup> I haue spoken of, doe goe about to plucke away frō the Church this only anchoze of saluatiō, consciences are y<sup>e</sup> more strōgly to be confyrmēd against a so pestilent opinion. The Nouatians in old time troubled y<sup>e</sup> Church w<sup>th</sup> this doctrine: but not much vnlyke to the Nouatians our age also hath many of the Anabaptistes which fal to the same dotages. For they faine y<sup>e</sup> the people of God are in Baptisme regenerate into a pure & Angelyke lyfe, y<sup>e</sup> is corrupted w<sup>th</sup> no filthinesse of the fleshy. But if any man offende after Baptisme, they leaue vnto him nothing but the vnappeasable iudgement of God. Briefely they graunte no hope of pardon to a sinner fallē after grace receiued: because they acknowledge no other forgeuenesse of synnes but that wherby we be first regenerate. But although there be no lye more clerely confuted by the Scripture: yet because these men finde some whō they may deceiue (as also in olde tyme Nouatus had many folowers) let vs shortly shew how mad they be to their owne and others destruction. First, wheras by the commaundement of the Lord, the holy ones do dayly repete this prayer: forgeue vs our dettes: truely thei do cōfesse theselues detters. Nether do thei craue it in vain because the Lord hath alway appointed no other thyng to be asked, than that

whiche



whiche he himselve woulde geue. Yea wheras he hath testified that the whole prayer shalbe heard of his father, yet he hath also sealed thys absoluteion with a peculiar promise. What wyll we moze? The Lorde requireth of the holy ones all theyr lyfe long a confession of synnes, yea and that continuall, and promyseth pardon. What boldnesse is it, eyther to exempte them from synne, or if they haue stumbled, vtterlye to exclude them from grace? Nowe whom doeth he will vs to forgiue seuentie tymes seuen tymes? not to oure bzethren? To what ende did he commaunde it, but that we should folow his clementie. He forgiueth therfoze, not ones or twise: but as often as being striken downe wyth the acknowlegging of synnes they sighe vnto hym.

But that (we maye begin in a maner at the very swadlyng cloutes of the Chirche) the Patriarches were circumcised, being allured into partaking of the couenaunt hauing vndoutedly by their fathers diligence ben taught righteousnesse and innocence, when they conspired to murder their bzother: this was a mischeuous acte, to be abhorred euen of the most desperate theues. At the last being mekened with the monitions of Judas, they solde him: this was also an intolerable haynousnesse. Simeon and Leui, with wicked reuenge, and suche as was also condemned by their own fathers iudgement, vled crueltie againste the Sichemites. Ruben with most vnclene lust defiled his fathers bed. Judas when he would geue hymselfe to fornication agaynst the lawe of nature, went into his sonnes wife. And yet so farre are they from being wiped out of the chosen people, that they be rather raised by to be heds of it. But what dyd Dauid: when he was a gouernoure of iustice, with howe greate wickednesse did he by shedding of innocent blood opene the way to hys blynde luste? He was already regenerate, and among y regenerate garnished with notable prayes of the Lorde: neuerthelesse he committed that haynous offence, which is horrible euen among the Gentiles: and yet he obtained pardon. And (that we may not tarry by single examles) how many promyses there are in the law and y Prophetes of Gods mercy toward the Israelites, so oft it is proued that the Lord sheweth hymselfe appeasable to the offenses of his people. For what doth Moses promyse to come to passe, when the people being fallen into Apostasie shal retorne vnto the Lorde? He shall bring thee backe out of captiuitie, and shall haue mercy on thee, and shall gather thee together out of the peoples to whom thou hast been dispersed. If thou be scattered euen to the borders of the heauen, I wil from thense agayne gather thee together.

But I wyll not beginne a rentall that shoulde neuer be ended. For the Prophetes are full of suche promyses, whiche dooe yet offer merche to the people couered with infinite wicked doinges. What offense is there moze hainous than rebellion: for it is called a diuorze betwene God and the Chirch. But this is ouercome by the goodnesse of God. What man is there (sayeth he by Jeremy) that if hys wife geue fourth her body in common to adulterers, can abyde to retorne into fauoure with her: but with thy fornications all the wayes are polluted. O Iuda, the earth hath been fylled with thy filthy loues. But retorne vnto me, and I wil receiue thee. Retorne thou turne away, I wil not turne away my face from thee: because I am holy, and am not angry for ever



**Cyc. rliiii**  
**rliiii. 7.**  
**rccii.**  
**ii. lxi. viii**  
**rlii.**

And truely he can be no otherwise minded, whiche affirmeth that he willety not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue. Therfoze when Salomon did dedicate the temple, he appointed it also to this vse, that the praicrs made for obtaining pardon of sinnes should be heard from thense. If (sayd he) thy sonnes shall synne (for there is no man that sinneth not) and thou beyng angry shalt deliuer them to their ennemies, and they shall repent in their hart, and being turned shall entreate thee in their captiuitie, saying, we haue sinned, we haue done wickedly, and shall pray toward the land which thou hast geuen to their fathers, and towarde this holy temple: thou shalt heare their praicrs in heauen, and shalt be made mercifull to thy people that hath sinned against thee, and to all their wickednesses wherewith they haue offended thee. And not bainly the Lorde ordeined in the law dai-ly Sacrifices for sinnes. For if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde had not forseen that hys people should be troubled with continuall diseases of sinnes, he would neuer haue appointed these remedies for them.

26

**Et. l. ix.**  
**e. iii. iiii.**  
**ii. Tim. i.**  
**ix.**  
**Math. x.**  
**rccii.**  
**Mat. vi.**  
**rccviii.**  
**Mat. rccvi**  
**rccix.**  
**ii. The. iii**  
**vi.**  
**Act. viii.**  
**rcc.**  
**Gal. i. vi.**  
**e. iii. l. 7.**  
**iiii. ix.**  
**ii. Coz. rli.**  
**rxi.**

Was thys benefite taken away from the faythful, by the comming of Chyzt, wherin the fulnesse of grace was shewed forth, so that they dare not now pray for pardon of synnes: that if they offende the Lorde they may not obtaine any mercy: What shall this be els, but to saye y<sup>e</sup> Chyriste came to the destruction of them that be his, and not to their saluation, if that mercifulnesse of God in pardoning sinnes which in the olde testam-ent was continually redy for the holy ones, be now sayd to be vtterly taken away: But if we beleue the Scriptures which expzessly cry out, y<sup>e</sup> in Chyrist only the grace and kyndnesse of the Lorde fully appeared, that the plentifulnesse of mercy was poured oute, that the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let vs not dout that there floweth vnto vs a moze bountifull mercifulnesse of the heauenly father, than that it is cut of or shortened. And hereof there want not examples Peter whiche had heard that he should be denied befoze y<sup>e</sup> Angels of God that confes-sed not the name of Chyrist befoze men, denied him thyrise in one nighte, and y<sup>e</sup> not without execration: yet he was not put away from pardon. They y<sup>e</sup> liued inozdinatly among y<sup>e</sup> Thessalonians are so chastised, that yet they be gently called to repentaunce. Euen Symon the Magician hymselfe is not cast in desperation, but he is rather comaunded to hope well, when Peter counselleth hym to flee to prayets.

27

**Ps. lxxxix**  
**rccii.**

Yea most haynous sinnes haue sometime possessed whole Chirches, out of which Paul rather getly vnwrapped the, than pronounced the ac-cursed. The falling away of y<sup>e</sup> Galathians was no meane offense. The Cozinthians wer so much lesse excusable than they, as they abounded in moe & those nothyng lighter sinnes: yet neyther of the are excluded fro the mercy of God. Yea euē they y<sup>e</sup> had synned aboue the rest in vnclean-nesse, fornication and vnchastitie, are namely called to repentaunce. For y<sup>e</sup> covenant of the Lorde remaineth & shall remaine for ever inniolable, which he solēnely made w<sup>th</sup> Chyrist y<sup>e</sup> true Salomō & his mēbers, in these woordes: If hys sonnes shall forlake my lawe, and shall not walke in my iudgements, if they shall defile my righteousneses, and not kepe my commaundementes, I wil visite their iniquities wyth a rod, and their sinnes wyth stripes: but my mercye I wyll not take away from hym. Finally by the very order of the Crede we be taughte, that there remaineth



remaineth in the Chirch of Christ continual pardon of synnes: for that when the Chirche is as it were stablished, yet forgiveness of sinnes is adioyned.

Some that be somewhat wiser, when they see the doctryne of Nouatus to be confuted w<sup>th</sup> so great plainnesse of Scripture, make not euery synne unpardonable, but wilful transgressing of the lawe, into whiche a man wittingly and willingly falleth. Now they that say so, do vouchsafe to graunt pardon to no synne, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But wheras the Lord in the law commaundeth one sorte of Sacrifices to be offered for cleansing of the wilful synnes of the faythful, and other to redeme their ignorances: how great lewdenesse shall it be to graunt no cleansing to wilful synne? I say that there is nothing plainer, than that the only Sacrifice of Christ auaieth to forgive the wylfull synnes of the holy ones: forasmuche as the Lord hath testified the same by carnal Sacrifices as by signes. Againe who can excuse David by ignorance, whom it is euident to haue been so wel instructed in the law: W<sup>ch</sup> David not knowe, how great was the faulte of adultrie and manslaughter, which dayly punished the same in other: Did brother slaughter seme to the Patriarches a lawfull thyng? Had the Cozinthians so ill profyted that they thought that wantonnesse, uncleannesse, whoredome, hatreds and contentions pleased God: W<sup>ch</sup> Peter beyng so diligently admonished not knowe how great a matter it was to forsweare bys maister: Therfore let vs not wyth our owne enuyousnesse stoppe by the way agaynst the mercy of God that so gently bittereth it selfe.

Truely I am not ignorant that the olde writers expounded those synnes that are dayly forgiven to the faythfull, to be the light offences that crepe in by weakenesse of the fleshe: and that they thought that the soleme repentance whiche was then required for haynous misdeedes myght no more be iterate than Baptyisme. Which sayeng is not so to be taken, as though they would epyther thzowe thē down hedlong into desperation that after their first repentance had fallen agayne, or extenuate those other synnes as though they wet smal in the syght of God. For they knew that the holy ones do oftentimes stagger by infidelitie, that superfluous othes do somtymes fall from them, that they now and then are chased vnto anger, yea that they breake out euē into manifest raylinges, and besyde these be troubled wyth other euils which the Lord not sclderly abhorreth: but they so called them, to put a difference betwene them and publyke crymes that wyth great offense came to the knowledge of the Chirche. But wheras they did so hardly pardō them that had committed any thyng worthy of ecclesiasticall correction, they did not this therfore because they thought that such should hardly haue pardon with the Lord: but by thys seueritie they meant to make other afraied that they should not rashly runne into wycked doinges, by the deserving wherof they myght be estranged from the Communion of the Chirche: howbest truely the worde of the Lord, whych herein ought to be the only rule vnto vs, appoynteth a greater moderation. For it teacheth that the rigoz of discipline is so farre to be extended, that he that ought chesely to be prouided for be not swallowed by wyth heuiness: as we haue before declared more at large.



## The.ii. Chapter.

A comparison of the false Chirche with the true Chirche.



**C** howe greate value the ministry of the woꝛde and Sacramentes ought to be with vs, and howe farre the reuerence of it ought to pꝛocede, that it be vnto vs a perpetuall token wherby to discerne the Chirche, it hath been already declared. That is to say, wherso-  
euer that ministry abideth whole and vncorrupted, there the faultes oz diseases of maners are no impe-  
diment, but that it may beare the name of a Chirche.

**Thē**, that the very ministry it selfe is by small erroꝛs not so corrupted, but that it may be esteemed lawfull. Howeouer, we haue shewed that the erroꝛs that ought so to be pardoned, are those wherby ꝑ pꝛyncipal doctrine of religion is not hurt, wherby those chiefe poyntes of religion that ought to be agreably holden among the faythful are not destroyed, and in the Sacramentes, those ꝑ do not abolish noꝛ empaire the lawful institution of him ꝑ oz deined thē. But so sone as lying is broken into the chiefe tower of religion, so sone as the summe of necessarye doctrine is peruerter, and ꝑ vse of the Sacramentes falleth: truly the destruction of ꝑ Chirch foloweth: like as a mans lyfe is at an ende, when his throte is thrust thꝛough oz his hart deadly wounded. And thys is clearly pꝛoued by the woꝛdes of Paul, when he teacheth that the fundation of the Chirch is layed vpon the doctrine of the Apostles & Prophetes, Christ himselfe being the hed cozner stone. If the fundation of the Chirche be the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apostles, by which the faythfull are commaunded to repose their saluation in only Christ: then take awaye that doctrine, and howe shal the bilding stande any longer: Therfoꝛe the Chirche muste nedes fall downe, where that summe of religion falleth which is only able to bꝛholde it. Again, if the true Chirche be the pillar and stay of the trueth, it is certaine, that there is no Chirche, where lying and falshode haue vsurped the dominion.

**Sith** it is in such case vnder the Papistrie, we may vnderstand howe much of the Chirche is there remayning. In stede of the ministry of ꝑ woꝛde, there reigneth a peruerse gouernement & made of lyes mingled together, which partly quencherh and partly chokerh the pure light. In to the place of ꝑ Lordes Supper is entred a most filthy Sacrilege: the foꝛme of woꝛshipping God is deformed with a manifolde & intolerable heape of superstitions: the doctrine, without which Christianitie can not stande, is altogether buried and dꝛyuen out: the publike assemblies are the scholes of idolatry and vngodlinesse. Therfoꝛe there is no peryll in departing frō a dānable partakynge of so many mischeues, we be plucked frō the Chirche of Christ. The cōmunion of ꝑ Chirch was not ordeined to thys ende, ꝑ it should be a bonde wherby we should be entāgled with idolatrye, vngodlynnesse, ignozance of God, & other kindes of euils: but rather wherby we should be fast holden in the feare of God & obedience of truth. They do in dede gloriously set out their Chirch vnto vs, ꝑ there should seme to be no other Chirch in ꝑ woꝛld: & afterwarde, as though the victoꝛy were gotten, they decree ꝑ all be Schismatikes that dare withdraue themselues from the obedience of that Chirche that

Ep. ii. rr.

1. Tim. iii  
rb.

2



that they painte out: and that all be heretikes that dare ones inutter against the doctrine therof. But by what proues do they confirme that they haue the true Chirche? They alledge out of the auncient Chronicles, what in olde tyme was in Italy, in Fraunce, in Spayne. They say that they fetch their beginnyng from those holy menne that with sounde doctrine founded and raised by Chirches, and stablished the same doctrine and edifieng of the Chirche with their blood. And that so the Chirche hath ben among them so consecrate bothe with spiritual gyftes, and with the blood of martyrs, and p̄serued with continuall succession of bishoppes, that it myght not fall away. They rehearse howe muche Ireneus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and other esteemed this succession. But howe trislyng these thynges be, and howe they be but very mocker ies, I will make them very easily to vnderstande that will be content a little to wey them with me. Cruely I woulde also exhort them selues earnestly to take hede herevnto, if I did trust that I might any thyng p̄uaile with them by teachyng. But forasmuche as they, leauyng all regarde of truthe, doo bende themselves to this onely purpose, by all the waies that they can, to defende their owne cause, I wyl onely speake a fewe thynges whereby good men and those that loue the truthe, may voynde them selues out of their suttile cauilations. Fyyste I aske of them, why they doo not alledge Aphrike, and Egypte, and all Asia: Euen because in all those countreyes this holpe Succession of Bishoppes hath ceased, by meane whereof they boast that they haue p̄serued Chirches. They come therfore to this poynt to saye, that they therfore haue a true Chirche, because sines it fyrst began to be, it hath not ben destitute of bishoppes: for in perpetuall course they haue succeeded one an other. But what if I caste Greece in their waie? Therfore I aske agayne of them, why they say that the Chirche is loste among the Grecians, among whom that succession of Bishoppes was neuer interrupted, whiche in theyr opinton is the onely keeper and p̄seruer of the Chirche. They make the Grecians Schismatikes, but by what right: because in departing from the Apostolike sea, they haue lost their priuilege: what: Do not they much moze deserue to loose it that departe from Christ himselfe? It foloweth therfore, that the pretence of succession is but vaine, vnlesse the posteritie doo kepe faste and abide in the truthe of Christe, which they haue receaued of their fathers from hande to hande.

Therfore the Romanistes at this day doo alledge nothyng els but that, whiche it appeareth that the Jewes in olde tyme alledged when they were by the Prophetes of the Lorde reproued of blyndnesse, vngodlynesse and idolatrie. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, Ceremonies and priesthodes, by whiche thynges, by great reason as they thinke, they measured the Chirche. So in steede of the Chirche, they shewe certayne outward bisours, that ostentynes are farte from the Chirche, and without whiche the Chirche maye very well stande. Therfore we nede to confute theym with no other arguente, then that wherewith Hieremie fought agaynst the foolyshe presumptuousnesse of the Jewes: that is, that they shoulde not boaste in lying woordes, saying, The temple of the Lorde, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord. Forasmuch as the Lord doth no where acknowledge



any thing for his, but where his worde is heard and reuerently obserued. So when the glozy of God did sit betwene the Cherubins in the Sanctuarie, and he had promised them that that should be hys stedfast seate: yet when the Priestes ones corrupted the worshipping of hym w<sup>th</sup> peruerse superstitions, he remoued els where, and left the place wythout any holinesse. If the same temple which semed to be holily appointed to the perpetuall dwelling of God, mighte be forsaken of God and become unholy: there is no cause why these men should faime to vs that God is so bounde to persons oz places, and so fast tyed to outwarde obseruations, that he must nedes abide with them that haue onely the title and shewe of the Church. And this is it about which Paul contendeth in the Epistle to the Romaines, from the. ix. Chapter to the. xii. For this did soze trouble weake consciences, that the Iewes when they semed to be the people of God, did not onely refuse the doctryne of the Gospel, but also persecute it. Therfoze after that he hath sette oute the doctrine, he remoueth this dout, and denyeth that those Iewes beeyng enemies of the trueth are the Church, howsoeuer they wated nothing that otherwise myght be required to the outward forme of the Church. And therfoze he denieth it, bicause they embraced not Christ. But somewhat moze expzessly in the Epistle to the Galathians: wherin cōparing Ismael with Isaac, he sayeth that many holde place in the Church, to whom the inheritaunce belongeth not, because they are not begottē of the free mother. From whence also he descendeth to the comparison of two Hierusalams. Because as the law was geuen in the mount Sina, but the Gospel came out of Hierusalem. So many being seruilely born and brought vp, do wythout doutyng boast themselues to be the chyldzē of God and of the Church, yea they proudey despyse the natural chyldzen of God, when themselues be but bastardes. On the other syde also, when we heare that it was ones pronounced from heauen. Caste out the bonde woman and her sonne, lette vs, standyng vppon thys inuolable decree, boldely despyse their vnsauerie boastinges. For if they be proude by reason of outwarde professyon, Ismael was also circumcised: if they contende by antiquitie, he was the fyrst begotten, and yet we see that he is put away. If the cause be demaunded, Paul assigneth it, for that none are accompted chyldzen, but they that are begottē of the pure and lawfull sede of doctryne. Accozding to thys reason God denyeth that he is bounde to wycked Priestes by thys that he couenanted with their father Levi that he should be his Angel oz interpreter: yea he turneth agaynst themselues their false boestyng, where wyth they were wonte to rise vp against the Prophetes, that the dignitie of Priesthode was to be had in singular estimation. Thys he wyllingly admitteth, and wyth the same condition he debate th wyth thē, because he is ready to keepe hys couenauant, but when they doe not mutually perfozme their parte to hym, they deserue to be reiecte d. Loe what succession auayleth, vnlesse therewithal be also ioynd an inuitation and euenly continuing course: euen to thys effect that the successors, so sone as they be proued to haue swarued from theyz ozigynall, be depzyued of all honoz. Unlesse parhappes because Caiphas succeeded many Godiye byshops (yea there was euen from Aaron to hym a continuall vnbroke course of succession) therfoze that same mischeuous assemblee was

worthy



Worthy the name of the Church. But this were not tolerable even in earthly dominions, that the tyranny of Caligula, Nero, Heliogabalus and suche other, should be called a true state of Common weale, for that they succeeded the Brutus, Scipions, and Camilles. But specially in the gouernement of the Church there is nothyng more fonde, than leauyng the Doctrine to sette the succession in the Persons only, but neyther did the holy doctours whom they falsely thurst in vnto vs, meane any thyng lesse, then to praise that precisely as it were by ryght of inheritance Churches be there where byshops are successiuey placed one after an other. But where as it was then out of controuersie, that from the very begynnyng to that age nothyng was chaunged in Doctrine; they alledged that whiche myght suffice to make an ende of all newe errors, that is, that by those was that doctrine oppugned, which had ben euen from the Apostles constantly and with one agreing consent reteined. There is therfoze no cause, why they shold any longer go forward to deceiue by pretending a false colour vnder the name of the Church, which we do reuerently esteeme as becometh vs; but when they come to the definition of it, not only water (as the common sayeng is) cleaueth vnto them, but they stick fast in their own myze because they put a stinkyng harlot in place of the holy spouse of Christe. That this puttyng in of a changelyng should not deceiue vs, beside other admonitions, let vs remembre this also of Augustin. For speaking of the Church, he saith. It is it that is sometime darkned, and couered with multitude of offences as with a cloude: sometime caulminesse of time appeareth quiete and free: sometime is hidden and troubled with waue of tribulations and temptations. He byngeth forth examples, that oftentimes the strongest pillers either valiantly suffred banishment for the faith, or were hidden in the whole worlde.

In like maner the Romanistes do bere vs, and make afraide the ignorant wyth the name of the Church, whereas they be the deadly enemies of Christe. Therfoze althoug they pretende the temple, the priesthode and the other suche outward shewes, this bayne glistring wherwyth the eyes of the simple bee daseled oughte nothyng to moue vs to graunt that ther is a Church where the Word of God doth not appere. For this is the perpetual marke wherewith God hath marked the that be his. He that is of the truth (saith he) heareth my voyce. Agayne, I am that good shepherd, and I knowe my shepe, and am knowne of them. My shepe heare my voyce, and I know them and they follow me. And a little befoze he had sayd, that the shepe follow their shepherde, because they know his voyce: but they follow not a straunger, but runne away from him, because they know not the voyce of straungers. Why are we therfoze wilfully in adde in iudgyng the Church, wheras Christ hath marked it with an vndoutefull signe, which wheresoeuer it is seene can not deceiue, but that it certainly sheweth the Church to bee there: but where it is not there remaineth nothing that can gene a true signification of the Church: For Daule rehearseth that the church was builded, not vpon the iudgements of men, not vpon priesthodes, but vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes. But rather Hierusalem is to be seuerally knowne from Babylon, and the Church of Christ from the conspiracie of Satan, by that difference wherewyth Christe hath made

Ad Vincten epist. lviij.

4

Joh. xviii. rrviii. John. x. viii.

Ephe. ii. ii.



made them differēt one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth the Words of God. Ye therfoze heare not, because ye ar not of God. In a summe, forasmuche as the Chirche is the kingdom of Chzist, and he reigneth not but by his word: can it be now doutfull to any man, but that those be the wordes of Iyeng, by whiche Chzistes kyngdom is fayned to be without his scepter, that is to say without his holy worde:

5 But now where as they accuse vs of Schisme and heresie, because we bothe preach a contrary doctrine to them, and obey not their lawes, and haue our assemblies to Prayers, to Baptisme, to the ministracion of the Supper, and other holy doinges, seuerally from them: it is in dede a very soze accusation, but suche as needeth not a long or laboursome defence. They are called heretikes and schismatikes, which makyng a diuision, doo bzeake in sunder the communion of the Chirche. And this cōmunion is holden together with true bondes, that is to say, the agreement of true Doctrine, and bzotherly charitie. Wherbyppon Augustine putteth this difference betwene heretikes and schismatikes, that heretikes in dede do with false doctrines corrupt the purenesse of Faith, but the Schismatikes somtime euē where there is like Faith, do bzeake the bond of felowship. But this is also to be noted, that this conioinyng of charitie so hangeth vpon the vnitie of Faith, that Faith ought to be the begittinyng therof, the ende, and finally the onely rule. Let vs therfoze remembze that so oft as the vnitie of the Chirch is commended vnto vs this is required, that while our myndes agree in Chzist, our willes also may be ioyned together with mutual well willing in Chzist. Therfoze Paule, when he exhorteth vs to that wel willing, taketh for his foundation that there is one God, one Faith, and one Baptisme. Pea where so euer he teacheth vs to be of one mynde, & of one wil, he by & by addeth in Chzist, or accozding to Chzist: meanyng that it is a factious cōpanie of the wicked, and not agreement of the faithfull, whiche is wythout the woorde of the Lorde.

6 Cyprian also folowynge Paule deriueth the whole fountaine of the agreement of the Chirch, from the onely bishoprike of Chzist. He afterward addeth the Chirch is but one, which spredeth abzode moze largely into a multitude with encrease of frutefulnesse: like as there bee many sunnebeames, but one light: and many bzaūches of a tree, but one body grounded vpon a fast roote: And when many streames doo flowe from one fountayne, although the number seme to be scattered abzode by largenesse of ouerflo wing plētie, yet the vnitie abideth in the oziginal. Take away a beame of the sunne from the body, the vnitie can suffer no diuision. Bzeake a bzaūche from the tree, the broken bzaunche can not spring. Cutte of the streame from the spring hed, beyng cut of it dryeth vp. So also the Chirch being ouersped with þ light of the Lord, is extended ouer the whole worlde: yet there is but one light that is spzed euery where. Nothing could be said moze fitly to expresse that vndiuidable knitting together, which all the mēbers of Chzist haue one with another. We see how he continually calleth vs backe to the veray hedde. Wherupon he pronounceth that heresies and schismes doo arise herof, that men do not returne to the oziginall of truth, nor do seke the hedde, nor kepe the doctrin of the heuenly maister. Now let them go & cry that we be heretikes that haue departed from their Chirch: sithe there hath bene

bene

Joh. viii.  
libit.

Lib. que  
sti. euāg.  
secund.  
Math.

Eph. iiii.  
b.  
Philip. ii.  
ii. et. b.

De sim-  
pl. prala.



ben no cause of our estrangyng from them but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure professyng of the truthe: but I tell not howe they haue driven vs out with cursynges and cruell execrations. Whiche very selfe doyng doeth abundantly enough acquite vs, vnlesse they will also condemne the Apostles for Schismatikes, with whom we haue all one cause. Christ (I say) dyd forsay to his Apostles, that the tyme shuld com when they shuld be cast out of the Synagoges for his names sake. And those Synagoges of which he speaketh, wer then accompted lawfull Chirches. Sithe therfore it is euident that we be caste out, and we be ready to shewe that the same is doone for the names sake of Christ, truely the cause ought fyrst to be enquired of, befoze that any thyng be determined vpon vs, either one way or other. Howbeit, if they will, I am content to discharge them of this poynt. For it is enough for me, that it behoued that we shuld depart fro them, & we might com to Christ

But it shall appeare yet moze certainly, in what estimation we ought to haue all the Chirches whom the tyzanny of that Romyshe idoll hath possessed, if it be compared with the olde Chirche of the Israelites, as it is described in the Prophetes. There was then a true Chirch among the Jewes and Israelites, when they continued in the lawes of the couenant, for they obteyned those thynges by the benefite of God, wher vpon the Chirch consisteth. They had the truthe of doctrine in the law: the ministerie therof was among the Priestes and the Prophetes: with the signe of circumcision they entred into religion: by other Sacramentes they were exercised to the confirmation of Faith. It is no dout that those titles wherewith the Lorde hath honoured his Chirche, fittly perteyned to their felowship. After that, forsakyng the lawe of the Lorde, they went out of kinde to idolatrie and superstition, they partly lost that prerogattue. For who dare take awaye the name of the Chirche from them, with whom God hath left the preachyng of his woꝛde and obseruation of his mysteries: Agayne, who dare call that the Chirche without any exception, where the woꝛd of the Lorde is openly and freely troden vnder foote: where the ministerie therof, the chief sinew, yea the very soule of the Chirch is destroyed?

What then: will some man saye: was there therfore no parcell of a Chirch remaining among the Jewes after that they fel away to idolatrie? The answer is easy. Fyrst I say & in the very fallyng away there were certayn degrees. For we will not say that there was all one falle of Juda and Israell, at suche tyme as they both first swarned from the pure woꝛthypppyng of God. When Iacob came fyrst made calves, against the open prohibition of God, and did dedicate an vnlawful place for woꝛshipping, he did vtterly corrupt religio. The Jewes did first defile them selues with wicked & superstitious maners, befoze that they wrongfully changed the order in the outward forme of religion. For although vnder Rechabeam they had alredy gotten them many peruerse Ceremonies: yet because there taried at Hierusalem bothe the Doctrine of the Lawe, and the Priesthode, and the Ceremonious vsages in suche sorte as God hadde ordeyned them, the Godly hadde there a tolerable state of Chirche. Among the Israelites vnto the reigne of Achab, there was no amendement of thynges, and from thense forth they fell from woꝛse to woꝛse. They that succeeded afterwarde, to the very destruc-



## Of the outward meanes

destruction of the kyngdome, partly were like unto hym, and partlye (when they minded to be somwhat better than he) they folowed the example of Iarobeam: but they all euery one were wycked and ydolaters. In Jewrye there were nowe and then diuerse changes, whyle somme kynges peruerted the worshipping of God wyth faile and forged superstitions, some other restozed religion that was decayed: vntill the very priestes them selues defiled the temple of God with prophane and abhominable vsages.

Now let the Papistes if they can, how much soeuer they extenuate their owne faultes, denye that among them the state of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kyngdome of Israell vnder Iarobeam. But they haue a grosser ydolatrype: and in doctrine they are not one droppe purer: vnlesse peradventure euen in it also the be moze vn-  
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Ero. xxi.
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the godly, that if it should degenerate to prophane and filthy vsages, they should forthwith of necessitie folow it.

But aboute the other poynte we contende yet more earnestly. For if the Chirche bee so consydered to bee suche, whoes iudgemente we ought to reuerence, whoes authoritie to regarde, whoes monitions to obey, with whoes chastisements to bee moued, whoes communion in all thynges we oughte religiously to obserue: then we can not graunte them a Chirche. But that we must of necessitie be bounde to subiection and obedience vnto it. Yet we will willingly graunt them that whyche the Prophetes graunted to the Jewes and Israelites of theyr tyme: when thynges were there in as good, yea or in better state. But we see how eche where they crie out, that their assemblies are unholy, to which it is no more lawfull to consente than it is to denye God. And trulye if those were Chirches, it foloweth therfoze that in Israell Helias, Michas and such other: in Turpe, Elaye, Jeremye, Osee and other of that sorte, whome the Prophetes, priestes and people of that tyme hated & detested worse than any vncircumcised men, were strangers from the Church of God. If those were Chirches, then the Chirche was not the pillar of truth, but the stay of lyeng: not the tabernacle of the liuing God, but the receptacle of idoles. Therfoze it was nedefull for them to depart from the cōsent of those assemblies, which was nothyng els but a wycked conspiracie agaynst God. In like maner if any man acknowledge the assemblies at these dayes beyng defiled wyth idolatrie, superstition and wicked doctrine, to be such in whoes ful communion a Christian man oughte to continue euen to the consente of doctrine, he shall greatlye erre. For if they bee Chirches then they haue the pover of the keyes. But the keyes are vnseperablye knytte wyth the worde, whyche is from thense quite dryuen awaye. Agayne, if they bee Chirches, then the promise of Christe is of force amonge them, vwhatsoever ye bynde, &c. But they contrarywyle do banyshe from their communion al suche as doo professe them selues not faynedly the seruantes of Christ. Therfoze either the promise of Christ is vaine, or at least in this respect they ar not Chirches. Finally in stede of the ministerie of the word they haue scholes of vngodlynesse, and a sink of all kindes of errors. Therfoze either in this respecte they are not Chirches, or there shall remaine no token whereby the lawfull assemblies of the faithfull maye be sensually knowne from the meetynges of Turkes.

But as in the old tyme there yet remained among the Jewes certain peculiar prerogatiues of the Chirch, so at this day also we take not fro the Papistes suche steppes as it pleased the Lord to haue remaynyng among them after the dissipation of the Chirche. The Lord hadde ones made his couenant with the Jewes. That same rather being vpholden by the stedfastnesse of it selfe dydde continue wyth stryuing against their vngodlynesse, than was preserued by them. Therfoze (such was the assurednesse and constancie of Goddes goodnesse) there remained the couenant of the Lorde, neither coulde hys faythfulnesse bee blotted out by theyr vnfaythfulnesse: neither coulde Circumcision be so prophaned wyth their vncleane handes, but that it styll was the signe and sacramente of that couenante. Wherebpon the chylderne that

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1. Tim. iii  
rb:Mat. xvi.  
xix. & xviii  
xviii.  
John. x.  
xviii.

wers



were bozne of them, the Lorde called hys obone, whiche bnlesse it were by speciall blessing, belonged nothpyng to hym. So when he hath leste hys couenaunt in Fraunce, Italye, Germanye, Spayne, Englande: sins those prouinces haue bene oppressed wyth the tyzannye of Antichrist, yet that hys coue naunte myghte remayne inuiolable, firste he there preserued Baptisine, the testimonie of his couenant, whiche beyng consecrate by his obone mouth reteineth her owne foze notwythstandyng the vngodlinesse of man: then, with his Prouidence he hath wozought that there should remayne other remnantes, least the Chirch should be vtterly destroyed. And as oftentymes byldinges are so pulled downe, that the foundations and ruines remaine: so he hath not suffred his Chirch either to be ouerthrowen by Antichrist from the very foundation, oz to be layd euen with the grounde (howsoeuer to punish the vnthankfulnesse of men that had despised his worde, he suffreth horrible shaking and dissipatton to chaunce) but euen after the very wasting he willed that the bylding half pulled downe should yet remayne.

12  
 Whereas therfoze we will not simply graunt to the Papistes the title of the Chirch, we do not therfoze deny that there be Chirches amōg them: but onely we contende of the true and lawefull orderyng of the Chirch: which is required in the communion both of the sacraments which are the signes of profession, but also specially of doctrine. Daniel and Paule fozetolde that Antichrist should sitte in the temple of God. With vs we accompt the bishop of Rome the captaine and stādard bearer of that wicked and abhominable kingdome. Whereas hys seate is placed in the temple of God, thereby is meant that his kingdome shalbe such as can not abolishe the name of Christ nor of his Chirch. Hereby therfoze appeareth, that we do not deny but that euen vnder his tyrannie remain Chirches: but such as he hath pzophaned with vngodlinesse full of sacrilege, such as he hath afflicted with outeragious dominion, suche as he hath cozrupted and in maner killed with euill and damnable doctrines, as with poisoned drinckes: such wherin Christ lyeth halfe buried, the Gospel ouerwhelmed, godlinesse banished, the woꝝshipping of God in a maner abolished: such finally wherin al things are so troubled, that therein rather appereth the face of Babylon then of the holpe citie of god. In a summe, I say that they be Chirches, in respect that the Lorde there maruelously preserueth the remnauntes of his people howsoeuer they were dispersed and scatttered abzoade, in respecte that there remayne some tokens of the Chirch, specially these tokens, the effectualnesse wherof neither the craft of the Deuil, nor the maliciousnesse of man can destroy. But on the other side because these marks are blotted out, which in this discourse we ought pzincipally to haue respecte vnto, I saye that euery one of their assemblies and the whole body wanteth the lawfull foꝝme of a Chirch.

### ¶ The.iii. Chapter.

¶ Of the teachers and ministers of the Chyrche, and of theyꝝ election and offices.

Dant. fr.  
 rrbii.  
 ii. The C.  
 ii. llii.





**M**ete it is mete that we speake of the order, by which it was the Lordes will to haue his Chirche gouerned. For although in his Chirche he onely muste rule and reigne, yea and beare pzeeminence oz excelle in it, and this gouernement to bee bled oz executed by his onely word: yet because he dwelleth not among vs in visibler presence, so that he can presently with his owne mouth declare his will vnto vs, we haue saied that in this he bseth the ministerie of men, and as it were the trauaile of deputies, not in transferring his right and honour vnto them, but onely that by their mouthe he might do hys owne worke, like as a workeman to doo his worke bseth hys instrument. I am compelled to repete agayne those thyngs that I haue already declared. He might in dede do it eyther by hymselfe without any other helpe oz instrumente, oz also by meane of Angelles: but there are many causes why he had rather doo it by men. For by this meane first he declareth hys good wyll toward vs, when he taketh out of men them that shall doo his message in the world, that shall be the interpreters of hys secreete wyll, finally that shall represent his owne person. And so by experience he proueth that it is not bayne that commonly he calleth vs hys temples, when out of the mouthes of men, as oute of his sanctuarpe, he geueth answeres to men. Secondly, thys is the best and most profitable exercise to humilitie, when he accustometh vs to obey hys worde, howsoeuer it be preached by men like vnto vs, yea sometime our inferiours in dignitie. If he him selfe spake from heauen, it were no maruell if his holy Oracles were without delaye reuerently receiued wyth the eares and myndes of all men. For who woulde not drede his power beyng in presence: who woulde not be thzowen downe at the first sight of so great maiesty: who woulde not be confounded wyth y infinite brightnesse? But when some silly man risen out of y dust speaketh in the name of God, here with very good testimony we declare our godlinesse and reuerent obedience toward God hymselfe, if to his minister we yelde our selues willyng to learne, whiche yet in nothyng excelleth vs. Therfoze for this cause also he hath hidden the treasure of hys heauently wisdom in bzyckle and earthen vessels, that he mighte haue the certainer pzoefe how much he is esteined of vs. Moreover there was nothyng fitter for the cherishyng of mutual charitie, than that mē should be bounde together one to an other with this bonde, when one is made a pastoz to teache the rest, and they that are commaunded to be scholars receiue al one doctrine at one mouth. For if euery mā were able enough to serue himselfe, and neded not the helpe of an other: suche is the pride of mans nature, that euery one would despise other, and should agayne be despised of them. Therfoze the Lorde hath bounde his Chirch with that knotte, whiche he forsaue to be the strongest knotte to holde vnitie together, when he hath leste with men the doctrine of saluation, and of eternall life, that by their handes he might communicate it to the reste. Herunto Paul had respect when he wzote to the Ephesians, One body one spirite, as also ye be called in one hope of your callyng. One Lorde, one faith, one Baptisme. One God, and the Father of all, whiche is aboue all, and by all, & in vs al. But vnto euery one of vs grace is geue accordyng to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherfoze he saith: **W**hē

Mathe.  
xvi. xi.

Augusti.  
lib. i. de  
doctrin.  
christi.

11. Corin.  
iii. vii:

Eph. iii.  
iii.

he



he was gone by on hys, he ledde captiuitie captiue, he gaue giftes to men. He that wente doone is the selfe same hee that wente by, that he might fulfill all thynges. And the same hath geuen some to be Apostles, and some Prophetes, and some Euangelistes, and other some Pastors and teachers, vnto the restoryng of the holy ones, to the worke of ministracion, to the edifyng of the body of Christ, vntill we com all into the vnitie of faithe, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, into a perfect man, into the measure of full growen age: that we bee no more children that may be caried about with euery wynde of doctrine: but followinge truthe in charitie, let vs in all thynges growe into him that is the hed, euen Christ, in whom the whole body conioyned and compacted together by all the ioynt of subministracion, accordyng to the workinge in measure of euery parte, maketh encrease of the body, vnto the edifyng of it selfe by charitie.

2  
By these wordes he sheweth, that that ministerie of men, which God bleseth in gouernyng his Chirche is the chiefe synew, wherby the faithfull cleaue together in one body: and also he sheweth that the Chirche can not otherwise be preserved safe, but if it be vpholden by these staps, in whyche it pleased the LORD to repose the saluation of it. CHRIST (saith he) is gone by on hys, that he myght fulfill all thynges. This is the maner of fulfillyng, that by his ministers, to whom he hath committed that office, and hath geuen the grace to execute that woork, he disposeth and distributeth his giftes to the Chirche, yea and after a certayne maner geueth hym selfe present, with extendyng the power of his spirite in this institution, that it should not be vaine or idle. So is the restoryng of the holy ones perfozmed: so is the body of Christ edified: so doo we by all thynges growe into hym that is the hed, and doo growe together among our selues: so are we all brought into the vnitie of Christ, if prophetic flourish among vs, if we receyue the Apostles, if we refuse not the doctrine ministred vnto vs. Therefore he goeth about the dissipacion, or rather the ruine and destruction of the Chirche, whoesoener he be that either endeuoureth to abolishe this Order of whom we speake, and this kynde of gouernement, or miniseth the estimation of it as a thyng not so necessary. For neither the lighte and heate of the sunne, nor meate and dzyinke are so necessary to nourishe and susteine this present life, as the office of Apostles and pastors is necessarie to preserve the Chirche in earthe.

3  
Therefore I haue aboue admonished, that God hath oftentymes with suche titles as he coulde commended the dignitie thereof vnto vs, that we should haue it in moste hys honour and pryce, as the moste excellent thyng of all. He testifieth that he geueth to men a singular benefite, in raisyng them by teachers, where he commaundeth the Prophet to crye oute that faire are the feete, and blessed is the commyng of them that bring tidyngs of peace: and when he calleth the Apostles the lyght of the worlde, and salte of the earthe. Neither coulde this office bee more honourably aduanced, than it was when he sayde: He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. But there is no place more playne, than in Paule in his seconde Epistle to the Cozinthians, where he as it were of purpose entreateth of this matter. He affirmeth therefore, that there is nothyng in the Chirche  
more

Eph. iiii.  
r.

Eph. iiii.  
vii.

Esa. lii.  
vii.

Math. v.  
xv & xiiii.

Luke. x.  
xvi.

ii. Coz. iii.  
xv.

ii. Coz. iii.  
ix.



more excellent or glorious than the ministerie of the Gospell, foras-  
 muche as it is the administration of the Spirite, and of righteous-  
 nesse, and of eternal life. These and like sayenges serue to this purpose,  
 that that order of gouerning and preserving the Church by ministers,  
 which the Lord hath stablished for euer, should not growe out of esti-  
 mation among vs, and so at length by very contempt grow out of vse.  
 And howe greate is the necessitie therof, he hath declared not onely by  
 wordes, but also by examples. When his wil was to shine more fully  
 to Cornelius with the light of his trueth, he sente an Angell from hea-  
 uen to sende Peter vnto him. When his will was to call Paule to the  
 knowlege of himselfe, and to engraffe him into the Church, he spake not  
 to him with his own voice, but sente him to a man, of whom he should  
 receiue both the doctrine of saluation, and the sanctification of Baptis-  
 me. If it be not done without cause, that an Angell, which is the inter-  
 preter of God, doe himselfe absteine from declaring the wil of God, but  
 commaundeth that a man be sente for, to declare it: and not without  
 cause that Christ the onely scholemaister of the faithfull commytteth  
 Paule to the schooling of a man, yea euen that same Paule whom he  
 had determined to take by into the thirde heauen, and to bouchsaue to  
 graunt him miraculous reuelation of thinges vnspeakable: whoe is  
 there now that dare despise that ministerie, or passe it ouer as a thyng  
 superfluous, the vse wherof it hath pleased God to make approued by  
 such examples?

They that haue rule of the gouernement of y<sup>e</sup> Church according to  
 the institution of Christ, are named of Paule first Apostles, then Pro-  
 phetes, thirdly Euangelistes, fourthly Pastors, laste of all Teachers.  
 Of which, the twoo last alone haue ordinarie office in the Church: the  
 other thzee the Lord raised by at the beginning of hys kingdome, and  
 sometime yet also rapeth by, as the necessitie of times requireth. What  
 is the Apostles office, appeareth by that commaundement: go, preache  
 the Gospell to euery creature. There are not certaine boundes ap-  
 pointed vnto them: but y<sup>e</sup> whole worlde is assigned them, to be brought  
 into the obedience of Christe: that in spreading the Gospell among all  
 nations whersoer they shall be able, they maye eche where raise by  
 his kingdome. Therefore Paule, when he wente aboute to proue  
 his Apostleship, rehearseth that he hath gotten to Christ not some one  
 citie, but hath farre and wide spred abroad the Gospell: and that he  
 hath not layed his handes to an other mans foundation, but planted  
 Churches where the name of the Lord had neuer ben heard of. Ther-  
 fore the Apostles were sente to bringe backe the worlde from falling a-  
 waye, vnto true obedience of God, and eche where to stablish his king-  
 dome by preaching of the Gospell: or (if you like that better) as the first  
 bilders of the Church, to laye the foundations therof in all the worlde.  
 Prophetes he calleth, not all expositors of Gods will whatsoeuer they  
 be, but those that by singular reuelation excelled, suche as at this tyme  
 either be none, or are lesse notable. By Euangelistes I vnder-  
 stande those, whiche when in dignitie they were lesse than the  
 Apostles, yet in office were nexte vnto them, yea and occupied  
 their roomes. Suche were Luke, Timothee, Titus and other  
 lyke: and paraduenture also the seuentie Disciples, whom Christ

C. i. appointed

ii. Coz. iii.  
 ii.

Act. v. iii.  
 Act. ix. vi.

ii. Coz. xi.  
 ii.

4  
 Eph. iii.  
 ii.

Mar. xvi.  
 xv.

Rom. xv.  
 xi. & xv.

Eph. iii.  
 xi.

Luk. x. i.



appointed in the seconde place after the Apostles. According to this exposition (which seemeth to me agreeable both with the woordes and meaning of Paule) those thre offices were not ordeined in the Chirche to this ende that they should be perpetuall, but onely to serue for that tyme wherein Chirches were to be erected, where were none before, or at least to be remoued from Moses to Chryst. Albeit I denie not, but y afterwarde also the Lord hath somtyme rased by Apostles, or at least in their places Euangelistes, as it hath ben done in our time. For it was nedefull to haue such, to bryng backe the Chirche from the falling away of Antichrist. Yet the office it selfe I do neuerthelesse call extraordinarie, because it hath no place in the Chirches already well set in order. Next after these are Pastors and Teachers, whom the Chirche may neuer lacke: betwene whom I thynke that there is thys difference, that the Teachers are not appoynted to beare rule of discipline, nor for the ministracion of Sacramentes, nor admonishmentes or exhortationes, but onely to expounde the Scripture, that pure and sounde doctrine may be kept among the faithfull. But the office of Pastor conteineth al these thynges within it.

Now we haue, which were these ministeries in the Chirch that continued but for a tyme, and which were those that were ordeined to endure perpetuallly. If we ioyne the Euangelistes with the Apostles, we shall haue remayning two couples after a certayne maner answering the one to the other. For as oure Teachers are lyke to the olde Prophetes, in such sort are our Pastors lyke to the Apostles. The office of Prophetes was moze excellent, by reason of the singular gifte y they had of reuelation: but the office of Teachers hath in a manner lyke order, and altogether the same ende. So those .xii. whom the Lord dyd choose, that they should publish abroad to the world the new preaching of the Gospel, in degre and dignitie went before the rest. For although by the meanyng and propertie of the worde, all the ministers of the Chirche maye be ryghtly called Apostles, because they are sente of the Lord, and are hys messengers: yet because it was muche behouefull, y there should be a certayne knowledge had of the sendyng of them that should bryng a thing new and vnhheard of, it was necessarie that those .xii. (to whoes number Paule was afterwarde added) should be garnished with some peculiar title aboue the rest. Paule hymselfe in dede in one place geueth thys name to Andronicus and Junias, whom he saith to haue been notable among the Apostles: but when he meaneth to speake properly, he referreth it to none other but to that principal degre. And this is the common vse of the Scripture. Yet the Pastors (sauiug that eche of them do gouerne seueral Chirches appointed to them) haue al one charge with the Apostles. Now what maner of thing that is, let vs yet heare it moze playnly.

The Lord, when he sent the Apostles, gaue them commaundemente (as we sayd euen now) to preache the Gospell, and to baptise them that beleue vnto forgeuenesse of synnes. He had before commaunded, that they should distribute the holy signes of his body and bloud, as he had done. Loe here is a holy, inuiolable and perpetual law laied vpon them that succede in the Apostles place, wherby they recieue commaundemēt to



to preache the Gospell, and minister the Sacramentes. Whereupon we gather, that they which neglect both these thinges, do falsly saye y<sup>e</sup> they beare the person of the Apostles. But what of the Pastors: Paule speaketh not of hymselfe onely, but of them all, when he sayeth: lette a man so esteeme vs as the ministers of Christ, and distributors of y<sup>e</sup> misteries of God. Againe in an other place: a Bishop must be a fast holder of that faithful worde which is according to doctrine: that he may be able to exhort by sounde doctrine, and to conuince the gainesayers. Out of those and lyke places, which are echwhere to be founde, we may gather, that also in the office of the Apostles these be the two principall partes, to preach the Gospell, and to minister the Sacramentes. As for the order of teachyng, it consisteth not onely in publike Sermons, but belongeth also to priuate admonitions. So Paule calleth the Ephesians to witnessse that he hath not fled from doing of any of those thinges that wer for their profyt, but that he preached and taught them both openly and in euery house, testifying both to the Jewes and Grecians, repentance and sayth in Christ. Againe a little after: that he hath not ceassed wyth teares to admonishe euery one of them. Neither yet belongeth it to my purpose at thys present to expresse al the qualities of a good Pastor, but onely to point out what they professe that call themselues Pastors: that is, that they are so made rulers of the Church, not that they should haue an idle dignitie, but that they should with y<sup>e</sup> doctryne of Christ instruct the people to true godlynesse, minister the holy misteries, and preserue and exercise vpryght discipline. For whosoever be set to be watchemen in the Church, the Lord declareth vnto them, that if any by their negligence peryshe through ignozance, he wyll require the bloud at their handes. That also pertayneth to them all, whych Paule sayeth of hymselfe: woe to me vnlesse I preache the Gospell, forasmuch as the distributing therof is comitted to me. Finally what the Apostles performed to the whole worlde, the same ought euery Pastor to perfozme to hys flocke to which he is appoynted.

Albeit when we assigne to euery one their severall Churches, yet in the meane while we do not denye but that he which is bonde to one Church may helpe other Churches, if any troublesome thing doe happen that requireth his presence, or if he be asked counsell of any darke matter. But forasmuch as for the keping of the peace of the Church, thys police is necessarie, that there be sette forth to euery man what he shoulde doe, least all shoulde be confusely disozdered, runne aboute without callyng, or rashly runne altogethet into one place, and leasse suche as are moze carefull for their owne commoditie than for the edification of the Church, shoulde at theyr own wyl leaue their Churches vacante: thys orderyng ought commonly to be kept so nere as may be, that euery man contented with hys owne bondes shoulde not breake into an other mans charge. And thys is no inuention of man, but the ordinance of God hymselfe. For we reade that Paule and Barnabas created Priestes in all the severall Churches of Lystria, Antioche, Iconium: and Paule hymselfe commaundeth Titus that he shoulde appoynte Priestes in euery towne. So in one place he speaketh of the Bishoppes of Phillippes, and in an other place of Archippus

1. Cor. iii. Tit. i. v.

Ac. vi. xv.

Acte. xv. rrr.

Eze. xlii. rlii.

1. Cor. ix. rvi.

7.

Act. viii. rvi. Tit. i. v. Phil. i. i.



Colo. iiii.  
viii.  
Act. xv.  
viii.

Bishop of the Colossians. And there remaineth a notable Sermon of his in Luke, to the Priestes of the Chirche of Ephesus. Whosoever therfore shal take vpon him the gouernement & charge of one Chirche, let him know that he is bound to this lawe of Gods calling: not that as bounde to the soile (as the lawiers terme it) that is, made bonde and fastened vnto it, he may not ones moue his foote from thense, if the common profit do so require, so that it be done wel and orderly: but he that is called into one place ought not himselfe to thinke of remouing; nor seke to be deliuered as he shal thinke to be good for his commoditie. Then, if it be expedient that any be remoued to an other place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his own priuate aduise, but to tarry for publike authoritie.

1. Tim. i. v.  
1. Tim. i. i.  
Act. xv. vii.  
Rom. xii. vii.  
1. Cor. xii. v. & viii.

8. But whereas I haue without difference called them Bishops, and Priestes, and Pastors, and Ministers, that rule Chirches: I did that according to the vsage of the Scripture, which indifferently vseth these wordes. For whosoever doe execute the ministry of the worde, to them he geueth the title of Bishops. So in Paul, where Titus is comaunded to appoint Priestes in euery towne, it is immediatly added. For a Bishop must be vnreprouable, &c. So in an other place he saluteth many Bishops in one Chirche. And in the actes it is rehearsed, that he called together the Priestes of Ephesus, whom he himselfe in hys own Sermon calleth Bishops. Here now it is to be noted, that hetherto we haue recited none but those offices that stande in the ministerie of the word: neither doeth Paul make mention of any other in that fourth chapter which we haue alleged. But in the Epistle to the Romaines, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he reckeneth by other offices, as powers, the gift of healing, interpretation, gouernemente, caring for the pooze. Of the which I omitted those I endured but for a tyme, because it is to no profittable purpose to tarry vpon them. But there are two that do perpetually abyde, that is to say, gouernemente and care of the pooze. Gouernoures I thinke wer the Elders chosen out of the people, that should together with the Bishops, haue rule of the iudgemente of maners, & the vsing of discipline. For a man cannot otherwys expound that which he sayeth: let hym that ruleth do it with carefulnesse. Therfore at the beginning euery Chirch had their Senate, gathered of godly, graue and holy men: which had that same iurisdiction in correcting of vices, wherof we shal speake hereafter. And that this was the order of more than one age, experience it selfe declareth. Therfore thys office of gouernement is also necessarye for all ages.

Rom. xii. vii.

9. The care of the pooze was committed to the Deacons. Howbeit to the Romaines there are set twoo kyndes. Let hym I geueth (sayeth Paule in that place) do it in simplicitie: let hym that hath mercye, do it in cherefulness. Forasmuche as it is certayne that he speaketh of the publyke offices of the Chirch, it must nedes be that there were twoo several degrees. Unlesse my iudgement deceyue me, in the first point he meaneth Deacons, I distributed I almes: in the other he speaketh of them that had geuen themselves to loking to the pooze & sicke: of which sort wer the wydowes of whos he maketh mention to Timothe. For women coulde execute no other publike office, but to geue themselves to the seruice of the pooze. If we graunt thys, (as we must nedes graunt it) then there

1. Tim. v. ix.

1. Tim. v. i.

shalbe



shalbe twoo sortes of Deacons: of which one sort shall serue in distributing the thinges of the pooze, the other in loking to the pooze of the Chirche themselues. But although the very worde Diaconia Deaconrie extendeth further: yet the Scripture specially calleth them Deacons, to whom the Chirche hath geuen the charge to distribute the almes, and to take care of the pooze, and hath appointed them as it were stewardestes of the common treasure of the pooze: whoes beginning, institution and office, is described of Luke in the Actes. For when a murmuring was raysed by the Grecians, for that in the ministerie of the pooze their wydowes wer neglected, the Apostles excusing themselues wyth saying that they could not serue both offices, both the preaching of the worde and the ministring at tables, required of the multitude, & there might be chosen. vii. honest men, to whom they mighte committe that doing. Doe what manner of Deacons the Apostolike Chirch had, and what Deacons it were mete for vs to haue according to their example.

Ac. vi. 11

Now wheras in the holy assemblie all thynges are to be done in order and comly, there is nothyng wher in that ought to be moze diligently obserued, than in stabling the order of governemēt: because there is no where greater peril if any thing be done vnozderly. Therfore to the ende that vquiet and troublesome men (which otherwyse woulde happen) should rashly thrust in themselues to teache or to rule, it is expressly prouyded, that no man should without calling take vpon hym a publike office in the Chirche. Therfore that a mā may be iudged a true minister of the Chirche, first he must be ozderly called: then he must answer his vocation, that is to say, take vpon him and execute the dutie enioyned hym. This we may oftentimes marke in Paule: which whē he meaneth to approue hys Apostleshyp, in a manner alway wyth hys faithfulnessse in executing his office he allegeth hys calling. If so great a minister of Chryste dare not take vpon himselfe the authozitie that he should be heard in the Chirch, but because he both is appointed therunto by the commaundement of the Lord, and also faithfully performeth that whych is committed vnto hym: how greate shamefulnessse shal it be, if any man wātynge both or either of these, shal chalenge such honoz to himselfe: But because we haue aboue touched the necessitie of executing the office, now let vs entreate onely of the calling.

The discourse therof standeth in foure poyntes: that we shoulde knowe, what manner of ministers, how, and by whom ministers ought to be institute, and wyth what vsage or what Ceremonie they are to be admtyted. I speake of the outwarde and solemne calling, whyche belongeth to publike order of the Chirche: as for that secrete calling, wherof euery minister is priuy in hys own conscience before God, and hath not the Chirche witnessse of it, I omitt it. It is a good witnessse of our hart, that not by any ambitio, noz couetousnesse, noz any other greedy desire, but with pure feare of God, and zeale to edefye to the Chirche, we receiue the office offered vnto vs. That in dede is (as I haue sayed) necessarye for euery one of vs, if we wyll approue oure ministerie allowable before G O D. Neuerthelesse he is ryghtly called in presence of the Chirche, that commeth vnto it with an euil conscience, so



that his wickednesse be not open. They are wont also to say that euery private men are called to the ministerie, whom they see to be mete and able to execute it: because verily learning ioined with godlinesse & with the other qualities of a good Pastor, is a certaine preparation to the very office. For whom the Lord hath appointed to so great an office, he first furnisheth them with those armures that are required to fulfill it, that they should not come empty and vnprepared vnto it. Whereupon Paule also to the Corinthians: when he meante to dispute of the very offices, firste rehearsed the gistes whiche they ought to haue that execute the offices. But because this is the firste of those fower poyntes that I haue propounded, let vs now goe forwarde vnto it.

What maner of Bishops it is mete to choose, Paule doeth largely declare in two places, but the summe commeth to this effect, that none are to be chosen, but they that are of sounde doctrine, and of holy lyfe, and not notable in any vice, whiche mighte both take awaie credite from them, and procure slander to their ministry. Of Deacons and Elders there is altogether like consideration. It is alway to be looked vnto, that they be not vnable or vnfit to beare the burden that is layed vpon them, that is to say, that they may be furnished with those powers that are necessarie to the fulfilling of their office. So when Christ was about to sende his Apostles, he garnished them with those weapons and instrumentes whiche they could not wante. And Paule when he had painted out the image of a good and true Bishop, warneth Timothee, that he should not defile himselfe with choosling any man that differeth from it. I referre this worde How, not to the Ceremonie of choosling, but to the reuerente feare that is to be kept in the choosling. Hereupon come the fastinges and prayers, which Luke reciteth that the faithfull bled when they made Priestes. For whereas they vnderstode that they meddled with a most earnest matter, they durste attempt nothyng, but with greate reuerence and carefulnesse. But they chefully applied theselues to prayers, wherby they myght craue of God the Spirite of counsell and discretion.

The thirde thing that we haue set in our diuision was, by whom ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certayne rule can be gathered out of the institution of Apostles, which had some difference from the comon callyng of the rest. For, because it was an extraordinary ministerie, that it might be made discernable by some moze notable marke, it behoued that they whiche should execute it, should be called and appoynted by the Lordes owne mouth. They therefore tooke in hande their doying, being furnished by no mans election, but by the onely commaundemente of God and of Christe. Hereupon commeth that when the Apostles would put an other in the place of Judas, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought fourth twoo, that the Lord should declare by lotte, whether of them he would haue to succede. After this manner also it is mete to take thys, that Paule denyeth that he was create Apostle of men or by man, but by Christe and GOD the Father. That firste poynte, that is to saye of men, he had common wyth all the Godly ministers of the woorde. For no man could rightly take vpon hym that execution,

but



but he that wer called of God. But the other point was proper and singular to himselve. Therfoze when he glozieth of this, he doth not onely boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true and lawful Pastoz, but also byngeth fourth the signes of his Apostleship. For whē there were some among the Galathians, which traouailing to diminishe his authoritic, made him some meane disciple, put in office vnder them by þ principal Apostles: he, to defende in safetie the dignitic of hys preaching, which he knew to be shot at by those suttile deuises, neded to shewe himselve in al pointes nothing inferioz to the other Apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that he was chosen, not by the iudgement of men, lyke some common Byshop, but by the mouth and manifest Oracle of the Lorde himselve.

But no man that is sober wil deny, þ it is accozding to the order of lawful calling, that Bishops should be appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of the Scripture for profe therof. Neither doth that saying of Paul make to the contrary, as it is said, that he was not sent of men, noz by men: forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinary choosung of ministers, but chalengeeth to hymselfe þ which was special to the Apostles. Howbeit God also so appointed Paule by hymselfe by singular prerogative, that in the meane tyme he vsed the discipline of Ecclesiastical calling. For Luke reporteth it thus, whē the Apostles were fasting and praying, the Holy ghost said: Seperate vnto me Paule and Barnabas to the worke to whiche I haue seuerally chosen them. To what purpose serued that seperatio and putting on of handes, sith the Holy ghost hath testified his owne election, but that the discipline of the Chirche in appointing ministers by men, might be preserued: Therfoze the Lord could by no playner example approue suche order, than he dyd when hauing firste declared that he had ordeyned Paul Apostle for the Gentiles, yet he willeth him to be appointed by þ Chirch. Which thing we may see in the choosung of Mathias. For, because the office of Apostleship was of so greate importance, that they durst not by their owne iudgement choose any one mā into that degree, they did set two men in the middes, vpo the one of whom the lot should fall: that so both the election might haue an open testimonie from heauen, and yet the policie of the Chirch should not be passed ouer.

Nowe it is demaunded whether the minister ought to be chosen of the whole Chirche, oz onely of the other of the same office, and of the Elders that haue the rule of discipline, oz whether he may be made by the authoritie of one man. They that geue thys authoritie to one mā, allege that whiche Paule sayeth to Titus: Therefore I haue lefte thee in Creta, that thou shouldest appoynte in euery towne Brestes. Again to Timothee: laye not handes quicklye vpon any manne. But they are deceiued if they thinke, that either Timothee at Ephesus, oz Titus in Creta, vsed a kingly power, that either of them shoulde dispose all thinges at his owne will. For they were aboue the reste, onely to goe befoze the people with good and holosome counsellis: not that they onely, excludyng all other, shoulde doe what they lysted. And that I may not seme to faine any thing, I will make it playne by a lyke example. For Luke rehearseth that Paule and Barnabas appoynted Brestes in dyuerse Chirches: but he also expresseth



the order or manner how, when he sayeth that it was done by voices<sup>cc. xlii. f. i.</sup> ordaining Priestres (sayeth he) by lifting vp of handes in euery Chirche. Therefore they two did create them: but the whole multitude, as the Grecians maner was in elections, did by holding by their handes declare whom they would haue. Euen in lyke maner the Romaine histories do oftentimes say,  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$  the Consul which kept the assemblies, created newe officers, for none other cause but for that he receiued the voices and gouerned the people in the election. Truly it is not likely that Paule graunted moze to Timothe and Titus than he toke to himselfe. But we see that he was wonte to create Bishops by voices of the people. Therefore the places aboue are so to be vnderstanded,  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$  they minishe nothing of the common ryght and libertie of the Chirch. Therefore Ciprian sayeth well, when he affirmeth that it commeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest should be chose in presence of the people before the eyes of all men, and should by publike iudgement and testimonie be allowed for woorthy and mete. For we see that thys was by the commaundement of the Lord obserued in the Leuiticall Priestres, that before theyr consecration they should be broughte into the sight of the people. And no otherwise is Mathias added to the fellowship of the Apostles: and no otherwise the seven Deacons were created: but the people seing and allowing it. These examples (saith Ciprian) do shew, that the ordyng of a Priest ought not to be done, but in the knowledge of the people standyng by: that the orderyng may be iuste and lawfull, which hath been examined by the witnessse of all. We are therfore come thus farre, that this is by the worde of God a lawfull calling of a minister, when they that seme mete are created by the consent and allowance of the people. And that other Pastors ought to beare rule of the election, that nothing be done amisse of the multitude eyther by lightnesse, or by euil affections, or by disorder.

26 Now remaineth the forme of ordering, to which we assigned the laste place in the calling. It is euident that the Apostles vsed no other Ceremony, when they admitted any man to ministerie, but the laying on of handes. And I thynke that thys vsage came from the maner of the Hebrewes, which did as it were presente vnto God by laying on of hands that which they would haue blessed & hallowed. So when Jacob was about to blesse Ephraim and Manasse, he layed hys handes vpon their hedds. Which thyng our Lorde folowed, when he prayed ouer the infantes. In the same meaning (as I thynke) the Jewes, by the ordinace of the law, layed handes vpon the Sacryfices. Wherefore the Apostles by layeng on of handes did signifie that they offered hym to God, whō they admitted into the ministerie. Albeit they vsed it also vpon them, to whom they applyed the visibler graces of the Spirite. Howsoeuer it bee, thys was the solempne vsage, so ofte as they called any man to the ministerie of the Chirche. So they consecrated Pastors and teachers, and so also Deacons. But although there be no certayne commaundemente concernyng the laying on of handes, yet because we see that it was continually vsed among the Apostles, their so diligente obseruing of it ought to be to vs in stede of a commaundemente. And truly it is profitable, that by suche a signe, both the dignitie of  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$  ministerie should be commēded to the people, and also that he which is ordered should be admonished



admonished, that he is not now at his owne libertie, but made bond to God and the Chirche. Moreouer it shall not be a vaine signe, if it be re-  
 sozed to the naturall beginnyng of it. For if the Spirite of God, hath  
 ordeined nothyng in the Chirch in vaine, we must thinke that this Ce-  
 remonie, si the it proceded from him, is not vnprofitable, so that it be not  
 tourned into a superstitious abuse. Last of all this is to be holden, that  
 not the whole multitude did laye their handes vpon the ministers, but  
 the Pastors onely. Howbeit it is vncertaine whether many did alway  
 lay on their handes or no. But it is euident that that was done in the  
 Deacons, in Paule and Barnabas, and a fewe other. But Paule him-  
 selfe in an other place reporteth, that he, and not many other, dyd laye  
 his handes vpon Timothee. I admonithe thee (saieyth he) that thou  
 raise by the grace whiche is in thee by laying on of my handes. For, as  
 for that which in the other Epistle is spoken of the laying on of the han-  
 des of the degree of Priestes, I doo not so take it, as though Paule did  
 speake of the companie of the Elders, but I vnderstande by that word  
 the very ordinance it selfe: as if he had saied: Make that the Grace,  
 whiche thou haste receiued by laying on of handes when I dyd create  
 thee a priest, may not be voyde.

### The.iii. Chapter.

Of the state of the olde Chirche, and of the maner of gouernynge  
 that was in vse before the Papacie.



Therto we haue intreated of the order of gouernynge the  
 Chirche, as it hath ben deliuered vs out of the pure word  
 of God: and of the ministeries, as they were institute by  
 Christ. Nowe that all these thynges may be moze clerely  
 and familiarly opened, and also bee better fastened in our  
 myndes: it shall be profitable in these thynges to consider the  
 forme of the Olde Chirche, whiche shall represent to our eyes a certayn  
 image of Gods institution. For although the Bishops of those tymes  
 did set forth many Canons, wherin they seemed to expresse moze than  
 was expresse in the holy Scripture: yet they with suche hedefulnesse  
 framed all their order after the only rule of Gods word, that a man may  
 easily see y<sup>e</sup> in this behalf they had in a maner nothing disagreynge from  
 the word of God. But although there myght be somewhat wantynge in  
 their ordinances, yet because they with sincere zeale endeououred to pre-  
 serue Gods institution, and they swarued not muche from it, it shall bee  
 very profitable here shortly to gather what maner of obseruation they  
 had. As we haue declared that there are thre sortes of ministers com-  
 mended vnto vs in the Scripture: so all the ministers that the old Chir-  
 che had, it diuided into thre Orders. For out of the order of Elders wer  
 partly chosen Pastors and Teachers: the rest of them had the rule of the  
 iudgement and correction of maners. To the Deacons was committed  
 the care of the poore, and the distributyng of the almes. As for the  
 Reders and Acolythe, were not names of certaine offices: but those  
 whom they called Clerkes, they trayned from their youthe vpwarde in  
 certain exercises to serue the Chirche, that they myght be the better vni-  
 ders



## Of the outward meanes

1 Esa. 1 p. 9. vnderstande to what purpose they were appointed, and myght in tyme come the better prepared to their office : as I shall by and by shew more at large. Therfoze Hierome, when he had appoynted fīue orders of the Chirche, reckeneth by Bpshoppes, Priestes, Deacons, Beleuers, and Cathecumeni : to the rest of the Clergie and monkes he geueth no proper place.

2 Therfoze to whome the office of teachyng was enioyned, all them they named Priestes. In euery citie they chose oute of theyr owne numbze one man, to whome they specially gaue the title of Bishoppe : that dissentions shoulde not growe of equalitie, as it is wonte to come to passe. Yet the Bishop was not so aboue the reste in honoz and dignitie, that he had a dominion ouer his felowes. But what office the Consul had in the Senate, to propounde of matters, to aske opinions, to goe befoze the other with counselling, monishing and exhorting, to gouerne the whole action with his auzhoritie, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counsell : the same office hadde the Bishop in the assemblie of the Priestes. And the olde wyters theim selues confesse, that the same was by Mens consent brought in for the necessitie of the tymes. Therfoze Hierome vpon the Epistle to Titus saith: The same was a Priest whiche was a Bishop. And befoze that by the instinction of the Deuil, there were dissentions in religion, and it was said among peoples: I am of Paule, I am of Cephas, Chirches were gouerned by common counsell of Elders. Afterwarde, that the seedes of dissentiōs might be plucked by, all the care was committed to one man. As therfoze the Priestes doo knowe, that by the custome of the Chirche they are subiecte to hym that is sette ouer them : so lette the Bishops knowe, that they are aboue the Priestes, rather by Custom, than by the truth of the Lordes disposyng, and that they ought to gouerne the Chirche in common together. But in an other place he teacheth, howe auncient an institution it was. For he saith that at Alexandria, from Marc the Euangelist euen to Heraclas and Dionysius, the Priestes didde alwaie choose out one of them selues, and set him in a hyper degree, whom they named a Bishop. Therfoze euery citie had a company of priestes whiche were Pastors and Teachers. For they all did execute among the people that office of teachyng, exhortyng and correctyng, whyche Episto. d Eua. Paule appointeth to the Bishops : and that they might leaue sede after them, they trauailed in teachyng the yonger men, that hadde professed themselues souldiours in the holy warfare. To euery citie there was appointed a certain contrey, that shoulde take their priests from thens, and be accompted as it were into the body of that Chirche. Euery company (as I haue befoze said) only for preseruation of Policie & Peace, were vnder one Bishop: whiche was so aboue the rest in dignitie, that he was subiecte to the assemblie of his bzyethzen. If the compasse of grounde that was vnder his bishoprike were so great, that he could not suffice to serue al the offices of a Bishop in euery place of it, in the contrey it selfe there were in certayn places appointed Priestes, whiche in small matters shuld execute his auzhoritie. Them they called contrey-bishops, because in the contrey they represented the Bishop.

Et. l. ix. But, so muche as belongeth to the office, whereof we nowe speake, as well the Bishops as the Priestes were bounde to apply the distributing



ting of the word and Sacramentes. For it was ordeined only at Alexandria, (because Arius had there troubled the Church) that the priest should not preache to the people, as Socrates saith in the .ix. booke of the Tripartite hystorie. Whiche yet Hierome confelleth that he mylliketh not. Truly it should be counted monstrous, if any man had geuen out hymselfe for a Byshop, that had not also in very dede shewed hymselfe a true Bishop. Therfore suche was the seueritie of those tymes, that all ministers were dyuen to the fulfillyng of suche office, as the Lorde requirerh of them. Neither doo I reherse the maner of one age alone: For euen in Gregories tyme, when the Church was now almoste decayed (certainly it was muche degenerate from the auncient purenesse) it had not ben tolerable y any Byshop should absteine from preachyng. The Priest (saith he in one place) dieth if there be no sound hearde of him: because he asketh against hymselfe the wrathe of the secrete iudge, if he goe without sounde of preachyng. And in an other place: When Paule testifieth that he is cleane from the bloud of all: in this saying we be conuincid, we be bounde, we be shewed to be giltye, which are called Priestes, whiche beside the euils that we haue of our owne, adde also the deathes of other: because we kyl so many as we beyng luke warme and silent doo daily see to goe to death. He calleth hymselfe and other silent, because they were lesse diligent in their worke than they ought to be. When he spareth not them, that did halfe performe theyr duety: what thinke you he would haue done, if a man had altogether sit idle? Therefore this was a greate while holden in the Church, that the chiefe duety of the Byshop was to fede Gods people with the worde, or both publicly and priuately to edifie the Church with sounde doctrine.

But wheras euery prouince had among their Bishops one Archebishop: also where in the Nicene Synode there were ordeined Patriarches, whiche should in degree and dignitie be aboue the Archbishops: that pertained to the preseruyng of discipline. Howbeit in this discourse, that whiche was moste rarely vled may not be omitted. For this cause therfore chiefly these degrees were ordeined, that if any thyng hapned in any Church, that could not well be ended by a fewe, might be referred to a prouinciall Synode. If the greatnesse or difficultie of the matter requirid a greater discussyng, the Patriarches were also called to it with the Synodes, from whom there might be no appelle but to a Generall Counsel. The gouernement so ordered many called a Hierarchie, by a name (as I thinke) vnproprie, and truly vnused in the Scriptures. For the Holy ghost willed to prouide, that no man should dreame of a principallitie or dominion when the gouernement of the Church is spoken of. But if, leapyng the woorde we looke vpon the thyng, we shall find that the olde Bishops ment to forge no forme of ruling the Church, differyng from that which the Lorde appointed by his worde.

Neither was the order of the Deacons at that tyme any other then it was vnder the Apostles. For they receiued the dately offrynges of the faithfull, and the yerely reuenues of the Church, to bestow them vpon true bles, that is to say, to distribute them to fede partely the ministers, and partly the poore: but by the appointment of the Bishop, to whom also they yearely rendred accomptes of their distribution. For where as the Canons doo euery where make the Byshop the distributer of al the goodes

Episto.  
ad Euz.Epi. liii.  
Homel.  
in Eze.  
Actes. xx.  
vbi.

4

5



goodes of the Chirch, it is not so to be vnderstanded, as though he do by hym selfe discharge that care: but because it was his part to appoynt to the Deacon, who should be receiued into the common almes of the Chirche, and of that whiche remained, to whom it should be geuen, and howe muche to euery one: because he had an euerseeing whether the Deaco did faithfullly execute that which beloged to his office. For thus it is red in the canons which they ascribe to the Apostles: We comaunde that the Bishop haue the goodes of the Chirche in his owne power.

For if he be put in trust with the soules of men, which are moze precious, muche moze it is mete that he haue charge of moneye: so that by his power all thyngs may be distributed to the pooze by the Elders and Deacons: that they may be ministred with all feare and carefulnesse.

Cap. rrrb And in the Counsell of Antioche it is decreed, that the Bishops should be restrained that meddle with the goodes of the Chirche, without the knowledg of the Elders and Deacons. But of that poynt we nede to make no longer disputation, si the it is euident by many epistles of Gregorie, that euen at that tyme, when otherwys the ordinances of the Chirch were muche corrupted, yet this obseruation continued, that the Deacons should vnder the Bishop be the stewardeg of the pooze. As for Subdeacons, it is likely that at the beginnyng they were ioyned to the Deacons, that they should vse their seruice about the pooze: but that difference was by litle and litle confounded. But Archdeacons began then to be created, when the plentie of the goodes, required a new and moze exacte maner of disposyng them: Albeit Hierome doeth say, that it was euen in his age. In their charge was the summe of their reuenues, possessions, and store, and the collection of the daily offrynges: Wherupon Gregorie declareth to the Archdeacon of Salon, that he should be holden giltly if any of the goodes of the Chirch perished either by his fraude or negligence. But wheras it was geuen to them to rede the Gospell to the people, and to exhort them to praier: and where as they were admittted to deluuet the Cuppe in the holy Supper, that was rather doone to garnyshe their office, that they should execute it with the moze reuerence, when by suche signes they were admonished that it was no prophane baylywike that they exercised, but a spirituall function and dedicate to God.

Epist. ad Nepot.

Epist. 10 lb. i.

6 Hereby also we may iudge what vse there was, & what maner of distribution of the Chirch goods. Ech where both in y decrees of the Synodes, & amog the old wryters it is to be found, that whatsoeuer y Chirch possesseth ether in lads or in money, is y patrimonie of the pooze. Therfore oftentimes there this song is soong to y Bishops & Deacons, y they should remembre, that they meddle not with their owne goodes, but the goodes appointed to the necessitie of the pooze: which if they vnfaithfully suppress or wast, they shall be giltie of bloud. Wherby they are admonished, with great feare and reuerence, as in the sight of God, without respect of persons, to distribute them to whom they be due. Hereupon also come those graue protestations in Chrysostome, Ambrose, Augustine, and other like Bishops, wherby they affirme their owne vprightnesse to the people. But si the it is equitie, and establsed by the lawe of the Lord, that they whiche employ theyr seruice to the Chirch, should be fedde with the common charges of the Chirch, and also many priests



priestes in that age, consecratyng their patrimones to God, were willingly made pooze: the distributyng was suche, that neyther the ministers wanted sustenance, noz the pooze were neglected. But yet in the mean time it was prouided, that the ministers themselves, which ought to geue example of honest sparyng to other, shoulde not haue so muche, wherby they might abuse it to riotous excesse oz delicioussesse, but only wherewith to susteine their owne nede. For those of the Clergie (saith Hierome) which are able to liue of the goodes of their parentes, if they take that whiche is the poozes, doo commit sacrilege: and by such abuse they eate and dzynke to them selues damnation.

First the ministracion was free and voluntarie, wheras the Bishops and Deacons were of theyr owne will faithfull, and byrightnesse of conscience and Innocence of life were to them in stede of lawes. Afterward when euil examples grew of the gredinesse oz peruerse affections of some, to cozrecte those faultes, the canons were made, which diuided the reuenues of the Chirche into fower partes: of whiche they assigned one parte to theym of the Clergie, the seconde to the pooze, the thyrde to the mayntenance and reparation of Chirches, and other holye buildynges, the fourth to the pooze as well straungers as of their owne contrey. For whereas the other canons, geue this last part to the Bishoppe, that varieth nothing from my abouesaide diuision. For they meane not that that part shoulde be hys owne, that either he hymselfe alone shoulde deuoure it, oz poure it oute, vpon whome oz what he lyst, but that it shoulde suffice to maintaine the Hospitalitie which Paule requireth of that order. And so do Gelasius and Gregorie expounde it. For Gelasius bringeth no other reason why the Bishop shuld chalenge any thing to himselfe, but that he mighte geue it prisoners and straungers. And Gregoize speaketh yet moze playnly. It is the maner (sayth he) of the sea Apostolike, to geue commaundement to the Bishop when he is ordered, that of all the reuenue that ariseth, there be made fower portions: that is to saie, the one to the Bishop and his familie for Hospitalitie, and entertainment: the second to the Clergie: the third to the pooze: the fowerth to the repariung of Chirches. Therefore it was lawfull for the Bishop to take nothing to his own ble, but so much as were enough for moderate and meane foode and clothyng. If any began to excede, either in riotous expense, oz in ostentation and pompe, he was by and by repressed by his felowes: and if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignitie.

As for that whiche they bestowed vpon garnishyng of holy things, at the first it was very litle. Afterward when the Chirch became somewhat richer, yet in that behalfe they still kept a meane. And yet all the money that was bestowed therupon, remained safe for the pooze, if any greater necessitie happened. So when famine possessed the Proutice of Hierusalem, and the nede coulde not otherwysse be relieved, Cyrillus solde the vesselles and garmentes, and spente them vpon sustenance of the pooze. Lykewysse Arcatius Byschoppe of Amida, whenne a greate multitude of the Persians, in a maner starued for hunger, called together the Clergie, and when he had made that notable oration, Our God needeth neither dishes noz cuppes, because he neyther eateth noz dzynketh, he molt the vesselles, to make thereof bothe meate

and

7

i. Tim.  
iii. ii.

8

Tripar.  
hist. lib.  
v.  
Lib. xi.  
ca. xvi.



Ad Nec  
potia.

Lib. i. de  
offic. ca.  
28.

and ransome for men in miserie. Hierom also, when he inueyeth against the to muche gorgeousnesse of temples, doeth with honoz make mention of Cruperius Bishop of Tholosa in his tyme, whiche caried the Lordes body in a wicker basket, and his bloude in glasse, but suffered no pooze man to be hungry. That which I enen nowe sayd of Alcatius, Ambrose rehearseth of hymselfe. For when the Arrians charged hym, for that he had broken the holy vessels to ransom prisoners, he bled this most godly excuse: He that sent the Apostles without golde, gathered Churches together without golde. The Chirche hath golde, not to keepe it, but to bestowe it, and to geue reliefe in necessities. What nede is to kepe that whiche helpeth not? Do we not knowe, how muche golde and siluer the Assyrians toke out of the temple of the Lord? Both not the priest better to melt them for the sustenance of the pooze, if other reliefs do faile, than an enemy a robber of God to beare them away? Will not the Lord say: Why hast thou suffered so many needy to die for hunger: and verily thou haddest golde wherof thou mightest haue ministrad them sustenance. Why were so many ledde away captiue, and not ransomed: why were so many slayne by the enemy? It hadde ben better that thou shouldst saue the vessels of liuyng men, than of metalles. To these thyngs thou shalt not be able to answer. For what wouldest thou say? I feared least Gods temple should want garnishyng. He wolde answer: Sacramentes require not golde: neither doo those thinges please with Golde that are not bought with golde. The raunsomyng of prisoners is a garnishyng of Sacraments. In summe, we see that it is most true which the same man saieith in an other place, that what soeuer the Chirche then possessed was the store of the needy. Againe: that a Bishop hath nothing that is not the poozes.

Lib. 5. c.  
pi. xxxi.  
& xxxiii

9 These that wee haue rehearsed were the ministeries of the Olde Chirche. For the other of whyche the Ecclesiasticall writers make mention, were rather certain exercises and preparations, than appointed offices. For those holy men, y they might leaue a store for the Chirch after them, receiued into their charge, gouernance and discipline, yong men whiche with the consent and authoritie of their parentes, professed them selues souldiours of the spirituall warfare: and they so framed them from their tender age, that they shoulde not come unskilfull and rawe to the executyng of their office. But all they that were instructed with suche beginnynges, were called Clerkes. I woulde in deede that some other propre name hadde rather bene geuen them. For this name grewe of errour, or of cozrupt affection: forasmuche as Peter calleth the whole Chirche the Clergie, that is to say, the Lordes inheritance. But the institution it selfe was very holy and profitable, that they whiche wolde consecrate them selues and their seruice to the Chirch, should be so brought by vnder the keypyng of the Bishop, that none should minister to the Chirche, but he that were well informed afozhande, and that had from his very youth bothe sucked holy doctrine, and by seuerer discipline put in a certayn continuyng qualitie of grauitie and holy life, and were estranged from worldly cares, and were accustomed to spirituall cares and studies. But as yong souldiours are by certayn counterfeit skirmishes instructed to learn true and earnest fight, so there were also certayn rudimentes, whereby they were exercised while they were clerkes

t. Pet. v.  
16.



Clerkes, befoze that they were promoted to the very offices. Therfoze first they committed to the Clerkes the charge to open and shutte the Church, and they named them Ostiari, doozekeepers. Afterwarde they called them Acoluthi, folowers, whiche waited vpon the Bishop in his household seruices, and did continually accompany hym, fyrste for honours sake; and then that no suspition should arise of them. Moreover that by litle and litle they might become knowen to the people; and get to themselues commendation: also that they might learne to abyde the sight of all men, and to speake befoze all men: that being made priestes, when they came foorth to teache, they should not be abashed with shame: therfoze place was appointed them to reade in the pulpet. After this maner they were promoted by degrees, to shewe prooffe euery one of their diligence in all their seueral exercises, till they wer made Subdeacons. This onely is my meanyng, that those were rather grosse beginnyngs, than suche offices as were accompted among the true ministeries of the Church.

Wheras we said that the fyrst and second point in the calling of ministers, are, what maner of men they ought to choole, and how greate a religious carefulnesse they ought to vse in that matter: therein the old Church hath folowed the prescribed order of Paule, and the examples of the Apostles. For they were wont to come together to choole the pastors with most great reuerence, and careful calling vpon the name of God. Beside this they had a forme of examination, wherby they tried the life and doctrine of them that wer to be chosen by that rule of Paul. Onely they somewhat offended herein with to greate seueritie, because they wolde require moze in a Bishop than Paule required, and specially in procelle of tyme they required binned life. But in y other points their obseruation was agreyng with Pauls description. But in this whiche we made the thirde poynt, that is to say, who ought to institute ministers, they kept not alway one order. In olde tyme, none was receiued into the company of Clerkes without the consent of all the people: in so muche that Cyprian labourerth earnestly to excuse that he appointed one Aurelius to be a Rector without askyng aduise of the Church, because y was done besyde the custome, though not without reason. For this he saith befoze: In orderyng of Clerkes, dere bzyethren, we are wont first to aske you aduise, and by common counsell to wey the manners and deseruynges of euery one. But because in these lesser exercises there was not muche perille: because they were chosen to a long prooffe, and not to a great office, therfoze the consent of the people therin cessed to be asked. Afterward in the other degrees also, except the Bishoprike, the people commonly left the iudgement and choise of them to the Bishop & the Priestes, that they shuld examine who were mete and worthy: sauynge peraduenture when newe priestes were appointed for paroches: for then it behoued that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any meruaile, that the people in this behalfe was little carefull in keepyng their owne righte: for no man was made a Subdeacon, that had not shewed a long prooffe of himselfe in his being a Clerk, vnder that seueritie of disciplin, which the was bled. After that he had ben tried in that degree, he was made a Deacon. From thense he came to the honour of priesthode if he had behaued hymselfe

fayth.

10

1. Tim. 3. 11.

Lib. 2. epist. 16



faithfully. So no man was promoted, of whom there had not bene in dede a triall had many yeares befoze the eies of the people. And there were many canons to punish the faulter: so that the Church coulde not be troubled with euill priestes or deacons, vnlesse it neglected the remedies. Howbeit in the priestes also there was alwaye required the consent of them of the same citie: which the very first canon testifieth in the. lxxii. distinction, whiche is fathered vpon Anacletus. Finally all the admissions into orders were therfoze doone at certaine appointed tymes of the yeare, that no mā should priuily crepe in without the consent of the faithfull, or should with to muche easynesse bee promoted without witness.

In choosyng of Bishops the people had y libertie long preserved, that none should be thrust in that were not accepted of all. This therfoze was forbidden in the counsell at Antioche, that none should be thrust in to them against their will. Which thyng also Leo the first doeth diligently confirme. Hereupon came these sayenges: Let him be chosen, whom the clergie, and the people, or the greater number shall require. Agayne: Let hym that shall beare rule ouer all, be chosen of all. For it muste nedes be, that he that is made a ruler beeing vnknoen and not examined, is thrust in by violence. Agayne, Let hym be chosen, that is bothe chosen by the Clerkes, and desired by the people: and let hym bee consecrate by them of that Province, with the iudgemente of the Metropolitane. The holy Fathers toke so great hede that this libertie of the people should be by no meane be diminished, that when the general Synode gathered together at Constantinople did order Pectarius, they wold not doo it without the allowance of the whole Clergie & people: as they testified by their epistle to the Synode at Rome. Therfoze whē any Bishop did apoint a successour to himself, it was not otherwise stablished, vnlesse the whole people did confirm it. Wherof you haue not onely an example, but also the very forme in Augustine in the naming of Cradius. And Theodorite, when he reherseth that Peter was named by Athanasius to be his successour, by and by addeth, that the order of priestes confirmed it, and the magistrate, and nobilitie, and the people approued it with their allowyng shoute.

I graunte in dede that this also was by very good reason stablished in the Counsell at Laoditia, y the Electio should not be left to multitudes. For it scarcely happeneth at any time, that so many heads should well order any thyng with one meanyng: and commonly this is true, that the vncertayne communitie is diuided into contraty affections. But for this perill there was bled a very good remedie. For fyrste the Clerkes only did choose: whom they had chosen they presented to the Magistrate, or to the Senate and chiefe men of the people. They, after consultation had, if they thoughte the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choose an other, whom they dyd rather all we. Then the matter was moued to the multitude, whiche although they wer not bounde to those fore iudgementes, yet thereby they coulde the lesse bee disordered. Or if they began at the multitude: that was done onely to lerne whom they did chiefly desire. When the desires of the people were hearde, then they of the Clergie dyd choose hym. So neyther was it lawful for the Clergie to appoynt whom they listid, neyther were they bound

11

Epist. 90. cap. 2

Epist. 10  
Theod.  
lib. 4. ca  
20.

12

Cap. 13.



bound to obey the foolish desires of the people. Leo appointeth this order in an other place, when he saith: There are to be looked for, both the desires of the citizens, the peoples testimonies, the iudgemente of the honorable, and the election of the clerkes. Again, Let there be holden the testimonie of the honorable, the subscription of the clerkes, the consente of the order and communalitie. No reason (saith he) suffereth it to be otherwise done. And nothing els meaneth that decree of y<sup>e</sup> Synode at Laodicea, but that the clergie, and chiefe of the people, shoulde not suffer themselues to be carryed away by the vndiscrete multitude: but rather that with their wisdom and grauitie they shoulde repress the peoples foolish affections, if at any tyme nede should so require.

This order of choosyng was yet in force in the tyme of Gregorie: and it is likely that it endured long after. There remayne many Epistles of hys, that geue euident testimonie of thys mater. For so ofte as he hath to doe with the creating of any newe Bishop, he useth to write to the clergie, to the order, and to the people, and sometyme also to the ruler, accordyng as the gouernemente of the citie is appoynted. But if by reason of the disordered state of the Chirche, he committeth to any Bishoppe adioyning, the charge of ouerseing in the election, yet he allway requireth a solemne decree strengthened with the subscriptions of all. Yea and when there was one Constantius create Bishop at Milain, and that many of the Milaneis were by reason of the inuasion of the barbarous nations fled to Genua: he thoughte that the election could not otherwys be lawful, vnlesse they also were called together and gaue their assente. Yea there are not yet fyue hundred yeres paste, since Pope Nicolas decreed thus of the election of the Bishop of Rome: that the Cardinall Bishops shoulde beginne, then that they shoulde ioyne to them the reste of the clergie, laste of all that the election shoulde be confirmed by the consente of the people. And in the ende he reciteth that decree of Leo, whiche I euen nowe alleged, and commaundeth it from thense forth to be in force. But if the malice of wicked men shal so preuaile, that the clerkes to make a true election be compelled to departe out of the citie: yet he commaundeth that some of the people be present with them. As for the Emperours consent, so farre as I can perceiue, was required only in twoo Chirches, that is, Rome and Constantinople: because there were the twoo seates of y<sup>e</sup> Empire. For whereas Ambrose was sent to Milain w<sup>th</sup> a powre fro<sup>m</sup> Valentinian to gouerne the electio<sup>n</sup> of the new Bishop: y<sup>e</sup> was extraordinarily done, by reason of greuous factions wherewith the citizens the boyled among themselves. But at Rome in olde tyme the Emperours authoritie was of so great force in creating of the Bishop, that Grego<sup>r</sup>y saith, that he was set by his commaundement in the gouernemente of the Chirche: when yet by solemne vsage he was desired by the people. This was the manner, y<sup>e</sup> when the clergie and the people had appointed any Bishop, the clergie shoulde forthwith moue it to y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, that he shoulde either by his allowance cofirme the election, or by disallowance vndoe it. Neither are y<sup>e</sup> decrees that Gratian gathereth together, repugnante to this custome: wherin is nothing els saied, but y<sup>e</sup> it is in no wise to be suffred, y<sup>e</sup> takig away y<sup>e</sup> canonical electio<sup>n</sup>, a king shoulde appoint a bishop after his own lust: & that y<sup>e</sup> Metropolitane shoulde consecrate none y<sup>e</sup> wer so promoted

Episto.  
lxxxvii.

13

Lib. 17,  
Ep. lxxixDistin.  
xxii.  
Cap. In  
nomineEpi. v.  
Lib. i.



promoted by violence powers. For it is one thing to spoile the Church of her right, that all should be transferred to the luste of one man: and another thing to graunt thys honoz to a kyng or an Emperour, that by hys authoritie he may confirme a lawfull election.

14

Now it foloweth, that we entreate, with what forme the ministers of the Church were admitted into their office after election: thys the Latines called Ordination or Consecration: the Grekes haue called it Cheirotonia, lifting vp of handes, and somtyme also Cheirothesis, laying on of handes. Howbeit Cheirotonia is properly called that kynde of election, where mens consentes are declared by holding vp of their handes. There remaineth a decree of the Nicene counsell, that the Metropolitane shoulde mete together with all the Bishops of the prouince to order hym that is chose. But if some of them be hindered either by length of the waie, or by sickenesse, or by any necessitie, that yet thre at y least shoulde mete: and that they that are absēt should by letters testifie their consente. And thys Canon, when with discontinuance it grewe out of vse, was afterwarde renewed with many Synodes. But all, or at least as many as had no excuse, were therfore commaunded to be presente, that they might haue the grauer tryall of the learnyng and manners, of hym that was to be ordered: for the matter was not done without tryall. And it appeareth by Cipryans wordes, that in the old tyme they were wonte not to be called after the election, but to be present at the election: and to thys ende that they should be as it wer gouerners, that nothyng should be troublesomly done in the multitude. For where he sayd that the people haue power eyther to choose woorthy Priestes, or to refuse vnwoorthy, within a litle after he addeth: Wherfore according to y tradition of God and of the Apostles, it is to be diligently kept and holden (which is yet holden with vs also and in a manner throughout all prouinces) that for the ryght celebrazion of orderynge, all the bishops adioyning of the same prouince should come together to that people for which a gouernor is ordered, and that the Bishop be chosen in presēce of the people. But when they were somtyme slowly gathered together, and there was perill lest some would abuse that delay to occasyon of ambitious suing: it was thought that it should be enoughe if after the election made, they shoulde mete and after allowance vpon lawfull examination consecrate hym.

15

When this was eche where done without exception, by litle and litle a diuerse manner grewe in vse, that they which were chosen shoulde resozte to the Metropolitane citie to fetch their ordering. Whiche came to passe rather by ambition, and by deprauation of the first institution, than by any good reason. And not long after, when the authoritie of the see of Rome was nowe increased, there came in place yet a worse custome, that the Bishops almoste of all Italie shoulde fetch their consecration from thense. Whiche we maye note out of the Epistles of Gregozy. Onely a fewe cities, whiche did not so easily geue place, had their aunclent right preserued: as there is an example had of Millain. Paraduventure the onely Metropolitane cities kepte their priuilege. For all the Bishops of the prouince were wonte to come together to the chiefe citie to consecrate the Archebishoppe. But the Ceremonie was laying on of handes. For I reade of no other Ceremonies used: sayng that

Epl. liii  
lib. i.Lib. ii.  
Ep. lxiix  
xlii.



that in the solemne assemblie the Bishoppes had a certayne apparell wherby they might be distinctly knowen from other Priestes. They ordered also Priestes and Deacons with onely layeng on of handes. But euery Bishop w<sup>th</sup> the cōpany of Priestes ordered his own Priestes. But although they did all the same thyng: yet because the Bishop went befoze, and it was all done as it were by his guiding, therfoze the ordering was called his. Wherupon the olde w<sup>riters</sup> haue oft thys saying: that a Priest differeth from a Bishop in no other thyng, but because he hath not the power of orderyng.

## ¶ The.v. Chapter.

That the olde forme of gouernement is vtterly ouerthrowen by the tyranny of the Papacie.



**N**ow it is good to set befoze mens eies the order of gouerning the Chirche, that the see of Rome and all the champions therof do kepe at thys daye, and the whole image of that Hierarchie whiche they continually haue in their mouth, and to compare it with that order of the first and olde Chirche which we haue described: that by the comparison it may appeare what maner of Chirch they haue, which vse this only title to charge oz rather to ouerwhelme vs. But it is best to begin at Calling, that we see both who, and what maner of men, and by what order they be called to this ministerie. And then afterwarde we shal consider how faythfully they execute their office. We wil geue the first place to Bishops: to whom I woulde to God thys might be an honoz, to haue the firste place in thys discourse. But the matter it selfe doth not suffer me, ones to touche this thing be it neuer so lightly, without their great shame. And yet I will remember, in what kind of w<sup>riting</sup> I am now occupied: and wil not suffer my talke, which ought to be framed onely to simple doctrine, to flowe abzode beyonde due boundes. But let som one of them that haue not vtterly lost all shame, answer me, what maner of Bishops are at thys day cōmonly chosen. Cruely it is now growen to much out of vse, to haue any examination had of their learning: but if there be had any respect of learning, they choose some lawyer that can rather brabole in a courte, than preach in a Chirch. This is certain, that these hūdzred yeres there hath scarcely ben euery hundzeth man chosen y<sup>e</sup> vnderstode any thyng of holy doctrine. I do not therfoze spare y<sup>e</sup> former ages, for y<sup>e</sup> they wer muche better, but because we haue now only y<sup>e</sup> present Chirche in questio. If iudgement be had of their manners, we shal fynde y<sup>e</sup> there haue been few oz almost none, whō the olde Canons would not haue indged vnworthy. He y<sup>e</sup> was not a dronkarde was a whozemonger: he y<sup>e</sup> was also cleane frō thys wickednesse, was either a dyer, oz a hunter, oz dissolute in som part of hys lyfe. For there be lighter faultes, which by y<sup>e</sup> old Canons do exclude a man frō being a Bishop. But this is a most great absurditie, y<sup>e</sup> very children scarcely ten yeres olde, are by the Popes graūt made Bishops. They ar growē to such shamlessnesse, & sellesse dulnesse, that they dreaded not that extreme yea and monstrous wicked doing,



which is vtterly abhorring from the very sense of nature. Hereby appeareth how religious their elections were, where the negligence was so carelesse.

2

Now in election, al that right of the people is taken away. Their desiringes, their assentinges, their subscribinges, and al such thynges are banished: the whole powert is transferred to the Canons onely. They bestowe the Bishoprike vpon whom they will, and afterwarde byng hym forth into the sight of the people, but to be worshypped, not to be examined. But Leo cryeth on the other syde, that no reason suffreth it, and he pronounceth that it is a violent imposition. Ciprian, when he testifieth that it procedeth from the law of God y<sup>t</sup> it shoulde not be done but by the consent of the people, sheweth that the contrary manner is repugnant to the worde of God. The decrees of so many Synodes doe most seuerely forbid it to be otherwysse done: and if it be done, they commaunde it to be voyde. If these thynges be true, there now remaineth in the papacie no Canonical election, neyther by Gods law nor by the ecclesiasticall lawe. But although there were no other euil, yet how shal they be able to excuse thys that they haue so spoyled the Chirche of her right? But (say they) the corruption of tymes so required, that because in appointing of Bishops, hatreds and affections moze preuailed with the people and the magistrates, than righte and sounde iudgemente, therefore the rule thereof shoulde be geuen to a few. Admit verily that thys were the extreme remedie of a mischiefe in despeired case. But sith the medicine it selfe hath appeared moze hurtfull than the very disease, why is not this new euil also remedied? But (say they) it is exactly prescribed to the Canons, what they ought to folow in the election. But do we doute, but that the people in olde tyme dyd vnderstande that they were bounde to moste holy lawes, when they saw that they had a rule set them by the worde of God, when they cam together to choole a Bishop: For that onely voyce of God, wherby he describeth the true Image of a Bishop oughte worthly to be of moze value than infinite thousandes of Canons. But neuerthelesse the people, corrupted with a most euill affection, had no regarde of the lawe or of equitie. So at thys day though there be very good lawes wzitten, yet they remaine buried in papers. Yet for the most part it is vsed in mens maners, yea and allowed as though it were done by good reason, that drunkardes, whozomongers, dycers, are commonly promoted to thys honor: (it is but litle that I say) that Bishoprikes are the rewardes of adulteries and bawderies. For when they are geuen but to hunters and falconers, it is to be thoughte to be gaily well bestowed. Any way to excuse so haynous indignitie, it is to much wicked. The people (say I) had in olde tyme a very good Canon, to whō Gods worde prescribed, that a Bishop ought to be vnreprouable, a teacher, no fyghter. &c. Why therefore is the charge of choosyng remoued from the people to these men? Because forsoth the worde of God was not heard among the tumultes and seditious partakinges of the people. And why shoulde it not at thys day be remoued agayne from these men, which not onely do breake all lawes, but casting away all shame, do wantonly, couetously, ambitiously, mingle and confounde Gods and mens maters together:

But



But they lye, when they say, that this was deuised for a remedie. We often rede that in olde tyme Chirches were in tumultes at the choosing of Bishops: yet neuer any man durst think of taking away the authoritie from the people. For they had other wayes whereby they might either preuent these faultes, or amend them if they were already committed. But I will tell what it is. When the people began to be negligent in making the elections, and did cast that care vpon the Priestes as little belonging to them, they abused thys occasion to vsurpe a tyranny to themselues, whiche afterwarde they stablished by newe Canons set forth. As for their ordering, it is nothing els but a mere mockage. For the shewe of examination that they there sette out is so baine and hungry, that it wanteth euen all coloure. Therefore wheras in some places Princes haue by couenant obteyned of the Bishops of Rome, that they themselues mighte name Bishops, therin the Chirche suffered no newe losse: because the election was taken away, onely from the Canons, which had by no right violently taken it, or verily stolen it. Cruely this is a most fowle exāple, that out of the court are sent Bishops to possesse Chirches: and it should be the worke of Godly Princes to abstaine frō such corruption. For it is a wicked spoiling of the Chirche, when there is thrust vnto any people a Bishop, whom they haue not desyred, or at least with free voice allowed. But that vnoorderly manner which hath long agoe ben in the Chirches, gaue occasion to Princes to take the presentation of Bishops into their owne handes. For they had rather that it should be their gifte, than those mens, to whom it nothing moze belonged, and whiche did no lesse wrongfully abuse it.

Loe here is a noble calling, by reason whereof the Bishops boste themselues to be the successors of the Apostles. But they say that the authoritie to create Priestes belongeth to them onely. But in this they most lewdly corrupte the olde institution: because they doe not by their ordering create Priestes to rule and fede the people; but Sacrificers to Sacrifice. Likewyse when they consecrate Deacons, they do nothyng of their true and propre office, but they ordeine them onely to certayne Ceremonies aboute the chalice and the paten. But in the Synode at Chalcedon, it is contrarywise decreed, that the orderinges should not be absolutely geuen, that is to saye, but that a place should be therewithall assigned to them that are ordered, where they shal exercise their office. This decree is for twoo causes very profitable. First, that the Chirche should not be burdened with superfluous charges: nor that that should be spente vpon idle menne whiche should be geuen to the poore: Secondly, that they whiche be ordered, should thynke that they be not promoted to an honoz, but that there is an office committed vnto them, to the execution wherof they are bounde by solemne protestation. But the Romishe maisters (whiche thynke that there is nothing in religion to be cared for, but their bellye) firste dooe expounde title to be the reuenue that maye suffice to susteyne them, whether it be by their own lyuelhode or by benefice. Therefore when they order a Deacon or a Priest, without takyng care where they ought to minister, they geue them the order, if they be ryche enough to fynde themselues. But what man can admitt thys, that the title whiche the decree of the Counsell requireth, should be the perelye



reuenue for their sustentance: But now because the later Canons condemned the Bishops with penaltie to finde them whom they had ordered without sufficient title, by this meane to restraine their to muche easy admitting: there hath ben also a sutteltie deuised to mocke out this penaltie. For he that is ordered, naming any title whatsoeuer it be, promisseth that he wilbe content therewith: by this shift he is driuen from his action for his finding. I passe ouer a thousande fraudes that are herein vsed: that when some doe falsly name vaine titles of benefices, wherupon they can not make fiue shillings by yere: other some vnder secrete couenante doe bozrowe benefices, which they promise that they wil by and by restore againe, but sometime they restore not at all. And such other misteries.

5 But although these grosser abuses were taken away, is not this alway an absurditie, to appoint a Priest to whom you assigne no place: Also they order no man but to Sacrifice. But the true ordinance of a Priest is, to be called to y<sup>e</sup> gouernement of y<sup>e</sup> Chirche: and a Deacon to be called to the gatherig of the almes: they do in dede with many pompes shadow their doing, that in the very shob it may haue a reuerence among the simple. But among mē that haue their sounde witt, what can these disguisings auaille, if there be no sounde stuffe or trueth vnderneath them: For they vse Ceremonies aboute it, either fetched oute of Jewishnesse, or fayned of themselues: which it were better to forbear. But of true examination, (for I nothyng passe vpon that shadowe which they reteine) of the peoples consent, and of other thyngs necessa-rie, they make no mention. I cal a shadowe their folishe gesturings mete to be laughed at, framed to a fonde and colde counterfaiting of antiquitie. The Bishops haue their deputies whiche befoze the ordering may enquire of their learning. But what: whether they can rede their masses: whether they can decline a comon nobone, y<sup>e</sup> they shal light vpon in reding, or coniugate a verbe, or do know y<sup>e</sup> significatio of one worde, for it is not necessa-rie y<sup>e</sup> they be coning enough to construe a verse. And yet they be not put backe fro Priesthode, which faile euen in y<sup>e</sup> childishe rudimentes, so y<sup>e</sup> they bzyng any money or commendatio of fauor. Of like sorte it is, that when they are bzought to the altare to be ordered, it is asked thise in a tong not vnderstanded, whether they be woorthy of that honoz. One answereth (which neuer saw thē: but because nothing should want of the forme, he hath y<sup>e</sup> part in the play) They are woorthy. What may a man blame in these reuerende fathers, but that with mocking in so open Sacrileges, they doe withoute shame laughe to scozne both God and men: But because they are in long possession therof, they thynke that nowe it is lawfull for them. For whosoeuer dare ones open hys mouth agaynst these so euident and so haynous wicked doinges, he is forthwith haled by them to punishment of death, as though it were one that had in olde tyme disclosed abzode the holy misteries of Ceres. would they do thys if they thought that there were any God:

6 Now how much do they behaue thēselues better in bestowynge of benefices: which thing was ones ioined w<sup>th</sup> the ordering, but now it is altogether separate: There is among them a diuerse maner. For the Bishops onely do not conferre benefices: & in those wherof they are said to haue y<sup>e</sup> conferring, they haue not y<sup>e</sup> ful right: but other haue y<sup>e</sup> presentatio, and



and they retaine onely the tittle of collation for honours sake. There are also nominations out of scholes, and resignations, either simple, or made for cause of exchange, commendatorie writings, preuentions, and whatsoeuer is of that sorte. But they also behaue themselues that none of them can reproche an other with any thing. So I affirme, that scarcely euery hundreth benefice, is bestowed at this daye in the papane without Simonie, as the olde writers defined Simonie. I do not say that they all buye them with ready money: but shewe me one of twentie that commeth to a benefice without some buye commendation. Some either kintred or alliance promoteth, and some the authoritie of their parentes: some by doing of pleasures do get themselues fauor. Finally benefices are geuen to this end, not to prouide for the Churches, but for them that receiue them. Therefore they call them benefices, by which worde they do sufficiently declare, that they make no other account of them, but as the beneficiall giftes of princes, whereby they either get the fauor of their soldiars or rewarde their seruices. I omit how these rewarde are bestowed vpon barbers, cookes, moile keepers, and such dreggith men. And nowe iudiciall courtes doe ring of no matters moze, than aboute benefices: so that a man may saye that they are nothyng els but a pray cast afoze dogs to hunt after. Is thys tollerable euen to be heard of, that they should be called Pastors, which haue broken into the possession of a Church as into a ferme of their enemies: that haue gotten it by brawlyng in the law: that haue bought it for money: that haue deserued it by fylthy seruices: which being children yet scantly able to speake, haue receiued it, as by inheritance from their vncles and kinsmen, and some bastardest from their fathers.

Woulde euer the licentiousnesse of the people, though they had been neuer so corrupt and lawlesse, haue gone so farre: But this is also moze monstrous, that one man, (I will not saye what manner of man, but trulye suche a one as can not gouerne himselfe) is sette to gouerne fve or six Churches. A man may see in these dayes in Princes courtes; yong men that haue thre abbacies, twoo Bishoprikes, one Archbishopryke. But there be commonly Canons with fve, six or seuen benefices, wherof they haue no care at all, but in receiuing the reuenues. I will not obiect, that it is eche where cryed out againste by the woorde of God, which hath long agoe cessed to be of any estimation at all among them. I will not obiect, that there haue been many most seuerer penall ordinaunces in many counsels made agaynst thys wickednesse: for those also they boldly despise as oft as they list. But I say that both are monstrous wycked doinges, which are vtterly against God and nature and the gouernement of the Church, that one robber shall oppresse many Churches at ones; and that he should be called a Pastor, whiche can not be presente with his flocke though he would: and yet (suche is their chamelessnesse) they couer suche abominable filthinesse wyth the name of the Church, to deliuer them selues from all blame. But also (and God will) in these lewdeneses is contained that holy succession, by the merit wherof they bothe that it is wrought that the Church may not perishe.

Nowe (whiche is the seconde marke in iudging a lawfull Pastor) let



vs see how faithfully they exercise their office. Of the Priestes that be there created, some be Monkes, some be (as they call them) Secular. The first of these two companies was unknowne to the olde Church: and it is so against the profession of Monkes, to have suche a place in the Church, that in olde tyme when they were chosen out of Monasteries into the clergie, they celled to be Monkes. And Gregorie, whose tyme had muche dregges, yet suffered not this confusion to be made. For he wylleth that they be put out of the Clergie that bee made Abbots, for that no man can rightly be together both a Monke and a clerke: sith the one is a hinderance to the other. Now if I aske, how he well fulfilleth hys offyce, whom the Canons declare to be vnnete: what I pray you, will they answer? They will forsooth allege vnto me those vntimely bozne decrees of Innocente and Boniface, whereby Monkes are so receiued into the honor and power of Priesthode, that they mighte still abide in their Monasteries. But what reason is this, that every vnlearned asse, so sone as he hath ones possessed the sea of Rome, may with one worde ouerthrowe all antiquitie? But of this matter we shall speake hereafter. Lette this suffice for this time, that in the purer Church it was holden for a great absurditie, if a Monke dyd execute the office of Priesthode. For Hierome sayeth that he doeth not execute the office of a Priest, while he is couersant among Monkes: and maketh hymselfe one of the common people to be ruled by the Priestes. But, althoughe we graunt them this, what do they of their dutie? Of the mendicantes some doe preache: all the other Monkes either sing or mable by masses in their dennes. As though either Christ willed, or the nature of the office suffereth, Priestes to be made to this purpose. Whereas the Scripture plainly testifieth, that it is the Priestes office to rule his owne Church, is it not a wicked prophanation, to turne an other way, yea vtterly to change the holy institution of God: for when they are ordered, they are expressely forbydden to do þ things that God commaundeth all Priestes. For this song is soong to them: let a Monke, contente with his cloister, not presume to minister the Sacramentes, nor to execute any thyng belonging to publyke offyce. Let them deny, if they can, that it is an open mockerie of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to absteyne from his true and naturall office: and that he which hath the name, may not haue the thing.

I come to the secular Priestes: which are partly beneficed men, (as they call them) that is to saye, haue benefices whereupon to liue: and partly doe lette out their daily labour to hyre, in massing, or singing, and liue as it were of a stipende gathered thereupon. Benefices haue either care of soules, as Bishoprikes, and cures of paroches: or they be the stipendes of deintie men, that gett their liuing with singing, as Prebendes, Canonshippes, personages, and dignities, chaplainships, and suche other. Howbeit, sith thynges are nowe turned bpside downe, Abbacies and priories are geuen to very boyes, by priuilege, that is to say by common and vsuall custome. As concerning the hirelinges, that gett theyr lyuing from daye to daye, what shoulde they dooe otherwyse than they dooe: that is in seruile and shamefull manner to geue oute them selues for gayne, specially sith there is so greate a multitude as nowe the world swarmeth with:

Therefore

Epi. 11.  
lib. 3.

Act. 17.  
viii.



Therefore when they dare not beg openly, or forasmuch as they thinke they should but little profite that way, they go about like hungry dogs, and with their importunacie, as with barking, they enforce out of men against their willes somewhat to thrust into their bealy. Here if I would goe about to expresse in wordes, howe greate a dishonour it is to the Church, that the honoz and office of priesthod is come to this point, I should haue no ende. Therefore it is not mete that the readers should looke for at my hande suche a long declaration as may be proportionall to so heynous indignitie. Briefely I saie, if it be the office of priesthod, (as the woorde of God prescribeth, and the auncient canons requyre) to fede the Church, and to gouerne the spirituall kyngdome of Christe: all suche sacrificers as haue none other work or wages, but in making a market of masses, are not onely idle in their office, but also haue no office at all to exercise. For there is no place assigned them to teach: they haue no flocke to gouerne: Finally there is nothyng left to them, but the altar, wherupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but to deuyls, as we shall see in an other place.

I doo not here touche the outwarde faultes, but onely the inwarde euill, whiche sticketh faste by the roote in their institution. I will adde a saying, whiche will sound yll in their eares: but because it is true, I must speake it: that in the same degree are to bee accompted Canons, Deanes, Chaplains, Prouostes, and all they that are fedde with idle benefices. For what seruice can they doo to the Church? For they haue put from them selues the preaching of the woorde, the care of discipline, and ministracion of Sacramentes, as to muche troublesome burdens. What then haue they remaynyng, wherby they may boast thein selues to be true priestes? Singing forsoothe, and a pompe of Ceremonies. But what is that to the purpose? If they alledge Custome, if vse, if prescription of long tyme: I agayne on the other syde doo lape vnto them the definition of Christ, wherby he hath expressed vnto vs bothe true priestes, and what they ought to haue that will be accompted such. But if they can not beare so hard a lawe, to submit thein selues to Christes rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authoritie of the Primitive Church. But their case shall be neuer the better, if their state be iudged by the old canons. They that haue degenerate into Canons, should haue ben Priestes, as they were in old time, that should rule the Church in common with the Bishop, and bee as it were his companions in the office of Pastor. Those Chapter dignities as they call them, doo nothyng at all belong to the gouernyng of the Church: much lesse, chapleinhyps, and the other dregges of like names. What accompt then shall we make of them all? Cruely both the woord of Christe, and the vsage of the Church excludeth them from the honoz of priesthode. Yet they stiffely holde that they be priestes: but we must plucke of their visour: so shall we fynde, that their whole profession is moste strange and farre remoued from that office of Priestes, bothe whiche the Apostles describe vnto vs, and whiche was required in the primitive Church. Therefore all suche Orders, with what titles soeuer they be notified, sithe they be newe, beyng verily neyther vpholden by the institution of God, nor by the auncient vsage of the Church, ought to haue no place in the description of the spiritual gouernement, which  
the

t. Coz. ii.  
xxi.



the Chirche hath receiued consecrate with the Lordes owne mouth. Or (if they will rather haue me to speake moze simply and grossely) for as muche as chaplains, Canons, Deanes, Prouostes, and other idle bea- lies of the same sort, do not so much as with their litle synger touch any small parcell of that office, whiche is necessarily required in Priestes, it is not to be suffred, that in wrongfully taking a fals honoz vpon them selues, they should breake the holy institution of Christ.

There remaine Bishops, and persons of Paroches: who, I wold to God they did striue to retein their office. For we wold willyngly graunte vnto them, that they haue a godly and excellent office; if they dyd ex- cute it. But when they will be accompted Pastors, while they forsake the Chirches committed to them, and cast the care of them vpon other, they doo as if it were the Pastors office to doo nothyng. If an blurer that neuer stirred his foote oute of the citie, woulde professe himselte a Plowman, or a keper of a vineyarde: if a souldiour that had ben conti- nually in the bataile and in the campe, and hadde neuer seene iudiciall court or bookes, woulde boast himself for a lawyer, who could abide such stinkyng folies: But these men doo somewhat moze absurdly, that will seeme and be called lawfull Pastors of the Chirche, and yet will not be so. For how many a one is there, that doeth so muche, as in shewe, exer- cise the gouernement of his Chirch: Many doo all their life long de- uoure the reuenues of Chirches, to which they neuer come so muche as to loke vpon them. Some other doo ones by yeare either come them- selues, or sende their stewarde, that nothyng should be lost in the letting to ferme. When this corruption fyrst crept in, they that woulde enioy this kynde of vacacion, exempted themselues by priuiledges: nowe it is a rare example, to haue one resident in his own Chirch. For they esteme them none otherwise than farmes, ouer whiche they sette their bicars as baylies or fagmers. But this very naturall reason reiecteth, that he should be pastor of a flocke, that neuer sawe one shepe therof.

It appeareth that euen in the tyme of Gregorie, there were certaine seedes of this mischief, that the rulers of Chirches, began to be negli- gent in teachyng: for he dooeth in one place greuously complayne of it. The worlde (saith he) is full of priestes: but yet in the haruest there are seldome workemen founde: because in dede we take vpon vs the office of priest, but we fulfyll not the woork of the office. Againe, because they haue not the bowelles of charitie, they wyll seeme lordes: they acknowledge not them selues to be fathers. They change the place of humilitie into the aduancyng of lordlynesse. Agayne, but what do we, O pastours, whyche receyue the rewarde, and are no workemen: We are fallen to outward busynesse, and we take in hand one thyng, and performe an other. We leaue the ministerie of preachyng: and to our punishment, as I see, we are called Bishops, that keepe the name of honoz and not of vertue. Sith he vseth so great sharpnesse of wordz against them, which wer but lesse continyng and lesse diligent in their office; What I pray you, woulde he say, if he saw of the Bishops almost none, or truely very fewe, and of the rest scarcely every hundreth man ones in all his life to goe by into a pulpet: For men bee come to suche madnesse, that it is commonly compted a thyng to base for the digni- tie of a Bishop, to make a sermon to the people. In the tyme of Ber- narde



narde, thinges were somewhat moze decayed : but we see also with how sharpe chidynge he inueyeth agaynst the whole order: whiche yet it is likely to haue ben then muche purer than it is nowe.

But if a man doo well wey and examine this outwarde foyme of ecclesiasticall gouernement that is at this daie vnder the papane, he shall fynde that there is no theuisme cozner wherin robbers doo moze licenciously range without lawe and measure. Truly all thinges are there so vnlike the institution of Christe, yea so contrarpe to it, they are so degenerate from the auncient ordinaunces and maners of the Church, they are so repugnant to nature and reason, that there can be no greater iniurie done to Christ, than when they pretend his name to the defence of so disordred gouernement. We (say they) are the pillers of the Church, the chief Bishops of religion, the vicars of Christ, the heds of the faithfull: because the power of the Apostles is by succession come vnto vs. They are alway bragging of these follies, as though they talked vnto stockes. But so oft as they shall boast of this, I will aske of them agayn, what they haue common with the Apostles. For we speake not of any inheritably descendyng honoz, that may be geuen to men euē while they lye slepyng: but of the office of preaching, whiche they so muche flee from. Lykewise when we affirme that their kyngedome is the tyrannie of Antichrist, by and by they answer, that it is that reuerende Hierarchie, so ofte praised of notable and holy men. As though the holpe fathers, when they commended the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie or spirituall gouernement, as it was deliuered them from hande to hande from the Apostles, did dreame of this mylshapen and wast disordred heape, where the Bishops are for the most part, either rude asses, which know not the very first and common principles of faith, or sometyme childe yet newe come from the nurse: and if any be learnede (whiche yet is a rare example) they thinke a Bishoprike to be nothyng els but a title of gloriouse and magnificence: where the persones of Churches thinke no moze of fedyng the flocke, than a showemaker doeth of plowpnyng: where all thinges are confounded with moze than Babylonicall dispersyng, that there remaineth no moze any one steppe whole of that ordinance of the Fathers.

What if we descende to their maners: where shall be that light of the worlde, whiche Christ requireth: where is the salte of the earth: where is that holynesse, which may be as a perpetuall rule to iudge by: There is no degree of men at this day moze il spoken of for riot, wantonnesse, deyntynesse, finally all kynde of lustes. There are of no degree men either fitter, or conninge maisters of al deceit, fraude, treson, and breach of faith: there is no where so great connyng or boldnesse to doo hurt. I passe ouer their disdainfulnesse, pride, extorcion, crueltie. I passe ouer the dissolute licenciousnesse in al the parts of their lyfe. In suffering wherof the worlde is so weryed, that it is not to be feared, that I should seme to enforce any thyng to muche. This one thyng I say, which they them selues shall not bee able to denie: that of the Bishops there is almoste none, of the Parsons of paroches not the hundzeth man, but if iudgement should be geuen of his maners, accorpyng to the olde Canons, he should be either to be excommunicate, or at lest to be put from his office. I seme to say somewhat incredible: so farre is that auncient Discipline growen



grooven out of vse, that commaunded an exacter trial to be had of the maners of the Clergie: but the truth is so. Now let them goe, y<sup>e</sup> fight vnder the standerd and guiding of the see of Rome, & let them boiste among themselues of the order of prestehode. As for the order that they haue, truely it is euident, y<sup>e</sup> it is neither of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the old Church.

15

Nowe let the Deacons come forth, and that most holy distributing that they haue of the goodes of the Church. Howbeit they do not nowe create their Deacons to that purpose, for they enioyne them nothing els but to minister at the altar, to rede and sing the Gospell, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the almes, nothing of the care of y<sup>e</sup> poore, nothing of all that function which they in olde tyme executed. I speake of the very institution. For if we haue respect what they doo, in dede it is not to them an office, but onely a steppe towarde priesthoode. In one thyng, they that kepe the Deacons place at the masse, doo represente a boide image of antiquitie. For they receiue the offryngs befoze the consecration. This was the auncient maner, that befoze the communion of the Supper, the faithfull did kisse one an other, and offer their almes at the altar: so first by a signe, and afterward by very liberalitie they shewed their charitie. The Deaco, y<sup>e</sup> was the poore mens steward, receiued that whiche was geuen, to distribute it. Nowe of those almes, there cometh no moze to the poore, than if they were thzowen into the sea. Therfoze they mocke the Church with this lying deaconrie. Cruely therin they haue nothyng like, neither to the institutio of the Apostles, nor to the auncient blage. But the very distribution of the goods they haue conueied an other way: and haue so framed it, that nothyng can be deuised moze vnozderly. For as theues, when they haue cutte mens throtes, do diuide the praye among them: so these, after the quenchyng of the light of Gods word, as though the Church were aaine, do thinke that whatsoeuer was dedicate to holy vles is laid open for pray & spoile. Therfoze making a diuision, euery one hath snatched to hymselfe as muche as he coulde.

16

Here al these old orders, that we haue declared, are not only troubled, but vtterly wiped out and rased. The Bishops and Priestes of cities, whiche being made riche by this pray, were tourned into Canons, haue made hauocke of the chiefe part among them. But it appereth that the partition was vnozderly, because to this day they strue about the boodies. Whatsoeuer it be, by this diuision it is prouided, that not one halpenny of the goodes of the Church should come to the poore, whoes had ben the half part at least. For y<sup>e</sup> canons do geue thē the fowerth part by name: & the other fowerth parte they do therfoze appoint to y<sup>e</sup> Bishops, that they should bestow it vpon hospitalitie, & other duties of charitie. I speake not what the clerks ought to do with their portion, & to what vse they ought to bestow it. For we haue sufficiently declared, that the rest which is apointed: for temples, buildyngs & other expenses, ought to be open for the poore in necessitie. I praye you, if they had one sparke of the feare of God in their hart, wold they abide this burden of consciēce, y<sup>e</sup> al y<sup>e</sup> they eate, & wherwith they be clothed, cometh of theste, yea of sacrilege: But sith they ar litle moued with the iudgemēt of God, they should at least thinke, y<sup>e</sup> those be men endued with wit and reason, to whom they would



woulde persuaide, that they haue so goodly and well framed orders in their Chirche, as they are wont to boaste. Let them answer me shortly, whether deaconrie be a licence to steale and robbe. If they denie this, they shall also be compelled to confesse, that they haue no deaconrie left: for as muche as among them, all the disposition of the goodes of the Chirch is openly tourned into a spoilyng full of sacrilege.

But here they vse a very faire colour. For they say, that the dignitie of the Chirch is by that magnificēce not vncomlyly vpholden. And they haue of their secte some so shamelesse, that they dare openly boaste, that so only are fulfilled those prophesies, wherby the old Prophets describe the glorioulnesse of the kyngdome of Christ, when that kingly gorgeousnesse is seen in the priestly order. Not in vaine (say they) God hath promised these thynges to his Chirche: Kinges shall come, they shall worshyp in thy sight, they shall bryng thee giffes. Arise, arise, clothe thee with thy strength, O Syon: clothe thee with the garmentes of thy glorie, O Hierusalem: All shall come from Saba, bryngyng golde and incense, and speakyng praise to the Lorde. All the cattell of Cedar shall be gathered together to thee. If I should tarie long vpon confutyng this lewdnesse, I feare least I should seme fonde. Therfore I will not lose woordes in vaine. But I aske: if any Jew would abuse these testimonies, what solution would they geue? Verily they woulde reprehende his dullnesse, for that he transferred those thinges to the flethe and the worlde, that are spirituallly spoken of the spirituall kyngdome of Christ. For we know, that the Prophetes vnder the image of earthly thyngs, did paint out vnto vs the heavenly glorie of God, that ought to shine in the Chirche. For the Chirch had neuer lesse abundance of these blessings, whiche their wordes expresse, than in the time of the Apostles: yet al confesse, that the force of the kyngdom of Christ then chiefly flourished abzoade. What then mean these sayings? What soeuer is any where precious, hye, excellent, it ought to be made subiect to the Lord. Where as it is namely spoken of Kinges, that they shall submit their scepters to Christ, that they shall throwe downe their crownes befoze his feete, that they shall dedicate their goodes to the Chirch: when (will they say) was it better and moze fully perfozmed, thā when Theodosius, casting away his purple roabe, leauyng the oznamentes of the empire, as some one of the cōmon people, submitted himself befoze God and the Chirch, to solemne penance: then when he & other lyke godly princes bestowed their endeuoers and their cares to preferue pure doctrine in the Chirche, and to cherishe and defende sounde teachers? But howe priestes at that tyme exceded not in superfluous richesse, that only sentence of the Synode at Aquileia, where Ambrose was chief, sufficiently declareth: Glorious is pouertie in the priestes of the Lorde. Truely the Bishops had at that time some richesse, wherwith they myght haue set out the Chirches honoz, if they had thought those to be the true oznamentes of the Chirche. But when they knewe that there was nothyng moze against the office of Pastozs, than to glister and shew them selues prouidly with deintynesse of fare, with gorgeousnesse of garmentes, with great train of seruantes, with stately palaces, they folowed and kept the humblenesse and modestie, yea the very pouertie which Christ holily apointed among his ministers.

But



But, that we may not be to long in this point, let vs again gather into a short summe, how farre that dispelation or dissipation of the goods of the Chirch, that is now vsed, differeth from the true deaconrie, whiche bothe the worde of God comendeth vnto vs, and the auncient Chirche obserued. As for that whiche is bestowed vpon the garnishyng of temples, I say it is ill bestowed, if that measure be not vsed, whiche bothe the very nature of holy thyngs appointeth, and the Apostles and other holy fathers haue prescribed both by doctrine and examples. But what like thing is there seen at this day in the temples? whatsoeuer is framed, I wil not say after that auncient sparyng, but to any honest meane it is reiected. Nothing at all pleaseeth, but that which sauoureth of riot & the cozruption of tymes. In the mean tyme they are so farre from haryng due care of the liuely temples, that they would rather suffer many thousands of the pooze to perish for hunger, than they would breake the least chalice or cruet, to releue their nede. And that I may not pronounce of my selfe any thyng moze greuously against them, this only I would haue the godly readers to thinke vpon: if it should happen that same Cruperius Bishop of Tholosa, whom we euen nowe rehearsed, or Acatius, or Ambrose, or any suche to be raised from deathe, what they would say. Truly they would not allow that in so great necessitie of the pooze, riches in a maner superfluous should be tourned an other way. Admit I speake nothyng how these bles vpon which they be bestowed, (although there were no pooze) are many ways hurtfull, but in no behalfe profitable. But I leaue to speake of men. These goodes are dedicate to Christ: therfore they are to be disposed after his will. But they shall in baine say, that this part is bestowed vpon Christ, whiche they haue wasted otherwise than he commaunded. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, there is not muche of the ordinarie reuenue of the Chirche abated for these expenses. For there ar no bishopriks so welthy, no abbaties so fatte, finally neither so many, nor so large benefices, that may serue to fill the gluttonie of priests. But while they seke to spare them selues, they persuaue the people by superstition, to turne that which shoulde be bestowed vpon the pooze, to builde temples, to sette vp images, to bye iewels, to gette costly garmentes. So with this gulfe are the dayly almes consumed.

Of the reuenue, that they receiue of their landes and possessio, what els shall I say, but that which I haue already said, & which is befoze all mens eyes? We see with what faithfulness they whiche are called Bishops and Abbots do dispose the greatest parte. What madness is it, to seeke here for an ecclesiasticall order? Was it mete that they, whose lyfe ought to haue ben a singular exaple of frugalitie, modestie, continence, and humilitie, should contende with the royaltie of princes in number of goodes, in gorgiousnesse of houses, in deintynesse of apparell and fare? And howe much was this contrary to their office, that they, whom the eternall and inuioable commaundement of God forbiddeth to be desirous of filthy gaine, and biddeth to bee contente with simple liuyng, should not onely lay handes vpon townes and castels, but also violently entre vpon the greatest lordships, finally possesse forceably very empires? If they despise the worde of God: what will they answer to those auncient decrees of the Synodes: wherby it is decreed that the



Bishop should haue a small lodgyng not farre from the Chirche, meane fare and householde stufte: what will they say to that praise of the Synode at Aquileia: where pouertie is reported glozious in the Priestes of the Lorde: For perhappes they will bitterly refuse as to muche rigorous, that whiche Hierome aduifeth Nepotianus, that pooze men and strangers, and among them Christ as a guest, may knowe his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be ashamed to denie, that it is the glory of a Bishop to prouide for the goodes of the pooze: that it is the shame of al priestes to study for their owne richesse. But they can not receiue this, but they must all condemne themselues of shame. But it is not nedefull in this place to speake moze hardly against them, sicke my meanyng was nothyng els, but to shew, that among them the lawfull order of deaconry is long ago taken away: that they may no moze glozie of this title to the comendation of their Chirche: which I thinke I haue already sufficiently shewed.

Conciliū  
Carthag.  
iiii. cap.  
xiiii & xv

## The. vi. Chapter.

Of the Supremacie of the See of Rome.



Hereto we haue rehered those orders of the Chirch, whiche were in the gouernement of the olde Chirch: but afterwarde corrupted in tymes, and from themselves the moze and moze abused, doo nowe in the Popishe Chirche reteyne onely their name, and in dede are nothyng els but bisours: that by comparison the godly reader might iudge, what maner of Chirch the Romanists haue, for whoes sake they make vs schismatikes, because we haue departed fro it. But as for the hed and top of the whole order, that is to say, the supremacie of the see of Rome, wherby they trauaile to proue that they only haue the catholike Chirch, we haue not yet touched it: because it toke beginning neither fro the institution of Christ, nor from the vse of the old Chirch, as those former partes did: whiche we haue shewed to haue so proceeded from antiquitie, that by wickednesse of tymes they are bitterly degenerate, and haue put on alltogether a newe forme. And yet they go about to persuaide the worlde, that this is the chiefe and in a maner onely bonde of the vnitie of the Chirch, if we cleaue to the see of Rome, and continue in the obedience therof. They rest (I say) principally vpon this stay, when they will take away the Chirch from vs, and claime it to themselues, for that they kepe the head, vpon whiche the vnitie of the Chirch hangeth; and withoute whiche the Chirche muste needes fall asunder and bee broken in pierces. For thus they thynke, that the Chirche is as it were a maimed and headlesse body, vnlesse it be subiect to the see of Rome, as to her head. Therfore when they talke of their Hierarchie, they alway take their beginnyng at this principle: that the Bishop of Rome (as the vicar of Christe, whiche is the head of the Chirche) is in his see President of the vniuersall Chirche: and that otherwyle the Chirche is not well ordred, vnlesse that See doo holde the Supremacie aboue all other. Therfore this also is to bee examined, of what sort it is: that we may omitt nothyng that pertaineth to a iust gouernement of



of the Chirche.

Let this therfoze be the principall point of the question: Whether it be necessary for the true forme of Hierarchie (as they call it) or ecclesiasticall order that one See should be aboue the other bothe in dignitie and in power, that it may be the heade of the whole bodye. But we make the Chirche subject to to vniuersall lawes, if we laye this necessitie vpon it, without the worde of God. Therfoze if the aduersaries will proue that whiche they require, they must first shew that this disposition was ordeined by Christ. For this purpose they alledge out of the lawe the hye priesthode, also the hye iudgement, which God did institute at Hierusalem. But it is easy to geue a solution, and that many wayes, if one way doo not satisfie them. First no reason compelleth to extende that to the whole worlde, which was profitable in one nation: yea rather, the order of one nation and of the whole worlde shall be farre different. Because the Jewes were on ech side compassed with idolatrs: that they should not be diuersely drawen with varietie of religions, God appointed the place of worshipping him in the middest part of the lande: there he ordeined ouer them one head Bishop, whom they should all haue regard vnto, that they might be the better kepte together in vnitie. Now, when religion is spred abroade into the whole worlde, who doeth not see that it is altogether an absurditie, that the gouernemēt of the East and west be geuen to one man: For it is in effect as much as if a mā should affirme, that the whole worlde ought to be gouerned by one ruler, because one piece of lande hath no mo rulers but one. But there is yet an other reason, why that, ought not to be made an example to be folowed. No man is ignozant that that hie Bishop was a figure of Christ. Now, sins the priesthode is remoued, that right must also be remoued. But to whom is it remoued? Cruely, not to the Pope (as he himself is so bold shamelesly to boast, when he draweth this title to himselfe: but to Christe; whiche as he alone susteineth this office, without any vicar or successor, so he resigneth the honoz to none other. For the priesthode consisteth not in doctrine onely, but in the appeasynge of God, which Christe hath fully wrought by his death, and in that intercession whiche he nowe bleth with his Father.

There is therfoze no cause why they should bynd vs by this example, as by a perpetuall rule, whiche wee haue seen to be enduryng but for a tyme. Out of the new testament they haue nothing to byring forth for prooffe of their opinion, but that it was saied to one: Thou art Peter, and vpon this stone I will bulde my Chirche. Agayne, Peter, Louest thou me: fede my shepe. But admittynge that these be strong proues; they must first shewe, that he whiche is commaunded to fede the flocke of Christ, hath power comitted to him ouer all Chirches: & that to bynd and to lose is nothing els but to be ruler of all the worlde. But as Peter had receiued the commaundement of the Lord, so he exhorteth all other priestes to fede the Chirch. Hereby we may gather, that by this sayeng of Christ, there was either nothyng geuen to Peter more, then to the rest, or that Peter did egally communicate with other the power that he had receiued. But, that we striue not vaine, we haue in an other place a cleare exposition out of the mouthe of Christ, what is to bynd and to lose: that is to say, to reteine and to forgeue sinnes. But the maner of bindyng

Heb. vii.  
vii.

Mat. xvi.  
viii.  
Joh. xxi.  
xv.

1. Pe. v. ii.

Joh. xxi.  
xviii.



binding and loosing, both the whole Scripture ech where sheweth, and Paule very wel declareth, when he saith that the ministers of the Gospel, haue comaundement to reconcile men to God and also haue power to punishe them that refuse this benefite.

How shamefully they worst those places, that make mention of binding and loosing, I both haue already shortly touched, and a litle hereafter I shal haue occasion to declare moze at large. Now it is good to see onely, what they gather of that famous answer of Christ to Peter. He promised hym the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen: he sayed that whatsoeuer he bounde in earth, shoulde be bounde in heauen. If we agree vpon the worde keyes, and the maner of binding, all contention shall by and by cesse. For the Pope himselte wil gladly geue ouer the charge enioined to the Apostles, which being ful of trauaile and grieve, shoulde shake from hym his pleasures, without gaine. Forasmuch as the heauens are opened vnto vs by the doctrine of the Gospel, it is with a very fit metaphoze expressed by y name of keyes. Now, men are bound and loosed in no other wise, but when faith reconcileth some to God, & their own belefe bindeth other some. If the Pope did take thys onely bpō him: I thinke there wil be no mā y would either enuye it oz stryue about it. But because this successiō being trauailsome & nothing gaine-ful pleaseth not y Pope, hereupō groweth y beginning of the cōtentiō, what Christ promised to Peter. Therfoze I gather by y very mater it selfe, y there is nothing meant by y dignitie of the office of an Apostle, which can not be seuered from y charge. For if that definition whiche I haue rehearsed, be receiued (which can not but shamelesly be reiecte) here is nothing geuen to Peter, y was not also commō to his other fel- lowes: because otherwise there shoulde not only wrong be done to y per- sons, but the very maiestie of doctrine shoulde halt. They crye out on the other side: what auaileth it, I pray you, to run bpō thys rocke: For they shal not proue, but as the preaching of one same Gospel was enioyned to al y Apostles, so they were also al alike furnished w power to bynde and loose. Christ (say they) appointed Peter Prince of y whole Chirch, when he promised y he would geue hym y keyes. But y which he then promised to one, in an other place he gaue it also to al the rest, and deli- uered it as it were into their handes. If the same power were graunted to al, which was promised to one, wherin shal he be aboue hys felowes? Herein (say they) he excelleth, because he receiued it both in common to- gether wyth them, and seuerally by hymselfe, which was not geuen to the other, but in cōmon. What if I answer w Ciprian and Augustine, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one mā befoze other, but so to set out the vnitie of the Chirche. For thus sayeth Ciprian, y God in the person of one gaue y keyes to all, to signifie y vnitie of all: & that the rest were y same thyng that Peter was, endued with like partaking both of honoz and power: but that the beginning is takē at vnitie, that the Chirche of Christ may be shewed to be one. Augustine saieth: If there were not in Peter a misterie of the Chirche, the Lorde would not say to hym, I wil geue thee the keyes. For if this was sayed to Peter, the Chirche hath them not: but if y Chirche haue them, thē Peter, when he receiued y keyes, betokened y whole Chirch. And in an other place. When they were al asked, only Peter answered, thou art Christ: & it is

ii. Cor.  
xviii. &  
xvi.

4

Mat. xvi.  
rr.  
John. rr.  
xxiii.De sim.  
cleri.Homil.  
in Ioh. l.  
Homil.  
xi,



said to him, I will geue thee keies, as though he alone had received the power of binding and loosing: wheras both he being one said the one for al, and he received the other with al, as bearing the perso of vnitie. Therfore one for al, because there is vnitie in all.

5 But this, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will bilde my  
 Mat. xvi. Chirche, is no where red spoken to any other. As though Christ spake  
 bill. there any other thing of Peter, than that which Paule and Peter him-  
 Eph. ii. xx selfe speaketh of all Christians. For Paule maketh Christ the chiefe  
 Pe. ii. b. and corner stone, vpon which they are bilded together that growe into  
 a holy temple to the Lorde. And Peter biddeth vs to be liuely stones  
 which being founded vpon that chosen and precious stone, doe by this  
 ioynt and coupling together with our God, cleaue also together among  
 our selues. He (say they) aboute the rest: because he hath the name pecu-  
 liarly. In dede I do willingly graunt this honoz to Peter, that in the  
 bilding of the Chirch he be placed among the first, or (if they will haue  
 this also) the first of al the faithfull: but I will not suffer them to gather  
 therupon, that he should haue a Supremicie ouer the reste. For what  
 manner of gathering is this? He excelleth other in feruentnesse of zeale,  
 in learning, & courage: therfore he hath power ouer them. As though  
 we might not with better coloz gather, that Andzew is in degree before  
 Peter, because he went before him in time, and brought him to Christ.  
 Joh. i. xl. But I passe ouer this. Let Peter truely haue the first place: yet there  
 i. xlii. is great difference betwene the honoz of degree and power. We see that  
 the Apostles comonly graunted this to Peter, y he should speake in asse-  
 mbles, and after a certaine maner goe before them w propounding, ex-  
 horting, and admonishing: but of hys power we rede nothing at all.

6 Howbeit we be not yet come to dispute of y pointe: only at this presēt  
 I would proue, that they do to fondly reaso, when by the only name of  
 Peter they would bilde an Empire ouer the whole Chirche. For those  
 olde follies wherwith they went aboute to deceiue at the beginning:  
 are not woorthy to be rehearsed, much lesse to be confuted, y the Chirche  
 was bilded vpon Peter, because it was sayd vpon thys rocke, &c. But  
 some of the fathers haue so expounded it. But when the whole Scrip-  
 ture cryeth out to the contrary, to what purpose is their authoritie alle-  
 ged agaynst God? Yea, why do we stryue aboute the meaning of these  
 wordes, as though it were darke or doubtful, whē nothyng can be more  
 plainly nor more certaynly spoken? Peter had confessed in his owne and  
 hys brethrens name, that Christ is the sōne of God. Upon thys rocke  
 Christ bildeth his Chirche: because it is (as Paule sayeth) the only fun-  
 Mat. xvi. dation, beside which there can be layed none other. Neyther do I here  
 xvi. therfore refuse the authoritie of the fathers, because I wante their tes-  
 i. Coz. iii. timonies, if I listid to allege them: but (as I haue saied) I will not  
 ri. with contending about so cleare a mater trouble the reders in bayne,  
 specially sith thys point hath been long agoe diligently enough hande-  
 led and declared by men of our side.

7 And yet in dede no man can better alloyle this question, than the  
 Scripture it selfe, if we compare all the places, where it teacheth,  
 what office and power Peter had among the Apostles, howe he  
 behaued hymselfe, and howe he was accepted of them. Runne  
 ouer all that remaineth witten, you shall finde nothing ells, but  
 that



that he was one of the .xii. egal with the rest, and their felowe, but not their Lorde. He doeth in dede propounde to the counsell, if any thyng be to be done, and geueth warning what is mete to be done: but therewithall he heareth other, and doth not onely graunte them place to speake their minde, but leaueth the iudgement to them: when they had determined, he folowed and obeyed. When he writeth to the Pastors, he doth not commaunde them by authoritie, as Superior: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as egalles are wont to doe. When he was accused for that he had gone in to the Gentiles, although it were without cause, yet he answered and purged hym selfe. When he was commaunded by hys felowes, to goe with John into Samaria, he refused not. Whereas the Apostles did send hym, they did therby declare that they helde hym not for their superior. Whereas he obeyed and toke vpon hym the embassage committed to him, he did therby confesse, that he had a felowship with them, and not an authoritie ouer them. If none of these thynges were, yet the onely Epistle to the Galathians may easily take al doutyng from vs: where almost in twoo whole Chapters together Paul traunyleth to proue nothyng ells, but that he hymselfe was egall to Peter in honoz of Apostleshyp. Then he rehearseth that he came to Peter, not to professe subiection, but onely to make their consent of doctrine approued by testimonie to all men: and that Peter himselfe required no such thyng, but gaue hym hys ryghte hande of felowship, to worke in common together in the Lordes vineyarde: and that there was no lesser grace geuen to hym among þ Gentiles, than to Peter among the Jewes: Finally that when Peter dealt not very faithfully, he was corrected by him, and obeyed his repprouing. All these thynges doe make playne, either that there was an equalitie betwene Paule and Peter, or at least that Peter had no moze pover ouer the rest, than they had ouer hym. And (as I haue already sayed) Paule of purpose labourereth about this, that none shoulde preferre before him in the Apostleshyp either Peter, or John, which wer fellowes, not Lordes.

But, to graunte them that whiche they require concerning Peter, that is that he was the Prince of the Apostles, and excelled the reste in dignitie: yet there is no cause why they shoulde of a singular example make an vniuersal rule, and draw to perpetuities that which hath been ones done: sith there is a farre differing reaso. One was chiefe among the Apostles: forsooth, because they were fewe in number. If one were the chiefe of .xii. men, shall it therfore folow that one oughte to be made ruler of a hundzed thousande men? It is no maruell that .xii. had one among them that should rule them al: for nature beareth thys, & the witt of men requireth this, that in euery assembly, although they be all egall in power, yet there be one as a gouernour, whom the rest may haue regard vnto. There is no court wythout a Consul: no session of iudges wout a pretor, or propouder, no company wout a ruler, no felowship wout a master. So should it be no absurditie, if we cofessed þ the Apostles gaue to Peter such a Supremacie. But þ which is of force among fewe, is not by & by to be drawe to þ whole worlde, to þ ruling wherof no one mā is sufficiēt. But (say thei) this hath place no lesse in þ whole vniuersalitie of nature, thā in al þ partes, þ there be one soueraigne hed of al.

Act. xv.

1. Pet. v.

Ac. xi. ii.

Acte. vii. xliii.

Gala. f. xviii. &amp;. ii. viii.



And herof (and God wil) they fetch a pꝛofe frō cranes and bees, which alway choose to themselues one guide, not many. I allowe in dede the examples which they byring forth; but do bees resoꝛt together out of all the world to choose the one kyng: euery feueral kyng is content w<sup>th</sup> hys own hyue. So among cranes, euery heard hath their own king. What ells shall they pꝛoue hereby, but that euery Chirche ought to haue their own feueral Bishop appoynted them: Then they cal vs to ciuile examples, They allege that saying of Homere, It is not good to haue many gouernours: & such thynges as in like sense are red in prophane wyters to y<sup>e</sup> comedation of Monarchie. The answer is easy. For Monarchie is not pꝛayed of Ulysses in Homere, or of any other, in this meanning, as though one ought to be Emperoz of the whole world: but they meane to shewe that oꝛte kingdome can not holde twoo kynges: and that power (as he calleth it) can abide no companion.

9 But let it be, as they wil, y<sup>e</sup> it is good & profitable, that y<sup>e</sup> whole worlde be holde vnder Monarchie, which yet is a very great absurditie: but let it be so, yet I wil not therfore graunt y<sup>e</sup> the same should take place in the gouernement of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch. For the Chirche hath Christ her onely head, vnder whoes dominio we al cleaue together, acording to y<sup>e</sup> order and y<sup>e</sup> forme of policie which he hath pꝛescribed. Therefore they doe a great wrong to Christ, when by y<sup>e</sup> pꝛetense they wil haue one mā to be ruler of y<sup>e</sup> vniuersal Chirch, because it cā not be wout a hed. For Christ is the hed, of whom y<sup>e</sup> whole body coupled & knit together in euery ioint, wher with one ministrerth to an other, acording to y<sup>e</sup> working of euery member in the measure therof, maketh encrease of y<sup>e</sup> body. Se you not, how he setteth all men wythout exception in the body, & leaueth the honoz & name of hed to Christ alone: Se you not how he geueth to euery member a certayne measure, & a determined and limited function: wherby both the perfection of the grace & the soueraigne power of gouernance may remayne wyth Christ onely: Neyther am I ignorant what they are wout to cauil, when this is obiected against them: they say y<sup>e</sup> Christ is properly called the only hed, because he alone reigneth by hys owne auctoritie & in hys own name: but y<sup>e</sup> thys nothyng wstandeth, but that there may be vnder hym an other ministerial hed (as they terme it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cauillatio they pꝛeuail nothing, vnesse they first shew y<sup>e</sup> this ministerie was ordeined by Christe. For y<sup>e</sup> Apostle teacheth, y<sup>e</sup> the whole ministratio is disperfed through y<sup>e</sup> members, & that y<sup>e</sup> power floweth frō y<sup>e</sup> one heauely hed. Or if they will haue it any plainlier spokē, sith y<sup>e</sup> Scripture testifieth y<sup>e</sup> Christ is y<sup>e</sup> hed, and claimeth y<sup>e</sup> honoz to him alone, it ought not to be transferred to any other, but who Christ himselve hath made his vicar. But y<sup>e</sup> is not onely no where redde, but also may be largely confuted by many places.

10 Paule somtimes depainteth vnto vs a lively image of the Chirche; of one head he maketh there no mention. But rather by hys description we maye gather, that it is disagreing from the institution of Christe. Christe at his ascending toke from vs the visibler presence of hymselfe: yet he went by to fulfill all thynges. Now therfore the Chirche hath hym yet presente, and alway shall haue. When Paule goeth aboute to shewe the meane wherby he presenteth hymselfe, he calleth vs backe to the ministeries which he vseth. The Lorde (sayeth he) is in vs al, acording

ding

Eph. iiii.  
v.Ep. i. xxi.  
i. iiii. xv.  
i. v. xlii.  
Colof. i.  
v. iiii. x. li.  
r.10  
Eph. iiii.  
r.Eph. iiii.  
v. i. xl.



ding to the measure of grace that he hath geuen to euery mēber. Therfoze he hath appointed some Apostles, some Pastors, some Euangelistes, other some Teachers &c. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one ouer all, to be his vicegerente: For the place required that principally, and it could by no meanes haue been omitted, if it had been true. Christ (saith he) is with vs. Howe by the ministerie of men, whom he hath appointed to gouerne the Chirche. Why not rather by the ministeriall hed, to whom he hath committed his stede: He nameth vnitie: but in God, and in the sayth of Christe. He assigneth to mē nothing but common ministerie, and to euery one a particular measure. In that commendation of vnitie, after that he had saied that there is one body, one Spirite, one hope of calling, one God, one faith, one Baptisme, why hath he not also immediatly added one chiefe Bishop, that may holde the Chirche together in vnitie: For nothing could haue been moze fytly spoken, if it had been true. Lette that place be diligently weyed. It is no doute but that he meante there altogether to represente the holye and spirituall gouernemente of the Chirche, whiche they that came after called Hierarchie. As for Monarchie among ministers, he not only nameth none, but also sheweth that there is none. It is also no doute but that he meant to expresse the manner of conioyning, whereby the saythful cleaue together with Christ their hed. There he not only speaketh of no ministeriall hed, but appointeth to euery of the mēbers a particular working, according to the measure of grace distributed to euery one. Neither is there any reason why they should suttelly dispute of the comparison of the heavenly and earthly Hierarchie. For it is not safe to know beyonde measure of it. And in framing thys gouernemente we must folow no other figure, thā the Lord himselfe: hath painted out in his woorde.

Now, although I graunt them an other thing, which they shal neuer winne by profe befoze sober men, that the supremicie of y<sup>e</sup> Chirche was so stablished in Peter, that it should alway remayne by perpetuall succession: yet how wil they prone, that his seate was so placed at Rome, that whosoener is Bishop of that Chirche, should be set ouer the whole worlde: By what right do they binde this dignitie to the place, which is geuen without mention of place: Peter (say they) liued & died at Rome. What did Christ himselfe: Did not he, while he liued, exercise his Bishoprike, and in dyeng fulfill the office of Priesthode, at Hierusalem: The Prince of Pastors, the soueraigne Bishop, the hed of the Chirche, could not purchase honoz to the place: and could Peter, that was sacre inferioz to him: Are not these follies moze than childishe: Christe gaue the honoz of supremicie to Peter: Peter sate at Rome: therfoze he there placed the see of Supremicie. By thys reason, the Israelites in olde tyme myght haue set the seate of Supremicie in the desert, where Moses the chiefe Teacher and Prince of Prophetes executed his ministerie and dyed.

Lette vs see howe trimly they reason: Peter (saye they) hadde the Supremicie among the Apostles: therfoze the Chirche where he sate oughte to haue that priuilege. But where sate he firste: At Antioche, saye they. Therfoze the Chirche of Antioche doth rightly claime to it selfe the supremicie. They cofesse that it was in old time



the first: but they say, that in remouing thense, he remoued to Rome. the honoz that he had brought with hym. For there is an Epistle vnder the name of Pope Marcellus to the Bishops of Antioche, where he saiethe thus: Peters seate was at the beginning with you, which afterward by the Lordes commaundement was remoued hether. So the Chirch of Antioche, which was ones the chiefe, hath geue place to y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome. But by what Oracle had that good man learned, that the Lord so commaunded: For if this cause be to be determined by the law, it is necessary that they answer, whether they wil haue this priuilege to be personal, or real, or mixt. For it must be one of these thzee. If they say y<sup>e</sup> it is personal, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say y<sup>e</sup> it is real, the<sup>e</sup> whē it is ones geue to y<sup>e</sup> place, it is not take away by resō either of the death or departure of y<sup>e</sup> persō. It remaineth therfore y<sup>e</sup> thei must sai it is mixt: but the<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> place shal not be simply to be cōsidered, vnlesse y<sup>e</sup> persō do also agre. Let them choose which soeuer they wil, I will by & by inferre & easily proue, y<sup>e</sup> Rome can by no meane take y<sup>e</sup> supremicie vpon it selfe.

13

But be it, y<sup>e</sup> as (they triflingly say) y<sup>e</sup> supremecie was remoued from Antioche to Rome: yet why did not Antioche kepe y<sup>e</sup> secōde place: For if Rome haue therfore y<sup>e</sup> first place, because Peter sate there to y<sup>e</sup> ende of his life: to whō shal y<sup>e</sup> secōde place rather be graūted, thā where he had his first seate: How came it to passe then, y<sup>e</sup> Alexandria went before Antioche: How agreeth it, y<sup>e</sup> the Chirch of one disciple should be aboute the seate of Peter: If honoz be due to euery Chirche, according to y<sup>e</sup> worthinesse of y<sup>e</sup> founder, what shal we say also of the other Chirches: Paul nameth thzee, y<sup>e</sup> seemed to be pillars, James, Peter and John. If y<sup>e</sup> first place wer geue to y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome, in y<sup>e</sup> honoz of Peter: dooe not y<sup>e</sup> sees of Ephesus & Hierusalē, where John & James sate, deserue y<sup>e</sup> secōde and thirde place: But among y<sup>e</sup> Patriarches Hierusalē had the laste place: Ephesus could not sit so much as in the vttermost corner. And other Chirches wer left out, both al those y<sup>e</sup> Paule founded, & those that the other Apostles wer rulers of. The seate of Marke, which was but one of their disciples, obtained the honoz. Therfore they must either cōfesse that y<sup>e</sup> was a preposterous order, or they must graunt vs y<sup>e</sup> this is not a perpetual rule, y<sup>e</sup> there be due to euery Chirche the same degree of honoz which the founder had.

Gal. ii. 14.

14

Howbeit, as for y<sup>e</sup> which they report of Peters sitting in y<sup>e</sup> Chirch of Rome, I see not what credit it oughte to haue. Truly that whiche is in Eusebius, that he ruled there fyue and twenty yeares, is very easily confuted. For it is euident by the firste and secōde Chapter to the Galathians, that about. xx. yeares after the death of Christ, he was at Hierusalem, and y<sup>e</sup> the<sup>e</sup> he went to Antioche: where howe long he was, is vncertayne. Gregorie reckeneth seuen yeares, and Eusebius twentie and fyue. But from the death of Christ, to the ende of Neroes Empire, (in whoes tyme they say that he was slayne) there shalbe founde but thirty and seuen yeres. For the Lord suffered vnder Tiberius, the eightenthe yēate of his Empire. If you rebate twentie yeares, during the whiche Paule is wytnesse that Peter dwelte at Hierusalem, there wyll remaine but seuentene yeres at the most, which must now be deuided betwene two Bishoprykes. If he tarried long at Antioche he coulde not sitte at Rome, but a very little while. Whiche thyng we

Gala. i.  
viii.  
Gal. ii. 14.



we maye yet also moze plainely proue. Paule wzote to the Romaines, when he was in his iourney going to Hierusalem, where he was taken and from thense bzroughte to Rome. It is likely that this Epistle was wzitten fower yeres before that he came to Rome. Therein is yet no mention of Peter, which should not haue been left out, if Peter had ruled that Chirche. Yea and in the ende also, when he rehearseth a greate number of the Godly, whom he biddeth to be saluted, where verily he gathereth together all those that he knewe, he yet sayth vtterly nothing of Peter. Neither is it nedefull here to make a long or curious demonstration to men of sounde iudgement: for the mater it selfe, and the whole argument of the Epistle crieth out, that he should not haue ouerpassed Peter, if he had been at Rome.

Then Paule was bzrought prisoner to Rome. Luke reporteth that he was receiued of the brethren, of Peter he saith nothing. He wzote from thense to many Chirches: and in some places also he wziteth salutatiōs in the names of certaine: but he doth not in one worde shewe that Peter was there at that tyme. Who, I praye you, shal thinke it likely, if he could haue passed him ouer with silence, if he had been present: Yea to the Philippians, where he sayed that he had none that so faythfully looked vnto the worke of the Lord, as Timothee, he complayned that they did all seke their owne. And to the same Timothee he maketh a moze greuous complaynte, that none was with him at hys fyrst defense, but all forsoke hym: where therefore was Peter then: For if they saye that he was then at Rome, how greate a shame doeth Paule charge him with, that he was a forsaker of the Gospell: For he speaketh of the beleuers: because he addeth, God impute it not vnto them. Howe long therefore, and in what tyme dyd Peter kepe that seate: But it is a constant opinion of wzriters, that he governed that Chirche euen to his death. But among the wzriters themselues it is not certayne who was hys successor, because some saye Linus, and other some saye Clement. And they tell many sonde fables, of the disputation had betwene him and Simon the magician. And Augustine sticketh not to confesse, when he entreateth of Superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashly conceiued, there was a custome growen in vble at Rome, that they should not faste that daye that Peter gott the victoery of Simon the magician. Finally the doinges of that tyme are so entangled with diuersitie of opinions, that we ought not rashly to beleue where we finde any thyng wzytten. And yet by reason of thys consente of wzriters, I stryue not agaynst thys, that he dyed there: but yet that he was Bishop there, and specially a long tyme, I can not be perswaded, neither do I muche passe vpon that also: forasmuche as Paule testifieth that Peters Apostlethyp did peculiarly belong to the Jewes, and hys owne to vs. Therefore that that felowship which they couenanted betwene themselues, maye be confirmed with vs, or rather that the ordinance of the Holy ghost may stande in force among vs, we oughte to haue respecte rather to the Apostlethyp of Paule than of Peter. For the Holy ghost so diuided the prouinces betwene them, that he appointed Peter to the Jewes, and Paule to vs. Now therefore let the Romanistes goe and seke their supremicie els where than in the worde of God, where it is founde not to be grounded.

Ro. xv. xv

Ro. xvi. ff

15  
Acte. last.  
xvi.

Phi. ii. rr.

ii. Timo.  
iii. xvi.Aug. ad  
Sannar.



Now let vs come to the olde Chirche, that it may also be made to ap-  
 peare plainly, that our aduersaries doe no lesse causelesly & falsly boast  
 of the consent therof, than they doe of the witnessse of the word of God.  
 When therefore they bragge of that principle of theirs, that the vnitie of  
 the Chirche can not otherwise be kept together, but if there be one su-  
 preme hed in earth, to whom all the members may obey, and that ther-  
 fore the Lorde gaue the supremacie to Peter, and from thence forth to  
 the see of Rome by right of succession, that the same should remaine in it  
 to the ende: they affirme, that thys hath been alwaye obserued from the  
 beginning. But forasmuch as they wrogfully wrest many testimonies,  
 I will first say this afozehande, that I deny not but that the olde wri-  
 ters do eche where geue great honoz to the Chirche of Rome, and dooe  
 speake reuerētly of it. Which I thinke to be done specially for thze cau-  
 ses. For y<sup>e</sup> same opinion, which I wote not how was growen in force,  
 that it was founded & ordeined by the ministerie of Peter, much auai-  
 led to procure fauoz & estimation vnto it. Therfore in the Easte partes  
 it was for honozs sake called the see Apostolike. Secondlye, when the  
 hed of the Empire was there, and y<sup>e</sup> therefore it was likely, that in that  
 place were men moze excellent both in learning and wisdom, and  
 skill, and experieñce of many thynges, than any where ells: there was  
 worthily consideration had therof, that both the honoz of the citie, and  
 also the other moze excellent gistes of God should not seme to be despi-  
 sed. There was beside these also a thirde thing, y<sup>e</sup> when the Chirches of  
 the Easte, and of Grecia, yea and of Africa, were in tumultes among  
 themselues w<sup>th</sup> disagreements of opinions, y<sup>e</sup> Chirch of Rome was qui-  
 eter and lesse full of troubles than the rest. So came it to passe, that the  
 godly and holy Bishops, being driue out of their seates, did oftentimes  
 flee thether as into a Sanctuarie oz certaine haven. For as y<sup>e</sup> Westerne  
 men are of lesse sharpenesse & swiftnesse of witt, than y<sup>e</sup> Alians oz Afri-  
 cans be, so much are they lesse desirous of alteratiōs. Thys therefore ad-  
 ded much authoritie to y<sup>e</sup> Chirch of Rome, that in those doutefull times  
 it was not so troubled as the reste, and did holde the doctrine ones deli-  
 uered them, faster than al y<sup>e</sup> rest as we shal by and by better declare. For  
 these thzee causes (I say) it was had in no small honoz, and commended  
 with many notable testimonies of the olde writers.

But when oure aduersaries will thereupon gather that it hath a  
 supremacie and soueraigne power ouer other Chirches, they do to much  
 amisse, as I haue already said. And that the same maye the better ap-  
 peare, I will firste bzevely shewe what the olde fathers thought of this  
 vnitie which they enforce so earnestly. Hierome, writig to Nepotianus,  
 after that he had recited many examples of vnitie, at the laste descen-  
 ded to y<sup>e</sup> Hierarchie of the Chirch. Eche Bishop of every seueral Chirch,  
 eche Archepriest, eche Archedeacon, and al y<sup>e</sup> ecclesiastical order, do rest  
 vpon their own rulers. Here a Romaine Priest speaketh, he comendeth  
 vnitie in the ecclesiastical order: why doeth he not rehearse that al Chir-  
 ches are knit together w<sup>th</sup> one hed as w<sup>th</sup> one bonde: Nothing could haue  
 moze fitly serued the matter y<sup>e</sup> he had in hand: and it can not be sayed y<sup>e</sup>  
 it was for forgetfulnesse, y<sup>e</sup> he omitted it: for he would haue done nothig  
 moze willingly if y<sup>e</sup> matter had suffred him. He saw therfore wout dout,  
 that y<sup>e</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> true reaso of vnitie which Ciprian excellētly wel describeth in  
 these



these wordes: The bishoprike is one, wherof eche hath a part wholly: and the Chirche is one, whiche is with encrease of fruitefulnesse moze largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many sunbeames, and one light: and many bzanches of a tree, but one body grounded on a fast holdyng roote: and like as from one fountain flowe many streames, and though the multitude seme to be diuersely spread abrode with largenesse of ouerflowyng plétie, yet the vnitie is kept whole in the original: so the Chirch also being ouerspread with the light of the Lord, extendeth her beames abroade throughtout the whole worlde, yet is it but one that is eche where poured forth, and the vnitie of the body is not seuered: she spreadeth her bzanches ouer the whole worlde, she sendeth out her ouerflowing streames: yet is there but one head and one beginnyng &c. Afterward. The spouse of Christ can not be an adultresse: she knoweth one onely house, she kepeth the holinesse of one onely chamber with chaste chastnesse. You see how he maketh the vniuersal bishoprike to be Christ onely, which comprehendeth the whole Chirch vnder him: and saith that all they that execute the office of Bishop vnder this hed, haue their partes therof wholly. Where is the supremicie of the see of Rome, if the whole bishoprike remayne with Christe onely, and eche Bishop hath his part therof wholly: These thynges therfoze make to this purpose, that the reader may vnderstande by the way, that the olde fathers were vtterly ignozant of that pinciple, whiche the Romanistes doo take for confessed and vndouted, concerning the vnitie of an earthly head in the Hierarchie of the Chirche.

## The vii. Chapter.

Of the begynnyng and encreasyng of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduanced it selfe to this height, wherby bothe the libertie of the Chirche hath ben oppressed, and all the right gouernement therof ouerthrowen.



Concernyng the auncientnesse of the supremicie of the see of Rome, there is nothyng hadde of moze antiquitie to stablishe it, than that decree of the Nicene Synode, wherein the Bishop of Rome bothe hath the firste place among the Patriarches geuen vnto him, and is comaunded to looke vnto the Chirches adioynnyng to the citie. When the Councell maketh suche diuision betwene him and the other Patriarches, that it assigneth to every one their boundes: truely it doth not appoint hym the head of all, but maketh him one of the chief. There were present Vitus and Vincentius in the name of Julius, which then gouerned the Chirche of Rome: to them was geuen the fowerth place. I beseeche you, if Julius were acknowledged the head of the Chirche, should his Legates be thrust into the fowerth seat? Should Athanasius be chiefe in the Councell, where principally the image of the Hierarchical order ought to be seen? In the Synode at Ephesus it appereth, that Celestinus whiche was then Bishoppe of Rome, vled a crooked suttle meane, to prouide for the dignitie of his seate. For when he sent his deputies thether, he committed his stede to Cyrillus of Alexandria, which should notwithstanding otherwise haue ben the chiefe. To what purpose



pose was that same committing, but that his name might by what meane soeuer abide in the first place. For his Legates sate in a lower place, and were asked their opinion among the rest, and subscribed in their order: in the mean time the Patriarche of Alexandria ioyned Celestius name with his owne. What shall I say of the seconde counsell at Ephesus: where when Leos legates were present, yet Dioscorus Patriarche of Alexandria sate the chief as by his owne right: They wil take exception that it was no byright counsell, by which both the holy man Flavianus was condemned, and Eutyches acquitted, and his vngedynesse allowed. But when the Synode was gathered, when the Bishopes tooke their places in order, verily the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome sate there among the rest none otherwise than in a holy & lawfull Councell. Yet they strived not for the first place, but yelded it to an other: whiche they would neuer haue done, if they had thought it to be theirs of right. For the Bishops of Rome were neuer ashamed to entre into the greatest contentions for their honours, and for this onely cause oftentimes to bere and trouble the Chirche with many and hurtefull strives. But because Leo sawe that it should be a to muche vnrasonable request, if he should seeke to gette the chiefe place for his Legates, therfoze he succeded it.

2

Then folowed the Councell of Chalcedon, in which by the graunt of the Emperour the Legates of the Chirche of Rome sate in the chiefe place. But Leo hymself confesseth that this was an extraordinarie priuilege. For when he made petition for it to the Emperour Marcianus, & Pulcheria the Emperesse, he did not affirm y it was due to him, but onely pretended, that the Easterne Bishops, which sate as chief in the counsell at Ephesus, troubled all thynges, and ill abused their power. Where as therfoze it was nedefull to haue a graue gouernour, and it was not likely that they should be mete for it, whiche had ones ben so light and disordered: therfoze he praised, that by reason of the default & unfitnesse of other, the office of gouerning might be remoued to hym. Truly that which is gotten by singular priuledge and beside order, is not by common lawe. Where this onely is pretended, that there nedeth som newe genernour, because the former gouernours had behaued theim selues ill, it is euident that it neither was so befoze, nor oughte to continue so for euer, but is doone onely in respect of present danger. The Bishop of Rome therfoze had the first place in the Councell at Chalcedon: not because it was due to his see, but because the Synod was at that tyme destitute of a graue and fitte gouernour, while they that oughte to haue been the chiefe, did throught their owne intemperance and corrupt affection, thurst theimselues oute of place. And this that I saue, Leos successour dyd in dede proue. For when he sente his Legates to the fifthe Synode at Constantinople, which was holden long tyme after, he brauled not for the firste seate, but easily suffered Menna the Patriarche of Constantinople to sitte as chiefe. So in the counsell at Carthage, at whiche Augustine was present, we see that not the Legates of the see of Rome, but Aurelius Archbishop of that place sate as chiefe: when yet the contention was about the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome. Yea there was also a generall counsell holden in Italy it selfe, at which the Bishop of Rome was not present. Ambrose was chiefe there, which was



was in very greate authoritie w<sup>th</sup> the Emperour, there was no mention made of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Rome. Therfore at y<sup>e</sup> time it came to passe by y<sup>e</sup> dignitie of Ambrose; y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> see of Millain was moze noble thā y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome.

As concerning the title of supzemicie, and other titles of pride, wherupon it now marvailously boasteth it selfe; it is not harde to iudge, when and in what sorte they crept in. Cyprian oftentimes maketh mention of Cornelius. He setteth him out with no other name, but by the name of brother, or felow bishoppe, or felowe in office. But when he writeth to Stephen the successor of Cornelius, he doeth not only make him egal with himselfe and the rest, but also speaketh moze hardly to hym, charging him sometime with arrogance, sometime with ignozance. Sins Cipriane we haue what all the Chirche of Africa iudged of that mater. The Councell at Carthage did forbid that any should be called Prince of Priestes, or chiefe Bishop, but onely bishop of the chiefe see. But if a man tourne ouer the auncienter monumentes, he shall fynde that the Bishop of Rome at that tyme was content with the common name of brother. Certainly so long as the face of the Chirche continued true & pure, all these names of pride, wherewith sins that time the see of Rome hath begonne to ware outragious, were vtterly vnheard of: it was not known, what was the hiest Bishop, and the onely head of the Chirch in earth. But if the Bishop of Rome had ben so bold to haue taken such a thing vpon hym, there were stoute and wise men that would haue by and by repressed his soli. Hieron sozasmuch as he was a priest at Rome, was not ill willyng to set out the dignitie of his owne Chirch, so muche as the mater and state of the tymes suffred: yet we see how he also bringeth it downe into felowship with the rest. If authoritie (saieth he) be sought for, the worlde is greater than a citie. Why doest thou alledge to me the Custome of one citie? Why doest thou defend smallnesse of number, out of whiche hath grown pride, against the lawes of the Chirch? Where soeuer there be a Byschop, either at Rome, or at Engubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same merite & of the same priesthode. The power of richesse or basenesse of pouertie maketh not a Bishop hier or lower.

About the title of vniuersall bishop the contention first began in the tyme of Gregorie, whiche was occasioned by the ambition of John bishop of Constantinople. For he (whiche thynge neuer any man before had attempted) would haue made him selfe vniuersall bishop. In that contention Gregorie doeth not alledge that the righte is taken away whiche was due to himselfe: but stontely crieth out against it, that it is a prophatte name, yea ful of sacrilege, yea the forewarner of Antichrist. The whole Chirche (saieth he) falleth downe from her state, if he fall, which is called vniuersall. In an othet place: It is verye sorowfull, to suffer paciently, that our brother and felow bishop, despising all other, should only be named Bishop. But in this his pride what els is betokened but the times of Antichrist nere at hand: because verily he foloweth him, that despising the felowshipp of Angels, went about to clymbe vp to the toppe of singularitie. In an other place he writeth to Eulolius of Alexandria, and Anastasius of Antioche. None of my predecessors at any tyme woulde vse that prophane worde: for if one be called vniuersall Patriarch, the name of Patriarchys is abated from the rest. But farre

3  
Lib. 2.  
Epist. 2.  
& lib. 4.  
Epist. 6.

cap. xlvii

Epist. 2d  
Euag.

4

Lib. 4.  
epistol.  
lxxvi.  
Mauricio Augusto.  
Lib. iiii.  
epistol.  
lxxvii.  
Constantio Augusto.  
Lib. 4. epistol. 50.



farre may this be from a christian mynde, that any should haue a will to take that vpon him, wherby he may in any part, be it neuer so little, diminishe the honour of his brethren. To consent in this wicked woorde is nothyng els but to lese the faith. It is one thing (saith he) that we owe to the preseruyng of the vnitie of faith, and an other thyng that we owe to the keepyng downe of pride. But I say it boldly, because who soeuer calleth him selfe or desireth to bee called vniuersall Bishop, he doeth in his proude aduancynge runne befoze Antichrist, because he doth with shewing himselfe proude preferre himselfe aboue the rest. Agayne to Anastasius bishop of Alexandria: I haue said that he can not haue peace with vs, vnlesse he amended the aduancynge of the superstitious and proude woord, which the first apostata hath inuēcted. And (to speake nothyng of the wrong done to your honour) if one be called vniuersall Bishop, the vniuersall Church falleth when that vniuersall one falleth. But wheras he writeth, that this honoz was offred to Leo in the Synode at Chalcedon, it hath no colour of truth. For neither is there any suche thyng redde in the actes of that Synode. And Leo himself, which with many Epistles impugne the decree there made in honour of the see of Constantinople, without dout would not haue passed ouer this argument, which had ben most to be liked of all other, if it had ben true, that he refused that which was geuen him: and beyng a man otherwise to much desirous of honoz, he would not haue omitted that which made for his praise. Therfore Gregorie was deceiued in this, that he thought that that title was offred to the see of Rome by the Synode at Chalcedon: to speake nothing, how fond it is, that he both testifieth it to haue proceeded fro the holy Synode, & also at the same time calleth it wicked, prophane, abhominable, proude, and ful of sacrilege, yea denieth by the diuell, and published by the crier of Antichrist. And yet he addeth that his predecessor refused it, least all priestes should be deprived of their due honoz, when any thing were priuately geuen to one. In an other place: No man at any tyme hath willed to be called by that woord: No man hath taken to him self that presumpuous name: least if he should in the degree of bishoprik take to himself a glozie of singularitie, he should seme to haue denied the same to all his brethren.

Nowe I come to the iurisdiction, which the bishoppe of Rome affirmeth that he hath ouer all Churches. I knowe howe great contentions haue ben in olde tyme about this mater: For there hath ben no tyme wherin the see of Rome hath not coueted to gette an empire ouer other Churches. And in this place it shall not be oute of season, to searche by what meanes it grewe then by little and lyttle to some power. I dooe not yet speake of that infinite Empire, whych it hath not so long agoe taken by force to it self: for we wyll differre that to a place conuenient. But here it is good to shew briefly, how in old tyme and by what meanes it hath aduanced it selfe, to take to it selfe any power ouer other Churches. When the Churches of the East were diuided and troubled with the factions of the Arians vnder the Emperours, Constantius & Constans the sonnes of Constantine the Great, and Athanasius the chief defendour there of the true faith was driven out of his see: such calamitie cōpelled him to come to Rome, that with the authoritie of the see of Rome he might both after a sozt repress the rage of his enemies, and confirme



confirm the godly that were in distresse. He was honourably receiued of Julius then Bishop, and obtained that the Bishops of the west toke vpon them the defence of his cause. Therfoze when the godly stode in great neede of fozeyn aide, and sawe that there was very good succour for them in the Chirche of Rome, they willyngly gaue vnto it the most authoritie that they coulde. But all that was nothyng els, but that the communion therof should be hiely esteemed, & it should be compted a great shame, to be excommunicate of it. Afterward euill and wicked men also added muche vnto it. For, to escape lawfull iudgementes, they fledde to this sanctuarie. Therfoze if any priest were condemned by his bishop, or any Bishop by the Synode of his prouince, they by and by appelled to Rome. And the Bishops of Rome receiued suche appellations moze greedily than was mete: because it semed to be a forme of extraordinarie power, so to entermedle with maters farre and wide aboute them. So when Eutiches was condemned by Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople, he complained to Leo that he had wrong doone vnto hym. Leo without delay, no lesse vndiscretely then sodeinly, toke in hande the defence of an euill cause: he greuously inueyed againste Flavianus, as though he had, without hearyng the cause, condemned an innocent: and by this his ambition he caused that the vngodlynesse of Eutiches was for a certaine space of time strengthened. In Affrica it is euident that this oftentimes chaunced. For so soone as any lewde man had taken a foile in ordinarie iudgement, he by and by flewe to Rome, and charged his contreemen with many sclanderous reports: and the see of Rome was allway ready to entermedle. Whiche lewdnesse compelled the Bishops of Affrica to make a lawe, that none vnder peyn of excommunication should appelle beyond the sea.

But what soeuer it were, let vs see what authoritie or power the see of Rome then hadde. Ecclesiasticall power is contained in these fower pointes, orderyng of Bishops, summonyng of Councels, hearing of Appealles or iurisdiction, Chastisyng admonitions or censures. All the olde Synodes commaunde Bishops to be consecrate by their owne Metropolitans: and they neuer bid the bishop of Rome to bee called vnto it, but in his owne Patriarchie. But by litle and litle it grewe in vble, that all the Bishops of Italie came to Rome to fetche their consecration, except the Metropolitans, which suffred not themselues to bee brought into suche bondage: but when any Metropolitane was to be consecrate, the bishop of Rome sent thether one of his priestes, whiche should onely be present, but not president. Of whiche thyng there is an example in Gregorie: at the consecration of Constantius Bishoppe of Millain after the death of Laurence. Howbeit I dooe not thinke that that was a very auncient institution: but when at the beginning for honor and good willes sake they sent one to an other their Legates, to be witnesses of the cōsecration, and to testifie their cōmunion with them: afterward that whiche was voluntarie, beganne to be holden for necessarie. Howe soeuer it be, it is euident that in olde tyme the Bishop of Rome had not the power of consecratyng, but in the prouince of his owne Patriarchie, that is to say in the Chirches adioynnyng to the citie, as the canon of the Nicene Synode sayth. To the Consecration was annexed the sendyng of a Synodicall Epistle, in which he was nothing aboute

Li ii. epi  
sto. lxxviii.  
& lxxv.



about the reste. For the Patriarches were wont immediatly after their consecration, by solempne wrytyng to declare their faith, whereby they professed that they subscribed to the holy and catholike Councelles. So, rendyng an accompt of their Faith, they did approue them selues one to an other. If the Bishop of Rome had receiued of other, and not him selfe geuen this confession, he had thereby been acknowledged superior: but when he was no lesse bounde to geue it, than to require it of other, and to be subiect to the common lawe: truely that was a token of felowship, not of dominion. Of this thynge there is an example in Gregories epistle to Anastasius, and to Cyriacus of Constantinople, and in other places to all the Patriarches together.

Then folowe admonitions or censures: whiche as in olde tyme the Bishops of Rome vsed toward other, so they dyd agayne suffer them of other. Ireneus greuously reprovod Victor, because he vndiscretely for a thynge of no value, troubled the Chirche with a pernicious dissention. Victor obeyed, and spurned not agaynst it. Such a libertie was then in bre among the holy Bishops, that they vsed a brotherly authoritie toward the Bishop of Rome, in admonishyng and chastisyng hym if he at any tyme offended. He agayn, when occasion required, did admonishe other of their duetie: and if there were any fault, rebuked it. For Cyprian, when he exhorteth Stephen to admonishe the bishops of Fraunce, fetcheth not his argument fro the greater power, but from the comon right that priestes haue among themselues. I beseeche you, if Stephen had then ben ruler ouer Fraunce, would not Cyprian haue saide: Restraine them, because they be thynge: but he saileth farre other wise. This (saileth he) the brotherly felowshipp, wherwith we be bounde one to another requireth y we should admonishe one an other. And we see also how great sharpnes of words he being otherwise a mā of a mild nature inueyeth agaynst Stephē himself, whē he thinketh him to be to insolēt. Therfore in this behalfe also there appereth not yet, that the Bishop of Rome had any iurisdiction ouer them that wer not of his own prouince.

As concernyng the callyng together of Synodes, this was the office of euery Metropolitane, at certaine appointed tymes to assemble a Prouinciall Synode. There the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie. But a General counsell the Emperour only might sumō. For if any of the Bishops had attēpted it, not only they y wer out of his prouince, would not haue obeyed his callyng, but also there would by and by haue risē an vproze. Therfore the Emperour indifferētly warned them all to be present. Socrates in dede reporteth, y Julius dyd expostulate with the bishops of the East, because they called hym not to the Synode of Antioche, wheras it was forbidden by the Canons, that any thynge shoulde be decreed without the knowledge of the Bishop of Rome. But whoe doeth not see that this is to be vnderstanded of suche decrees as bynde the whole vniuersall Chirche? Nowe it is no meruayle, if thus muche be graunted bothe to the antiquitie and honor of the citie, and to the dignitie of the see, that there shoulde be no generall decree made of religion, in the absence of the Bishop of Rome, if he refuse not to bee present. But what is this to the dominion ouer the whole Chirche? For we denie not, that he was one of the chief: but we will not graunt, that whiche the Romanistes nowe affirme, that he had a dominion ouer all.

Nowe

Lib. i. c. 1.  
pist. 25.  
Lib. 6. c. 9.  
pist. 169.  
lib. i. epi  
sto. 24.

7

Epist. B.  
lib. 3:  
Ad pōp.  
contra  
epi. Ste-  
pha.

8

Tripar.  
hist. li. 4



Nowe remaineth the fowerth kynde of power, which standeth in ap-  
 pealles. It is euident that he hath the chief power, to whoes iudgement  
 seate appellacion is made. Many oftentimes appelled to the Bishop of  
 Rome: and he him self also went about to draw the hearyng of causes to  
 himselfe: but he was alway laughed to scozne, when he passed his owne  
 boundes. I will speake nothyng of the East and of Grecia: but it is  
 certain that the Bishops of Fraunce stoutely withstode hym, when he  
 semed to take to himselfe an empire ouer them. In Africa there was  
 long debate about that mater. For where at the Mileuitane Councell,  
 at whiche Augustine was present, they were excommunicate that appeal-  
 led beiond the sea, the Bishop of Rome trauailed to bring to passe, that  
 that decree might be amended. He sente his legates to shewe that that  
 priuiledge was geuen to hym by the Nicene Councell. The Legates  
 brought forth the actes of the Nicene Councell, whiche they had fet-  
 ched out of the storehouse of their owne Chirch. The Africans with-  
 stode it, and denied that the Bishops of Rome ought to bee credited in  
 their owne cause: and said that therfore they would sende to Constanti-  
 nople, & into other cities of Grecia, where copies were to be had & were  
 lesse suspicious. It was found, that therein was no such thyng wrytten,  
 as the Romains had pretended. So was that decree confirmed, which  
 tooke the chiefe hearing of causes from the Bishop of Rome: In whi-  
 che doying the lewde shamelesnesse of the Bishop of Rome hymself ap-  
 peared. For when he guilefully did thrust in the Synode at Sardos in  
 stede of the Nicene Synode, he was shamefully taken in a manifeste  
 falsehoode. But yet greater and moze shamelesse was their wicked-  
 nesse, that added a forged Epistle to the Councell, wherein I wote not  
 what bishop of Carthage, condemnyng the arrogance of Aurelius his  
 predecessour, for that he was so bolde to withdrawe himselfe from the  
 obedience of the see Apostolike, and yeldyng himselfe and his Chirche,  
 humbly craueth pardon. These be the goodly monumentes of antiqui-  
 tie, wherbyppon the maiestie of the see of Rome is founded, while they  
 so childishly lye, vnder the pretence of Antiquitie, that very blind men  
 may fynde it oute by groping. Aurelius (saith he) puffed by with de-  
 uelische boldenesse and stubboznesse, rebelled against Christe, and saint  
 Peter, and therfore to be condemned with curse. What said Augustine?  
 But what saide so many Fathers that were present at the Mileuitane  
 Councell? But what nede is it to spend many words in confuting that  
 foolische wrytyng, whiche the Romanistes themselues, if they have any  
 face left, can not looke vpon without great shame? So Gratian, I can  
 not tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehersted that de-  
 cree, that they should be excommunicate that appealle beyonde the see,  
 addeth an exception: Unlesse peraduenture they appealle to the see of  
 Rome. What may a man do to these beasts, which are so boide of comon  
 reason, & they except that only thing out of the law, for whoes cause ene-  
 ry man seeth that the law was made? For the Councel when it condem-  
 neth appealles beyod the sea, forbiddeth only this, & none should appealle  
 to Rome. Here the good expositor excepteth Rome out of & comon lawe.

But (to determine this questio at ones) one historie shal make plaine  
 what maner of iurisdiction the bishop of Rome had in old time. Donate  
 of the blacke houses had accused Cecilian bishop of Carthage. The mā

accu-

2. quest.  
cap. 4.



accused was condemned, his cause not heard. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appeare. Then the mater came to the Emperour Constantine. He, forasmuche as he willed to haue the mater ended by ecclesiasticall iudgement, committed the hearing of it to Melciades bishop of Rome. To whom he adioyned felow commissioners many bishops of Italie, Fraunce, and Spaine. If that belonged to the ordinarie iurisdiction of the see of Rome, to heare an appeale in an ecclesiasticall cause: why doeth he suffre other to be ioyned wth him at the will of the Emperour? Yea why did he himselfe take the iudgement vpon him rather by the Emperours commaundement, than by his own office? But let vs heare what hapned afterward. There Cecilia got the victorie: Donate of the blacke houses was condemned for schlauder: he appelled. Constantine committed the iudgement of the appelle to the bishop of Orleans. He sate as iudge, to pronounce what he thought, after the bishop of Rome. If the see of Rome hath the chief power without appellation: why doth Melciades suffer himself to receiue so great a shame, the bishop of Orleans should be preferred aboue him? And what Emperour doeth this: euen Constantine, of whom they boast that he employed not only all his endeuor, but in a maner all the richesse of the empire to encrease the dignitie of their see. Wee se therefore now, howe farre the Bishop of Rome was at that tyme by all meanes from that supreme dominion, whiche he affirmeth to be geuen vnto hym by Christe ouer all Churches, and whiche he lyengly saith that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole worlde.

I know how many epistles there be, how many writings & decrees, wherin the bishops doo geue muche, and boldly chalenge much vnto it. But this also al men that haue but a very little wit & lerning do know, that the most part of those are so vnauerie, that by the first tast of them a man may soone find out of what ship they cam. For what man of sound wit and sobze, wil thinke that that goodly interpretation is Anacletus his owne, which is in Gratian reported vnder the name of Anacletus: that is, that Cephas is a head? The Romanists doo at this day abuse for defence of their see, many suche trifles, which Gratian hath patched together without iudgement: and yet still in so great light they will sell suche smokes, wherewith in olde time they were wont to mocke out the ignorant in darknesse. But I will not bestow much laboz in confuting those things, which do openly cofute them selues by reason of their vnauerie folie. I graunt the there remain also true epistles of the old bishops, wherin they set forth the honoz of their see with glozious titles: of which sort are some epistles of Leo. For that man, as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also aboue measure desirous of glozy & dominion: but whether the Churches then beleued his testimonie when he so aduanced himself, that in dede is it that is in cotrouersie. But it appereth the many offended with his ambition, did also withstand his gredie desire. Sometime he appointed in his steede the bishop of Thessalonica throughout Grecia & other contrees adioyning: sometime he appointed the bishop of Orleans, or som other throughout Fraunce. So he appointed Hormisdas bishop of Hispalia to be his vicar in Spain, but eueri wher he excepteth, the he geueth out such apointments vnder this condition, the the Metropolitans may haue their auncient priuileges remainyng safe & whole. But Leo

hym-

Auguf.  
epist. 162

11

Dist. xii  
cap. Sa  
crofact.

Vide e  
pist. 85.  
Epist. 83



himselfe declareth, y<sup>e</sup> this is one of their priuileges, y<sup>e</sup> if any doubt happē about any mater, y<sup>e</sup> metropolitane should first be asked his aduise. Therfore those appointmētes of vicars in his stede wer bpō this conditiō, y<sup>e</sup> neither any Bishop should be letted in his ordinary iurisdiction, nor any Metropolitane in being iudge of Appealles, nor any prouincial Councel in ordering of their Chirches. What was this els but to absteyne frō all iurisdiction: but to entermedle to the appealing of discordes, only so farre as the law and nature of the communion of the Chirche suffreth.

In Gregories time y<sup>e</sup> aunciēt order was already much changed. For whē y<sup>e</sup> Empire was shakē, and torne in peces, whē Fraunce & Spaine were afflicted w<sup>th</sup> many ouerthrowes receiued, Slaunonia wasted, Italie bereed, & Africa in a maner destroyed w<sup>th</sup> cōtinual calamities: y<sup>e</sup> in so great a shakig of ciuile affaires, at least y<sup>e</sup> integritie of faith might remaine, or yet not vtterly perish, al y<sup>e</sup> Bishops frō ech part did y<sup>e</sup> rather ioine themselues to y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Rome. Thereby it came to passe, y<sup>e</sup> not only y<sup>e</sup> dignitie, but also y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> see greatly encreased. Howbeit I do not so much passe by what meanes it was brought about. Truly it appeareth that it was thē greater thā in y<sup>e</sup> ages befoze. And yet it then greatly differed frō being an vnbridled dominio, y<sup>e</sup> one mā myght beare rule ouer other after his own wil. But y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome had this reuerence, that it might w<sup>th</sup> her authoritie subdue & repressē y<sup>e</sup> lewde & obstinate that could not by y<sup>e</sup> other Bishops be kept w<sup>th</sup>in their dutie. For Gregorie doth oftē times diligētly testify this, y<sup>e</sup> he doth no lesse faithfully p̄serue to other men their rightes, than he requireth his own of them. Neither doe I (saith he) p̄icked on by ambition, plucke frō any man that which is his right: but I desire in al things to honoz my brethē. There is no saying in his writings wherin he doth moze proudey boast of y<sup>e</sup> largenelle of his Supremicie, thā this: I know not what Bishop is not subiect to y<sup>e</sup> see Apostolike when he is founde in faulte. But he by & by adiorneth, Where fault requireth not, al accordig to y<sup>e</sup> order of humilitie are egal. He geueth to hymselfe power to correct them y<sup>e</sup> haue offended: if all doe their dutie, he maketh hymselfe egall w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> reste. But he hymselfe geueth hymselfe this power: and they assented to it y<sup>e</sup> would: & other that lyked it not, might frely gainesay it, which it is well knowen y<sup>e</sup> the most parte of them did. Beside y<sup>e</sup> he speaketh there of y<sup>e</sup> Primatē of Cōstantinople: which whē he was cōdemned by y<sup>e</sup> prouincial Synode, refused y<sup>e</sup> whole iudgemēte. His fellow Bishops informed y<sup>e</sup> Emperour of this stubbornesse of him. The Emperour willed Gregorie to be iudge of y<sup>e</sup> cause. We see therfore that he both attēpteth no thing, wherby he may bzeake the ordinary iurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of other, he doth not but by the commaundement of the Emperour.

This therfore was thē al y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Rome, to set himselfe against obstinate & vntamed hedys, whē there neded any extraordinary remedy: & y<sup>e</sup> to helpe & not to hinder other Bishops. Therfore he taketh no moze to hiselfe ouer al other, thā in an other place he graunteth to al other ouer hiselfe, whē he cōfesseth y<sup>e</sup> he is redy to be corrected of al, to be amēded of al. So in an other place he doth in dede cōmaunde y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Aquileia to come to Rome, to pleade his cause in a cōtrouersy of faith that was risē betwene him & other: but he doth not cōmaūde him of his own powet, but because y<sup>e</sup> Emperoz had so cōmaūded.

Episto.  
lxxix.

12

Lib. i.  
Episto.  
lxviii.Libr. ii.  
Epi. vlt.  
lib. vii.  
epi. lxiii

13

lib. ii.  
Episto.  
xxxvii.  
Epi. xvi



geue warning that he alone shalbe iudge, but premiseth that he will as-  
 semble a Synode by whom the whole mater may be iudged. But al-  
 though there was yet such moderation, that the power of the see of  
 Rome had her certayne bouēdes, which it might not passe, & the Bishop  
 of Rome himselfe was no moze aboute thā vnder other: yet it appeareth  
 how much Gregorie milliked such state. For he nowe & thē rōplaineth,  
 that vnder coloz of Bishoprike he was brought backe to the world: and  
 that he was moze entangled with earthly cates, than euer he had  
 serued them while he was a lay mā: y he was in y honoz oppressed with  
 tumult of worldly affaires. In an other place: so great burdēs (saith he)  
 of businesse do holde me down, y my minde can nothing at all be raised  
 by to thinges aboue. I am shaken with many waues of causes: and af-  
 ter those leysures of rest I am tossed with tēpestes of troublesome lyfe:  
 so y I may rightly say, I am come into y depth of the sea, and the tēpest  
 hath drowned me. Hereby gather, what he would haue sayed, if he had  
 happened to be in these tymes. Although he fulfilled not the office of a  
 Pastor, yet he was doing it. He absteyned from the gouernement of y  
 ciuile Empire, and confessed himselfe to be subiect to the Emperoz as  
 other were. He did not thrust himselfe into the cure of other Chirches,  
 but being compelled by necessitie. And yet he thinketh hymselfe to be in  
 a maze, because he can not apply himselfe altogether only to the office of  
 a Bishop.

2 i. ep. v.

2 ib. i. epi.  
vij. & .iij.

14 At y time y Bishop of Constantinople strued w the Bishop of Rome  
 for y Supremacie, as it is already said. For after y the seate of y Empire  
 was stablished at Cōstātinople, the maiestie of y Empire semed to re-  
 quire, y that Chirche also should haue y seconde place of honoz after the  
 Chirche of Rome. And truly at the beginning, nothing moze auailed to  
 raise y Supremacie to be geue to Rome, but because y hed of y Empire  
 was there at y time. There is in Gratian a writing vnder the name of  
 Pope Lucinus, where he saith, y cities wer no otherwise diuided, where  
 Metropolitanēs & Primates ought to sit, thā by y reson of y ciuile go-  
 uernemēt y was before. There is also an other vnder y name of Pope  
 Clemēt, where he saith, y Patriarches wer ordeined in those cities that  
 had had y chefe flamines in thē. Which, although it be false, yet is takē  
 out of a truth. For it is certaine, y, to the ende there should be made as  
 litle change as might be, the prouinces wer diuided accordyng to y state  
 of thinges that thē wer: & that Primates & Metropolitanēs wer set in  
 those cities that excelled the other in honozs & power. Therefore in the  
 Couēl at Taurinū it was decreed, y those cities which in the ciuile go-  
 uernemēt were y chefe cities of euery prouince, should be the chefe sees  
 of Bishops. And if it happened the honoz of y ciuile gouernement to be  
 remoued frō one citie to an other, y thē the right of the Metropolitanē  
 citie should ther wal be remoued thether. But Innocentius Bishop of  
 Rome, whē he saw the aunciēt dignitie of his citie to grow in decay, af-  
 ter that the seate of the Empire was remoued to Constantinople, fea-  
 ring the abacemēt of his see, made a contrary law: wherein he denyeth  
 it to be necessary y the ecclesiastical mother cities should be chāged as y  
 Imperial mother cities change. But the authoritie of a Synode ought  
 of right to be preferred aboue one mans sentēce. Also we ought to sus-  
 pecte Innocentius himselfe in his owne cause. Howsoeuer it be, yet  
 by

Dist. lxxv.  
Cap. vi.

Cap. i.



by his owne prouiso he sheweth, that from the beginning it was so ordered, that the Metropolitane cities should be disposed according to the outward order of the Empire.

According to this auncient ordinaunce, it was decreed in the first Councell at Constantinople, the Bishop of the same citie should haue the priuileges of honor next after the Bishop of Rome, because it was a new Rome. But a long time after, when a like decree was made at Chalcedon, Leo stoutly cried out against it. And he not only gaue himselfe leaue to esteeme as nothing the which sixe hundred Bishops or moe had decreed: but also bitterly taunted them, for the they toke from other sees that honor which they were so bolde to geue to the Chirche of Constantinople. I beseech you, what other thing could moue a man to trouble the world for so smal a matter, but mere ambition? He sayeth the which ought to be inuiolable, whiche the Nicene Synode hath once decreed. As though forsooth the Christian faith wer endangered, if one Chirch be preferred before an other: or as though Patriarchies wer there diuided to any other ende, but for policie. But we knowe that policie receiueth, yea requireth diuerse chaunges, according to the diuersitie of times. Therefore it is fonde that Leo pretendeth, that the honor, which by the authoritie of the Nicene Synode was geuen to the see of Alexandria, ought not to be geuen to the see of Constantinople. For comon reason telleth this, that it was such a decree, as myght be take away according to the respect of times. Yea none of the Bishops of the East withstode it, who that thing most of all concerned. Truly Protadius was present, whom they had made Bishop of Alexandria in the place of Dioscorus. There were presente other Patriarches, whose honor was diminished. It was their parte to withstand it, not Leos which remained safe in his owne place. But when all they holde their peace, yea assent vnto it, and only the Bishop of Rome resisteth: it is easy to iudge, what moueth hym: that is, he foresaw the which not long after happened, that it would come to passe, that the glozy of olde Rome decaying, Constantinople not contented with the seconde place, would stryue w Rome for the Supremacie. And yet w his crying out he did not so much preuaile, but that the decree of the Councell was confirmed. Therefore his successors, when they saw themselves overcome, quietly gaue ouer that stiffenesse: for they suffred that he should be accompted the seconde Patriarche.

But within a litle after, John which in Gregories tyme ruled the Chirche of Constantinople, brake forth so farre the which he called himselfe the vniuersall Patriarche. Here Gregorie, lest he should in a very good cause fayle to defende his own see, did constantly set hymselfe againste him. And truly both the pride and madnesse of John was intolerable, whiche desired to make the boundes of his Bishoprike egall wyth the boundes of the Empire. And yet Gregorie doth not claime to himselfe, that which he denieth to an other: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and vngodly, and abhominable, who soeuer take it vpon him. Yea and also in one place he is angry wyth Eulolius Bishop of Alexandria, whiche had honored hym with suche a tittle. Beholde (sayeth he) in the peface of the Epistle whiche ye directed to my selfe that haue forbidden it, ye haue cared to emprinte the woorde of proude calling, in namyng me vniuersall Pope. Whiche, I praye that your

F. ii. holinesse

15  
Socra.  
hist. tris  
part. lib.  
ix. cap.  
xiii.  
Decret.  
xxii. dist

16

Lib. vii.  
Episto.  
xxx.



holinesse wil no moze do because that is withdræwen from you, whiche is geuen to an other moze than reason requireth. I compt it no honoz, wherin I se the honoz of my bꝛethzen to be diminished. For my honoz is the honoz of the vniuersall Chirche; and the sounde strength of my bꝛethzen. But if your holinesse call me the vniuersall Pope, it denyeth it selfe to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. Truly Gregorie stode in a good and honest cause. But Ihon holpen by the fauor of Maurice the Emperoz, could neuer be remoued from his purpose. Ciriacus also his successoz neuer suffered himselfe to be entreated in that behalfe.

17

At the last Phocas, which when Maurice was slaine, was set in his place (I wote not for what cause being moze frendly to the Romaines, but because he was there crowned without stryfe) graūted to Boniface the third, that which Gregorie neuer required, that Rome should be the hed of all Chirches. After thys maner was the controuersy ended. And yet this benefite of the Emperoz, could not so much haue profited the see of Rome, vnlesse other thinges also had afterwarde happened. For Grecia and all Asia were within a litle after cut of frō the communion of Rome. Fraunce so much reuetenced him, y it obeyed no further than it lysted. But it was thē first brought into bondage when Pipine vsurped the kyngdome. For whē zacharie Bishop of Rome had ben his helper to the bꝛeache of his faith, and to robbery, y thꝛusting out the lawfull kyng, he might violently enter vpon the kyngdome as layed open for a pray: he receiued thys rewarde, that the see of Rome shoulde haue iurisdiction ouer y Chirches of Fraūce: As robbers are wonted in parting to deuide y commō spoyle: so these good men ordered the mater betwene themselves, that Pipine shoulde haue y earthly and ciuile dominion, spoiling the true king: and zacharye shoulde be made hed of all Bishops and haue the spirituall powe: which, when at the beginning it was weake, (as it is wont to be in new thynges) was afterwarde confirmed by the authozitie of Charles, in maner for a lyke cause. For he was also indetted to the Bishop of Rome, for y by hys endeuor he had attained to the honoz of the Empire; But although it be credible, that Chirches eche where were befoze y tyme muche deformed, yet it is certayn y the old forme of y Chirch was thē fyrst vtterly defaced in Fraūce and Germanie. There remayne yet in the recordes of the court of Parise bꝛefe notes of these tymes, which, where they entreate of the matters of the Chirche, make mention of the couenant both of Pipine and of Charles wyth the Bishop of Rome. Therby we may gather that thē was an alteration made of the olde state.

18

Sins that tyme, when thynges did eche where daily fal from woꝛse to woꝛse, the tyꝛanny of the see of Rome was now and then also stablyshed & encreased, and y partly by the ignozāce, and partly by the slouthfulnesse of the Bishops: For when one mā toke all thynges vpo him, and without measure proceeded moze and moze to aduaunce hymselfe against law & right: the Bishops did not with such zeale as thei ought, endeuor themselves to restrayne his lust, and though they wāted not courage, yet they were destitute of true learning and knowledg: so that they were nothing fytt to attempte so greate a mater. Therefore we see what and howe monstrous an unholy defylyng of all holy thinges,

and



and a scattering abrode of the whole order of the Chirche, was in Bernardes tyme. He cōplayneth ȳ there resoꝛt by heapes to Rome out of al the woꝛld, ambitious men, couetous, Simonians, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, cōmitters of incest, and all such monsters, to obtēin oꝛ reteine ecclesiastical honoꝛs by ȳ Apostolike authozitie: and ȳ fraud and vndermining, & violence were growē in foꝛce. He sayth ȳ that manner of iudging which thē was bled, was abhominable, & vnsemely, not only foꝛ the Chirche, but also foꝛ a iudicial court. He cryeth oute that the Chirche is ful of ambitious men: and ȳ there is none that moze dꝛedeth to commit mischeuous Actes, than robbers do in their caue, when they deuide the spoyles of wayfaiꝛing men. Few (sayeth he) do loke vnto the mouth of the labogeuer, but vnto his hands. But not without cause. Foꝛ those handes do all the Popes businesse. What a thing is thys, ȳ they are bought of the spoiles of Chirches, ȳ say to thee, oh well done, well done? The life of the pooꝛe is lowē in the stretes of the riche: siluer glistereth in the myꝛe: mē run to it frō al places: not the pooꝛe, but the strāger taketh it vp, oꝛ he paraduētur e ȳ runneth fastest befoꝛe. But thys maner, oꝛ rather thys death, came not of thee, I would to God it might end in thee. Among these thynges thou a Pastoz goest foꝛwarde compassed w̄ much and pꝛecious aray. If I durst say it, these are rather the Pastozs of deuils, than of shepe. Foꝛsooth Peter did thus, Paule played thus. Thy courte is moze accustomed to receiue men good thā to make them good. Foꝛ the ill do not there pꝛofit, but the good do decaye. Nowe as foꝛ the abuses of appealles ȳ he rehearseth, no godly man can rede them wout great hozꝛoꝛ. At the last he thus concludeth of ȳ vnbrideled gredinesse of the see of Rome in the vsurping of iurisdiction: I speake ȳ murmur and commō complaynt of the Chirches. They crie out that they be mangled and dismembꝛed. There are either none oꝛ fewe that do not either bewaile oꝛ feare this plage. Alkest thou what plage? The Abbotes are plucked frō the Bishops, the Bishops frō the Archbishops &c. It is maruelous if this mai be excused. In so doing ye pꝛoue that ye haue fulnesse of power, but not of righteousnesse. Ye do thys, because ye can do it: but whether ye also ought to do it, is a question. Ye are sett to pꝛeserue, not to enuye to euery man hys honoꝛ and hys owne degree. These fewe thynges of many I listed to rehearse, partly ȳ the reders may see, how soꝛe the Chirche was then decayed, and partly that they may know in how great soꝛow and mourning thys calamitie helde al the godly.

But nowe, albeit that we graunte to the Bishop of Rome at thys day that pꝛeeminence and largenesse of iurisdiction, which that see had in the meane tymes, as in the tymes of Leo and of Gregoꝛy: what is that to the pꝛesēt state of the Papacie? I do not yet speake of the earthly dominion, noꝛ of the ciuile power therof, whiche we will afterwarde consider in place fit foꝛ it: but the bery spiritual gouernemēt ȳ they boss of, what hath it like to the state of those tymes? Foꝛ they define ȳ Pope none otherwysse than the Supꝛeme hed of the Chirche in earth, & the vniuersal Bishop of the whole woꝛld. And the Bishops themselues, whē they speake of their owne authozitie, do wyth great stoutenesse of countenance, pꝛonounce ȳ to them belongeth the power to cōmaūde, & other are boude to the necessitie to obey: ȳ so al their decrees are to be holden



as confirmed with the diuine voice of Peter: that the prouincial Sino-  
des, are without force, because they want the presence of the Pope: that  
they may order clerkes of any Chirche that they will: and may cal them  
to their see that haue ben ordered els where. Innumerable of þ sorte  
are in Gratias packe, which I do not now rehearse, least I should be to  
tedious to the Reders. But this is the summe of them, that onely the  
Bishop of Rome hath the Supreme hearing and determining of all  
ecclesiastical causes, whether it be in iudging and defining of doctrines,  
or in making of lawes, or in stablishing of discipline, or in executyng of  
iudgemētes: It were also long and superfluous to rehearse the priui-  
leges that they take to thēselues in reseruatīōs, as they cal them. But,  
(which is most intollerable of al other) they leaue no iudgemente in  
earth to restraine and bydle their outragious lust, if they abuse so im-  
measurable power. It is lawfull for no mā (say they) to reuoke þ iudge-  
ment of that see, because of the Supremacie of the Chirche of Rome.  
Againe. The iudge shall be iudged neither by þ Emperoz, nor by kiges,  
nor by al the Clergie, nor of the people. That is in dede to imperiously  
done, that one man maketh hymselfe iudge of al men, and suffreth him-  
selfe to obey the iudgement of no mā. But what if he vse tyranny ouer  
the people of God: if he scatter abroad and wast the kingdom of Christ:  
if he trouble the whole Chirch: if he turne the office of Pastoz into rob-  
berie: Yea though he be neuer so mischeuous, he sayeth that he is not  
bounde to yelde accompte. For these be the sayinges of the Bishops:  
gods will was to determine the causes of other men by mē, but he hath  
wout questiō reserued þ Bishop of this see to his own iudgemēt. Againe,  
The doinges of subiectes are iudged of vs: but oures, of God only.

And that such decrees might haue the more weight, they haue falsly  
thrust in the names of the old Bishops, as though thinges had ben so  
ordeined from the beginning: whereas it is most certaine, that it is new  
and lately forged whatsoeuer the Bishop of Rome geueth to hymselfe  
more than we haue rehearsed to be geuen him by the aunciēt Couñcels.  
Yea they are come to so greate shamelesnesse, that they haue set forth a  
woyting vnder the name of Anastasius Patriarche of Cōstantinople,  
wherin he testifieth that it was decreed by the olde rules, that nothing  
should be done euen in the furthest prouinces, that wer not first moued  
to the see of Rome. Beside thys that it is certaine þ this is most baine,  
what man shall thynke it likely, that suche a commendation of the see  
of Rome proceded from the aduersary and enuier of the honoz and dig-  
nitie thereof: But verily it behoued that these Antichristes shoulde be  
carried on to so greate madnesse and blindenesse, that their lewdenesse  
might be playne for all men to se, at least so many as will open theyz  
eyes. But the decretall epistles heaped together by Gregozie the .ix.  
agayne the Clementines, and Extrauagantes of Martine, dooe yet  
more openly and with fuller mouth ech where breathe forth their out-  
ragious fiercenesse and as it were the tyrannie of barbarous kinges.  
But these be the oracles, by which the Romanistes will haue their pa-  
pacie to be weyed. Hereupon arose those notable principles, whiche at  
this day haue euery where in þ papacie þ force of oracles: þ the Pope cā  
not erre: that þ Pope is aboue the Couñcels: that the Pope is the vni-  
uersall Bishop of al Bishops, and the Supreme head of the Chirche in  
earth

Decret.  
xvii.  
quest. iiii.  
cap. Ne-  
mini.  
Innocēt  
ix. que. 3  
cap. ne-  
mo, Sym  
ix. que. 3  
Cap.  
Aliorū.  
Anther.  
Ibid. ca.  
facta.

20

Ibid. ca.  
Ant.



earth: I passe ouer the much absurder follies, which the foolish Canonistes babble in their scholes: to which yet y<sup>e</sup> Romish diuines do not on-ly assente, but do also clap their handes at them, to flatter their idole.

I wil not deale with them by extremitie of righte. Some other man would against this their so great insolence set the saying of Cipriane, which he vsed among the Bishops, at whoes counsell he sate as chiefe. None of vs calleth hymselfe Bishop of Bishops, or w<sup>th</sup> tyrannous feare cōpelleth his felow Bishops to necessitie to obey. He would object that, which a litle afterwarde was decreed at Carthage. That none shoulde be called Prince of Priestes, or chiefe Bishop. He would gather many testimonies out of Histories, Canons out of Synodes, & many sentēces out of y<sup>e</sup> bookes of old wziters, by whiche the Bishop of Rome shoulde be brought down into y<sup>e</sup> felowship of y<sup>e</sup> rest. But I passe ouer al these, least I should seme to precisely to presse them. But let y<sup>e</sup> best patrones of y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome answer me, w<sup>th</sup> what face they dare defende y<sup>e</sup> title of vniuersal Bishop, whiche they se so oft to be condemned w<sup>th</sup> curse by Gregorie. If Gregories testimonie ought to be of force, they do therby declare y<sup>e</sup> Antichrist is their Bishop, because they make him vniuersal. The name also of hed was no moze vsual. For thus he sayeth in one place. Peter is the chiefe mēber in the body, John, Andrew & James y<sup>e</sup> heds of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the Church vnder one hed: yea y<sup>e</sup> holy ones befoze y<sup>e</sup> law, y<sup>e</sup> holy ones vnder y<sup>e</sup> law, y<sup>e</sup> holy ones vnder grace, are set among mēbers, altogether makyng by y<sup>e</sup> body of the Lord: & no mā euer willed to haue hymselfe called vniuersal. But wheras y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Rome taketh bpō hymselfe y<sup>e</sup> power of cōmaunding, y<sup>e</sup> thing smally agreeth w<sup>th</sup> that which Gregorie saith in an other place. For wheras Eulolius Bishop of Alexandria, had said that he was cōmanded by hym, he answered in this wise. I pray ye, take away thys worde of cōmauding frō my hearing. For I know what I am & what ye be. In place, ye be to me bzethrē: in maners, ye be to me fathers. Therefore I cōmāded not, but I cared to tel you those thigs y<sup>e</sup> I thought profitable. Wheras he so extendeth his iurisdiction wout end, he doth therein great and haynons wrong, not only to y<sup>e</sup> other Bishops, but also to al particular Churches, which he so teareth & plucketh in peces, y<sup>e</sup> he may bilde his seate of their ruines. But wheras he exēpteth himself frō al iudgemētgs, and wil so reigne after the maner of tirantes, y<sup>e</sup> he accompteth his own only lust for law, y<sup>e</sup> verily is so hainous, & so far frō ecclesiastical order, that it may in no wise be bozne: for it btterly abhozreth not only from al feling of godlinesse, but also from all humanitie.

But, y<sup>e</sup> I be not cōpelled to go thzough & examine al thinges particularly, I do agayne appelle to them, y<sup>e</sup> wil at this day be accōpted y<sup>e</sup> beste and most faithful patrones of y<sup>e</sup> see of Rome, whether they be not ashamed to defende the present state of the papacie: which it is certaine to be a hundred times moze corrupt, than it was in the times of Gregorie and Bernard: which state yet dyd then so much displease those holy mē. Gregorie eche where complayneth, y<sup>e</sup> he is to muche diuersly drawen away with forein busynesse: y<sup>e</sup> he is vnder y<sup>e</sup> coloz of Bishoprike brought backe to the world: wherin he serueth so many cares of the world as he neuer remembzeth that he serued when he was a lay man: that he is pressed downe wyth tumulte of worldly affaires, that hys mynde is

Lib. iiii. Ep. xcii. 21  
Lib. vii. Episto. xxviii. 22  
Libro. i. Epist. v. vii. & xxv. & alibi, nothing



nothing raised by to thinges aboue: that he is shakē with many waues of causes, and tossed with tempestes of troublesome lyfe: so that he may woꝛthily say, I am come into the depth of the sea. Cruely among those earthly busineses, he might yet teach the people with Sermones, priuately admonishe and correct such as it behoued, order the Chirche, geue counsell to his fellow Bishops and exhort them to their dutie: beside these thinges there remained some time to write: and yet he lamenteth his calamitie, that he is drowned in the depest sea. If the gouernement of that time was a sea: what is to be sayed of the papacie at thys tyme: For what likenesse haue they together: Here be no preachinges, no care of discipline, no zeale to þ Chirches, no spirituall doing, finally nothing but the world. Yet this maze is praysed, as though there could nothing be founde moze orderly & better framed. But what cōplaintes doth Bernarde poure out, what grones doeth he vtter, when he loketh vpon the faultes of hys age: What then would he doe, if he behelde thys our age of iron, and woꝛse if any be woꝛse than iron: What obstinate wickednesse is thys, not only stiffly to defende as holy and diuine, that which all the holy men haue w one mouth condemned: but also to abuse their testimonie to the defense of the papacie, whiche it is certaine that they neuer knew of: Howbeit of Bernardes tyme I confesse, that then the cozruption of all thynges was so great, that it was not much vnlike our tyme. But they are without all shame, that fetche any pzetense for it, out of that meane age, þ is the tyme of Leo, Gregoꝛy, and such other. For they doe lyke as if one, to stablyshe the Monarchie of Emperours, would praise the olde state of the Empire of Rome: that is, woulde boꝛrowe the praises of libertie, to set forth the honoz of tyranny.

23

Finally, although al these thinges wer graūted them: yet there ariseth of fresh a newe strife for them, when we deny that there is a Chirche at Rome, in whiche suche benefites may be resident: when we denie that there is a Bishop, which may beare these priuileges of dignitie. Admit therfoze al those thinges to be true, (which yet we haue already) wꝛoong from them) that Peter was by the mouth of Chryste appointed hed of the vniuersal Chirche: and that he left the honoz that was geuen hym, in the see of Rome: that the same was stablished by the authozitie of the auncient Chirch, and confirmed with long continuance: that the Supreme power hath been alway by one consent geuen of all men to the Bishop of Rome: that he hath ben the iudge of al both causes and men, and hūselfe subiect to the iudgement of none: let them haue also moze, if they wil: yet I answere in one woꝛd, that none of these thinges auaille, vnlesse there be at Rome a Chirche & a Bishop. This they must nedes graūt me, that it can not be the mother of Chirches, which is not it selfe a Chirche: that he can not be chiefe of Bishops, which is not himselfe a Bishop. Will they therfoze haue the see Apostolike at Rome: Then let them shewe me a true and lawfull Apostleship. Will they haue the chief Bishop: Then let them shewe me a Bishop. But what: where will they shewe vs any face of a Chirch: They name one in dede, and haue it oft in their mouth. Truly the Chirche is knowen by her certaine markes: and Bishoprike is a name of office. I speake not here of the people: but of the gouernemente it selfe, which ought continually to shine in the Chirche. Where is the ministerie in their Chirche, such as Christes in-  
stitution



stitution requireth: Let vs call to remembrance that which hath befoze ben spoken of the office of Priestes and of a Bishop. If we shall byring the office of Cardinals to be tried by that rule, we shall confesse that they are nothyng lesse than Priests. As for the chief bishop himself, I would faine know what one thing at all he hath bishoplike. First it is the principal point in the office of a Bishop, to teach the people with the word of God: an other and the next point to that is, to minister the sacraments: the third is to admonish and exhort, yea and to correct them that offend, and to hold the people together in holy discipline. What of these thyngs doeth he: yea, what doeth he faine himselve to doo: Let theim tell therefore, by what meane they would haue him to be compted a Bishop, that doeth not with his little fynger, no not ones so muche as in outwarde shewe, touche any part of a bishops office.

It is not so of a Bishop as it is of a king. For a king, although he do not execute that which belögeth to a king, doth neuertheless retein the honoz and title. But in iudging of a bishop respect is had to Chyristes commaundement, which alway ought to be of force in the Chirche. Therefore let the Romanistes lose me this knot. I denye that their hye Bishop, is the chiefe of Bishops, forasynuche as he is no Bishop. They must nedes proue this last point to be false, if they will haue the victorie in the first. But howe say they to this, that he not onely hath no proprietie of a Bishop, but rather all thinges contrarie: But here, O God, where at shall I begynne: at his learning, or at his maners: What shall I say, or what shall I leaue vsayde: where shall I make an ende: This I saye: that whereas the worlde is at this daye, stuffed with so many peruerse and wicked doctrines, full of so many kyndes of superstitions, blynded with so many errozs, drowned in so great idolatry: there is none of these any where, that hath not either flowed from thense, or at least bene there confirmed. Neither is there any other cause, why the Bishops are caried with so greate rage against the doctrine of the Gospell newly sprynging by agayne, why they bend ail their strengthes to oppresse it, why they kindle by kings and princes to crueltie, but bicause they see y their whole kingdom decaieth & falleth down, so sone as the Gospell of Chyrist cometh in place. Leo was cruell: Clement was bloudie: Paul is a fierce murtherer. But nature hath not so much moued them to fight against y truthe, as for that this was their only meane to mayntain their powler. Therefore lithe they can not be safe, till they haue driuen awaye Chyrist, they trauaile in this cause, as if they dyd fyght for their religion and contrees, and for their owne lyues. What then: Shall that bee to vs the see Apostolike, tohere we see nothyng but horrible Apostasie: Shall he be Chyristes vicar, which by persecuting the Gospell with furious enterpryses, doth openly professe him self to be Antichyrist: Shall he be Peters successour, that rangeth with sword and fyze, to destroy all that euer Peter hath builded: Shall he bee hed of the Chirch that cutting of and dismembryng the Chirche from Chyriste the onely true head thereof, doeth in it selfe plucke and teare it in pieces: Admitte verily that in the olde time Rome was the mother of all Chirches: yet sins it hath begon to be the seate of Antichyriste, it hath cessed to be that which it was.

We seme to be to muche euill speakers and railers, when we call the bishop of Rome Antichyrist, But they that so thinke, doo not vnderstand that



that they accuse Paule of immodestie, after whom we so speake, yea out of whoes mouth we so speake. And least any man obiecte, that we doo wrongfully wrest against the bishop of Rome, these words of Paul that are spoken to an other intent, I will briefly shew, that they can not be otherwise vnderstanded, but of the Papacie. Paule writeth, that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God. In an other place also the Holy ghost describyng his image in the person of Antiochus, sheweth that his kingdome shall consist in hautinesse of speche, and blasphemyngs of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyzannie ouer soules, than ouer bodies, that is raised by against the spiritual kingdome of Christ. Then, that it is suche, as doeth not abolish the name of Christ and the Church: but rather should abuse the pretence of Christ, and lurke vnder the title of the Church, as vnder a disguised visour. But although all the heresies and sectes that haue ben from the beginnyng, belong to the kingdome of Antichrist: yet where as Paule prophecieth, that there shall come a departing, by this description he signifieth, that that seate of abhominacion shall then be raised by, when a certain vniuersall departyng shall possesse the Church: howsoeuer many membes of the Church here and there continue in the true vnitie of Faith. But where he addeth, that in his time he began in a misterie to set by the worke of iniquitie, which he would afterward shew openly: therby we vnderstand, y this calamitie was neither to be brought in by one man, nor to be ended in one man. Now wher as he doeth set out Antichrist by this marke, that he should plucke away from God his due honoz, to take it to him selfe: this is the chiefe token that we ought to folowe in seekyng out of Antichrist, specially where suche pride procedeth euen to the publike dissipation of the Church. Sithe therefore it is certaine, that the bishop of Rome hath shamelessly conueyed away to himself that whiche was the chiefe propre thing to God alone and Christ, it is not to be doubted but that he is the capitaine and standerbearer of the wicked and abhominable kyngdome.

26  
 Euseb.  
 lib. iii.  
 cap. 5.

Nowe let the Romanists goe, and obiect antiquitie against vs. As if in so great alteration of all thynges, the honoz of the See might stand where there is no see. Eusebius telleth, how God, that there might bee place for his vengeance, remoued the Church that was at Hierusalem to Bellsa. That whiche we heare to haue been ones doone, might be offer doone. Therfore so to bynde the honor of supremicie to a place, that he which is in dede the moste hatefull enemye of Christ, the hest aduersarie of the Gospell, the greatest waster and destroyer of the Church, the moste cruel slaughterman & butcher of the saints, should neuerthe lesse be accompted the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, y chief bishop of y Church, onely because he occupieth the see that was ones the chiefest of all: that verily is to muche to be scorned and foolish. I speake not, how great difference there is betwene the popes chauncerie, and a well framed order of the Church. Howbeit this one thyng may wel take away all dout of this question. For no man that hath his right witt, wil think the bishoprike enclosed in leade and bulles: muche lesse, in that schoole of fraudes and deceites, in whiche thyngs the Popes spirituall gouernement consisteth. Therfore it was very well sayd by a certain man, that that Church of Rome which is boasted of, is long agoe tourned into a court



court which onely is nowe seene at Rome. Neither doo I here accuse the faulces of men: but I shew that the Papacie it selfe is directly contrary to the true order of a Chirche.

But if we come to the persones of men, it is well enough knowen what maner of vicars of Christ we shall fynde. Julius forsoothe, and Leo, and Clement, and Paule, halbe pillars of the christian faith, and the chiefe expositours of religion, whiche neuer knew any other thyng of Christ, than that whiche he had learned in Lucians schole. But why doo I reckon by thre or fower Popes: as though it were doutfull, what maner of forme of religiō the Popes with their whole college of Cardinals haue sines long ago professed, and at this day doo professe. For first this is the principall article of that secret Diuinitie that reigneth amōg them, That there is no God: the seconde, That all things that are wrytten and taught concernyng Christ, are lies and deceits: the third, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the last resurrection, are mere fables. They doo not all thinke so: and fewe of them speake so. I graūt. But this hath long ago begon to be y<sup>e</sup> ordinarie religiō of Popes. Wher as this is very well knowen to all that knowe Rome, yet the Romische Diuines ceasse not to boast, that by Christes priuilege it is provided, that the Pope can not erre, because it was said to Peter: I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faint. What, I pray you, winne they by mocking so shamelessly, but that the whole woorld may vnderstand, that they are come to that extremitie of wickednesse, that they neither feare God, nor stande in awe of men?

But let vs imagine, that the vngodlynnesse of those Popes whom I haue spoken of, is hidden, because they haue neither published it by preachinges, nor by wrytinges: but onely haue bewrayed it at their table, and in their chamber, or at least within walles of houses. But if they will haue this priuilege to be of force, whyche they pretende, they must nedes wipe John the. xii. out of the number of Popes, who openly affirmed that soules are mortall, & that they die together with the bodies vntil the day of resurrection. And, that you may perceiue that the whole See with her principall staies was then wholly fallen: none of all the Cardinals withstode so great a madnessse, but the schoole of Parise moued the king of Fraunce to compell him to recant it. The king forbade his subiectes to communicate with him, vnlesse he did out of hande repent: and the same, as the maner is, he proclaimed by a heralde. The Pope compelled by this necessitie, abiured his erroz. This example maketh that I neede not to dispute any moze with my aduersaries about this that they say, that the see of Rome and the Bishops thereof, can not erre in the fayth, because it was saide to Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fainte. Cruely he fell with so foule a kinde of fall from the right faith, that he is a notable example to them that come after, that they are not all Peters whiche succede after Peter in the bishoprike. Howbeit this is also of it selfe so childlike, that it needeth no answer. For if they will drabe to Peters successours whatsoeuer was spoken to Peter, it shall folowe that they are all Satans, for asmuche as the Lord said this also to Peter. Go behinde, thou Satan, because thou art an offence to me. For it shalbe as easye for vs to turne backe this later sayeng against them, as it shalbe for them to object the

27

Luc. xxi.  
xxii.

28

Gerson  
whiche  
lyued theLuc. xxi.  
xxii.Mat. xvi.  
xxiii.

other



other agaynst vs.

29  
 But I list not to strine with them in playeng the foole. Therefore I  
 retorne thether from whence I made digression. So to bind the place, &  
 Christ, and the Holy ghost, and the Chirch together, that whosoever sit  
 in that place, although he be the deuill, yet he must be iudged the vicar of  
 Christ, and the hed of the Chirche, because it was ones the seate of Pe-  
 ter: I say this is not only wicked & sleuderous to Christe, but also to  
 great an absurditie and against comon reason. It is already long ago  
 sines the bishops of Rome are either without all religion, or the greatest  
 enemies of religion. Therefore they ar no more made y vicars of Christ,  
 by reason of the seate which they occupie, than an idoll, when it is set in  
 the temple of God, is to be taken for God. Now if their maners be to  
 be iudged bypon, lette the Popes them selues answere for them selues:  
 what one thing at al there is in them, wherein they may be knowen for  
 bishops. First wheras there is such life at Rome, they not only wink  
 at it, but also as it were with secret countenance allowyng it, this is vt-  
 terly vnmete for bishops, whoes duetie is with seueritie of discipline to  
 restraine the licentiousnesse of the people. But I wil not be so rigoros  
 against them, to charge them with other mens faultes. But where as  
 they themselues, with their owne household, with almost the whole col-  
 lege of Cardinals; with the whole flocke of their clergie, are so geuen  
 foorth to all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, to all kynds of lewde  
 and mischeuous doings, that they resemble rather monsters than men:  
 therein truely they bewray them selues to be nothing lesse than bishops.  
 And yet they nede not to feare least I shold further disclose their filthi-  
 nesse. For bothe I am wery to haue to doo in so stinkyng myze, and I  
 must fauour chaste eares, and I thinke that I haue already enough and  
 moze proued that which I went about: that is, that although Rome had  
 in olde tyme ben the head of Chirches, yet at this day she is not woorthy  
 to be iudged one of the smallest toes of the Chirches feete.

30  
 As concerning the Cardinals (as they cal them) I can not tell how it  
 is come to passe, y they be so sodeinly risen by to so great dignitie. This  
 name in Gregories time belonged to bishops only. For so oft as he mak-  
 eth mention of Cardinals, he meaneth it not of them of the Chirche  
 of Rome, but of any other: so that brefely, a Cardinal Priest is nothing  
 els but a bishop. In the wryters before that age I finde not this name  
 at all. But I se that they were then lesse than bishops, whom they bee  
 nowe farre aboue. This sayng of Augustine is wel knowen: Although  
 accozding to the names of honoz, which the vse of the Chirch hath alre-  
 dy obtained, bishoprike is greater than priesthode, yet in many thinges  
 Augustine is lesse than Hierom. Here in dede he maketh difference be-  
 twene a priest of y Chirch of Rome & other: but he indifferently setteth  
 them al behind y bishops. And y was so long obserued, that in the Cou-  
 cel at Carthage, whē there wer present two legates of the see of Rome,  
 the one a bishop, y other a priest, y priest was thrust back into y last place  
 But not to folow to old exāples, there remaineth a Coucel holdē vnder  
 Gregorie at Rome, at which y priestes sat in y lowest place, & subscribed  
 seuerally by themselues, as for the Deacons, thei had no place at al in sub-  
 scribing. And truly they had then no office, but to be presēt & vnder y bi-  
 shop at ministring of doctrine and of the sacramēts. Nowe the case is so  
 changed

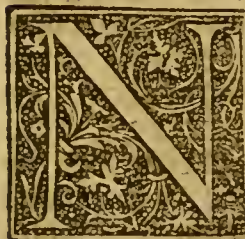


changed, that they are become the consins of kings and Emperours. And it is no doute but that they grewe vp by littell and littell together with their head, till they were aduanced to this hie toppe of dignitie. But this also I thought good to touche shortly by the waie, that the readers might the better vnderstande, that the See of Rome, suche as it is at this day, doeth muche differ from that auncient one, vnder pretense wherof, it doeth nowe maynteine and defende it selfe. But of what sort soeuer they wer in old tyme, forasmuch as they haue now nothing of y<sup>e</sup> true and lawfull office in the Chirche, they reteine onely a deceitfull colour and baine visour: yea forasmuche as they haue all thinges vtterly contrary, it was necessarie that that should happen to them, which Gregorie writeth so oft. I saie it (sayth he) wepyng: I geue warnyng of it, groning: that sith the order of priesthode is fallen within, it shall also not be able to stand long without. But rather it behoued that this shold be fulfilled in them whiche Malachie saith of suche: Ye haue gon backe out of the waie, and haue made many to stumble in the lawe. Therfoze ye haue made boide the couenant of Leui, saith the Lord. Therfoze beholde I haue geuen you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Nowe I leaue it to all the godly to thynke of what sort is that supreme height of the Hierarchie of Rome, wherunto the Papistes with abhominable Hamlessnesse stick not to make subiect the very word of God, whiche ought to haue ben honozable and holy bothe to heauen & earth, men and Angels.

Lib. iiii.  
epist. xxv.  
& lv.  
Lib. v. c.  
pist. vii.  
Mala. ii.  
viii.

### The. viii. Chapter.

Of the power of the Chirche as touchyng the articles of Faith: and with howe vnbridled licētiousnesse it hath in the Papacie ben wrested to corrupt all purenesse of Doctrine.



**N**owe foloweth the thirde place, of the power of the Chirche, whiche partely consisteth in all the bishops, and partly in the Counsels, and those either prouinciall or generall. I speake onely of the spirituall power, whiche is propre to the Chirch. That consisteth either in doctrine, or in iurisdiction, or in makyng of lawes. Doctrine hath two partes; the authozitie to teache articles of Doctrine, and the expoundyng of them. Befoze that we beginne to discourse of euery one of these in specialtie, we will that the godlye readers bee warned, that whatsoeuer is taughte concerning the power of the Chirche, they muste remember to applye to that ende, wherunto (as Paule testifieth) it was geuen: that is, to edification, and not to destruction: whiche who so lawfully vse, they thinke them selues no moze than the ministers of Christ, and therwithall the ministers of the people in Christ. Nowe of the edifyeng of the Chirch, this is the only waie, if the ministers themselues endeuour to preferue to Christ his authozitie, whiche can not othērwise bee safe, vnlesse that be lefte vnto hym, which he receined of his ffather: that is, that he be the only scholemaister of the Chirche. For it is wrytten, not of any other, but of hym alone, Heare hym, The power of the Chirche therfoze is not to be sparingly

ii. Cor. i.  
viii. 3. xiii  
r.

Mat. xvi  
v.

tringly



ringly set forth, but yet to be enclosed within certain boundes, that it be not drawn hether & thether after the lust of men. Herunto it shalbe muche profitable to note, how it is described of the Prophets and Apostles. For if we simply graunt vnto men such power as they list to take vpon them, it is plaine to all men, what a slippery redinesse there is to fall into tyrannie, whiche ought to be farre from the Church of Christ.

2 Therfoze here it must be remembred, that whatsoeuer authoritie or dignitie the holy ghost in the scripture geueth either to the prestes, or to the Prophetes, or to the Apostles, or to the successours of the Apostles, all that same is geuen, not proppely to the men themselues, but to the ministerie ouer which they are appointed, or (to speake it moze plainely in one worde) wherof the ministerie is committed to them. For if wee goe thzough them all in order, we shall not fynde that they had any authoritie to teache or to answer, but in the name and worde of the Lord. For when they are called to the office, it is also enioined them, that they hold bzing nothing of thē selues, but speke out of the mouth of ꝑ Lord. And he himself doeth not bzing them forth to be hearde of the people, befoze that he haue geuē them instructions what they ought to speake, to the entent that they should speake nothyng beside his woord. Moses himselfe, the prince of all the Prophetes, was to be hearde aboue the reste: but he was first instructed with his commaundementes, that he might not declare any thyng at all, but frō the Lord. Therfoze it is said, that the people when thei embraced his doctrine, beleued in God and in his seruant Moses. Also that the authoritie of the prestes shoulde not growe in contempt, it was stablished with most greuous penalties. But therwithal the Lord sheweth vpon what cōdition they wer to be heard, when he saith that he hath made his couenant with Leui, that the law of truthe shoulde be in his mouth. And a little after he addeth: The lips of the priest shall kepe knowledge, and they shall require the law at his mouth: because he is the angell of the God of hostes. Therfoze if the priest will be heard, lette him shewe himselfe the messenger of God: that is, let him faithfully repozt the cōmaundements that he receiued of his authoz. And where it is specially entreated of the hearing of them, this is expzessely set, That they may answer accozdyng to the lawe of God.

3 What maner of power the Prophetes generally had, is very well described in Ezechiell: Thou sonne of man (saith the Lord) I haue geuē thee to be a watchman to the house of Israell. Therefore thou shalt heare the worde out of my mouth, and thou shalt declare it to them frō me. He that is commaunded to heare out of the mouthe of the Lord, is he not forbidden to inuent any thyng of himselfe? But what is to declare from the Lord, but so to speake as he may boldly boast, that it is not his owne, but the Lordes woord that he hath broughte? The selfe same thyng is in Hieremie, in other wordes. Let the Prophet (saith he) with whom is a dreame, tell a dreame: and let him that hath my woord speake my worde true. Certainly he appointeth a law to them all. And that is such, ꝑ he permitteth not any to teach moze than he is cōmanded. And after he calleth it chaffe, all that is not come from himselfe onely.

Therfoze none of the Prophetes them selues opened his mouth, but as Esa. vi. b. the Lord tolde hym the wordes befoze. Wherupon these sayinges are so Job. i. vi. ofte found among thē: the word of the Lord, the burden of the Lord, so sayeth

Exod. iiii. iiii.

Exo. rlii. rxi. Deuter. xvi. ix.

Mal. ii. iiii. et. vi.

Deu. xlii. r.

Ezec. iiii. rbi.

He. rlii. rbi.

Esa. vi. b. Job. i. vi.



sayth the Lord, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken. And worthily. For Esaiæ cryed oute that he had defyled lippes: Jeremie confessed that he coulde not speake, because he was a childe: What coulde procede from y<sup>e</sup> defiled mouth of the one, and the foolish mouthe of the other, but vncleane and vnwise, if they had spoken their owne speche: But his lyps were holy and pure, when they began to be the instruments of the Holy ghost. When the Prophetes are bound with this religion, that they deliuer nothyng, but that which they haue receiued, the they be garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when the Lord testifieth, that he hath set them ouer nations and kyngdomes, to pluck vp and to roote out, to destroy and plucke downe, to builde and to plant, he by and by adioyneth the cause: because he hath put his wordes in theyr mouth.

Nowe if you looke to the Apostles: they are in dede commended with many and notable titles, that they are the light of the worlde, and the salt of the earth, that they are to be heard in stede of Christ, that whatsoever they bynde or lose in earth shalbe bounde or loosed in heauen. But in their very name they shewe howe muche is permitted them in their office: that is, if they be Apostles, that they shoulde not prate whatsoever they list: but shold faithfully report his commaundementes from whom they are sent. And the wordes of Christe are playne enough, in which he hath determined their embassage: when he commaunded them to go & teach al nations, al those thinges that he had commaunded. Yea & he himself also receiued this lawe, and laid it vpon himself, that it shold be lawoful for no man to refuse it. My doctrine (sayth he) is not myne, but his that sent me, my fathers. He that was alway the only and eternall counsellor of the Father, & he that was appointed by the Father the Lord and scholemaister of all men, yet because he executed y<sup>e</sup> ministerie of teaching, prescribed by his owne example to all ministers what rule they ought to folow in teaching. Therfore the power of the Church is not infinite, but subiect to the word of the lord, and as it were enclosed in it.

But sith this hath from the begynnyng ben of force in the Church, & at this day ought to be in force, that the seruantes of God shold teache nothing, whiche they haue not learned of him: yet accordyng to the diuersitie of tymes they had diuers orders of learning. But that order whiche is nowe, muche differeth from those that were before. First if it be true whiche Christe saith, that none hath seene the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom it hath pleased the Sonne to shewe him: it behoued verily that they shoulde be alway directed by that eternal wisdom of the Father, whiche wold come to the knowledge of God. For howe shoulde they either haue comprehended in mynd, or vttered the misteries of God, but by his teaching, to whom alone the secretes of the Father are open: Therfore the holy fathers in old tyme knew God no other wise but beholding him in the Sonne as in a glasse. When I say this, I meane that God did neuer by any other meane disclose hymselfe to man but by the Son, that is, his only wisdom, light, and truthe. Out of this fountaine did Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the other draw all the knowlege y<sup>e</sup> they had of heauenly doctrine. Out of the same fountain haue also al the Prophetes themselues drawe al the heauely Oracles that they vttered. For verily this Wisdom hath alway disclosed it selfe by moe waies than one. To the Patriarches he vsed secrete reue-

Clay. vi.  
v.  
Jerem. l. vi.

Jerem. l. x.

4

Marcell.  
ix.

Joh. vii.  
xvi.

5

Mat. x.  
xvii.

lations



lations: but therewithall to confirme their myndes, he adioyned suche signes, that it coulde not bee doutefull to them, that it was God that spake. The Patriarches conueied ouer from hand to hand to posteritie, that whiche they had receiued. For the Lorde left it with them to this entent, that they should so sprede it abzode. But the children & childrens children, by God secretely informyng them, did knowe that that whiche they heard was from heauen, and not from the earth.

6  
 he willed to haue his worde put in wryting & noted, that the prestes should fetch fro thense what they might deliuer to the people, & that all the doctrine y<sup>e</sup> should be taught should be tried by that rule. Therfore after the publishing of the law, when the prestes are comaunded to teach out of the mouth of the Lorde, y<sup>e</sup> meaning is, that they should teach nothing straunge or differing from that kinde of learning which the Lorde comprehended in the lawe: and to adde and diminishe was vnlawful for them. Then folowed the Prophets, by whom in dede the Lorde published new oracles to be added to the law: but yet not so new, but that they cam out of the law, and had respect vnto it. For, as touchyng doctrine, they were only expositors of the law, and added nothyng vnto it, but prophecies of thyngs to come. Those excepted, they vttered nothyng els but a pure exposition of the lawe. But because it pleased the Lorde that there should be a plainer and larger doctrine, that weake consciences might be the better satisfied: he comaunded that the Prophecies also should be put in wryting, and accompted parte of his worde. And hereunto were added the histories, whiche are also the workes of the Prophets, but made by the endityng of the Holy ghost. I reckon the Psalmes among the Prophecies, because that which we attribute to the prophecies is also comon to the psalmes. Therfore that whole body compacted of the law, prophecies, psalmes & histories, was the word of the Lorde to the olde people, by the rule whereof the prestes and teachers euen vnto Christes tyme were bounde to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawfull for them to swarue either to the right hand or to the left: because all their office was enclosed within these boundes, that they should answer the people out of the mouth of God. Which is gathered of a notable place of Malachie, where he biddeth them to be mindful of the law, & to geue hede to it, eue to the preaching of the Gospell. For therby he forbiddeth them all new found doctrines, and graunteth them no leaue to swarue neuer so little out of the way which Moses had faithfully shewed them. And this is y<sup>e</sup> reason why David so honorably setteth out the excellence of the law, & reherseth so many praises of it: that is, that the Jewes should couete no forein thyng without it, sith within it was all perfection enclosed.

7  
 But when at last the Wisdome of God was openly shewed in y<sup>e</sup> flesh, that same Wisdome with ful mouth declared vnto vs al y<sup>e</sup> euer can with mans wit be comprehended, or ought to be thought cocerning y<sup>e</sup> heuely father. Now therefore, sins Christ y<sup>e</sup> sone of rightounesse hath shined, we haue a perfect brightnesse of y<sup>e</sup> truth of God, such as y<sup>e</sup> clerenesse is wot to be at mid day, when the light was befoze but dimine. For verily the Prophet meant not to speake of any meane thing, whē he wrote y<sup>e</sup> God in old time spake diuersly & many waies to the fathers by the prophets: but y<sup>e</sup> in these last daies he began to speake to vs by his beloued Sonne.



For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God wil not hercafter, as he did befoze, speake somtime by some and sometime by other, noz wil adde Prophecies to Prophecies, oz reuelations to reuelations: but that he hath so fulfilled al the partes of teaching in the Sonne, y they must haue thys of him for the last and eternal testimonie. After whiche sort al this time of the new Testament wherein Christe hath appeared to vs with the preaching of his Gospell euen to the daie of iugement, is expressed by the last houre, the last tynes, the last dayes: to the ende verely that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christe, we should learne neither to fayne vs any new beside it, oz receiue it fained of other. Therfoze not without cause the Father hath by singular prerogative ordeined the Sonne to be our Teacher: commaunding hym, & not any man, to be heard. He did in dede in fewe wordes sette oute hys scholemaistership vnto vs, when he said, heare hym: but in whiche there is moze weight & force than men commonly thynke. For it is as muche in effect, as if leading vs away fro al doctrines of men, he should bring vs to him only, and commaunde vs to loke for al the doctrine of saluation at him alone, to hang vpon him alone, to cleaue to hym alone, finally (as the very wordes do sounde) to harken to the boice of hym alone. And truely what ought there now to be either looked for oz desyzed at y hand of man, when the very worde of lyfe hath familiarly and openly disclosed himselfe vnto vs? Yea but it is mete y the mouthes of al mē be shut; after y he, in whom the heauēly Father willed to haue al the treasures of knowledge and wisdom to be hidden, hath ones spoken; and so spokē as became both the wisdom of God (which is in no part vnperfect) and Messias at whoes hand the reuelation of al thinges is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothing afterwarde for other to be spoken.

Let this therfoze be a stedfast principle: y there is to be had no other worde of God, wherunto place should be geuen in the Chirche, than y which is contained first in the law and the Prophetes, and then in the writings of the Apostles: & that there is no other manner of teaching rightly, but according to the prescription and rule of y word. Hereupon also we gather, that ther was no other thing graunted to y Apostles, but that which y Prophetes had had in olde tyme: that is, that they should expounde the olde Scripture, and shewe that those thinges y are therein taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet y they should not do thesame but of the Lorde, that is to saye, the Spirite of Christe going befoze them, and after a certaine maner enditing wordes vnto them. For Christ limited their embassage w this condition, when he commaunded them to goe and teache, not such thinges as they themselues had rashly forged, but al those thynges that he had commaunded them. And nothing could be moze playnly spokē, thā that which he saith in an other place: but be not ye called maisters for onely one is your maister, Christe. Then, to emprint this moze depely in their minde, he repeteth it twise in thesame place. And because their rudenesse was such, that they could not cōceiue those thynges that they had heard and learned of the mouth of their maister, therfoze the Spirite of trueth is promised them, by whō they should be directed to the true vnderstanding of al thinges. For y same restrayning is to be diligēly noted, where this office is assigned to the Holy ghost, to put them in minde of al those thinges y he befoze taught

Mat. vii. 6.

John. iiii. 22.

8

Mathe. xxviii. 22.

Mat. xxiii. viii.

Job xliii. 22. 23. 24.



them by mouth.

9  
 Therfoze Peter, who was very wel taught how much he might lawfully do, leaueth nothing either to himselfe or other, but to distribute the doctrine deliuered of God. Let him þ̄ speaketh (saith he) speake as the wordes of God, þ̄ is to say, not doutingly, as they are wont to tremble whoes own cōscience misgeueth them, but w̄ sure cōfidēce, wh̄ch becōmeth þ̄ seruāt of God furnished w̄ assured instructiōs. What other thing is this, but to forbidde al inuentions of mans minde, frō what hed soeuer they haue proceeded, that the pure word of God may be heard & learned in þ̄ Chirch of þ̄ faithful: to take away the ordināces or rather the fained deuises of al men, of what degree soeuer they be, that the decrees of God onely may remaine in force: These be those spirituall armures, mighty through God to cast down holdes: by which þ̄ faithful seruātes of God may thzowe down cōsels, & al height that aduanceth it selfe against the knowlege of God, & may leade al knowlege captiue to obey Christ. Loe this is the soueraigne power, wherw̄ it behoueth þ̄ Pastors of the Chirch to be endued, by what name soeuer they be called, that is, that by the worde of God they may w̄ cōfidēce be bolde to do al things: may cōpel al the strēgth, glozy, wisdome & height of the world to yeld & obey to his maiestie: being vpholdē by his power, may cōmaunde al euē frō the hiest to the lowest: may bilde vp the house of Christ & pull down the house of Satā: may fede the shepe & drine awai the wolues: may instruct & exhort the willing to learne: may reprove, rebuke & subdue the rebellious & stubborne: may bind, & loose: finally may thūder & lightē, if nede be: but al things in þ̄ word of God. Howbeit there is, as I haue said, this differēce betwene þ̄ Apostles & their successors, þ̄ the Apostles wer þ̄ certaine & authētike secretaries of the Holy ghost, & therfoze their writings are to be esteemed for the Oracles of God: but the other haue none other office, but to teache þ̄ which is set fourth & writtē in the holy Scriptures. We determine therfoze, þ̄ this is not now left to faythfull ministers, that they may coyne any new doctrine, but that they oughte simply to cleaue to þ̄ doctrine, wherunto þ̄ lord hath made al mē woute exception subiect. Whē I say this, my meaning is not only to shew what is lawful for al particular mē, but also what is lawful for the whole vniuersal Chirch. Now as touching al particular mē: Paul verily was ordeined by þ̄ Lord Apostle to þ̄ Corinthiās: but he denieth þ̄ he hath dominio ouer their faith. Who now dare take a dominion vpon hymselfe, which Paule testifieth þ̄ it belōgeth not to him? If he had acknowledged himselfe to haue this libertie of teachig, þ̄ whatsoeuer þ̄ Pastor teacheth he may therein of right require to be beleued: he wold neuer haue taught the Corinthiās this discipline, þ̄ while twoe or thzee Prophetes speake, þ̄ rest should iudge, & if it were reueled to any þ̄ late, þ̄ first should hold his peace. For so he spared none, whoes authoritie he made not subiect to þ̄ iugemēt of þ̄ word of God. But, wil some mā say, of þ̄ whole vniuersal Chirch þ̄ case is otherwise. I answer þ̄ in an other place Paul meteth w̄ this dout also, where he saith, þ̄ Faith is by hearing, & hearing by þ̄ word of God. Truly if Faith hang of þ̄ word of God only, hath respecte vnto & resteth vpon it alone, what place is there now left to þ̄ worde of the whole world? For herin no mā may dout, þ̄ hath wel knowen what Faith is. For Faith ought to be staied vpo such assurednesse, wherby it may

1. Pe. iii.  
vii.

11. Cor. v.  
iii.

11. Cor. i.  
xiii.

1. Cor. iii.  
viii. xxi.

Rom. v.



may stande inuincible against Satā, & al the engines of the hells, and against þ whole world. This assurednesse we shal no where find but in þ only word of God. Againe, it is a general rule, which we here oughte to haue respect vnto: þ God doth therfoze take frō men the power to set fourth a new doctrine, þ he only may be our scholemaister in heauenly learning, as he only is true which cā neither lye noz deceiue. This rule belongeth no lesse to þ whole Chirch, than to euery one of the faithful.

But if this power of the Chirche, which we haue spoken of, be compared with that power, wherof the spirituall tyzantes, that haue falslye called themselues Bishops and Prelates of religion, haue in certayne ages past boasted themselues among the people of God, the agreemente shalbe no better than Christ hath with Beliall. Yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sorte and with how wicked meanes they haue exercised their tyzanny: I wil but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defende, first with wozitings, and then with sword & fyze. Because they take it for a thyng confessed, that a general Coucell is the true image of the Chirche, when they haue taken this pinciple, they do without dout determine, that such counsels are immediatly gouerned of the Holy ghost, and that therfoze they can not erre. But whereas they themselues do rule, the counsells, yea and make them, they doe in dede chalenge to themselues whatsoeuer they affirme to be due to the Coucells. Therfoze they wil haue our faith to stande and fall at their will; that whatsoeuer they shal determine on the one side or the other, maye be stablished and certayne to our mindes: so that if they allow any thing we must allowe the same without douting: if they condemne any thyng we must also holde it for cōdemned. In the meane time after their oboullust, and despising the woꝝde of God, they coyne doctrines, to which afterwarde they require by thys rule to haue fayth geuen. For they also say that he is no Christian, that doth not certainly consent to all theyz doctrines as wel affirmatiue as negatiue: if not with expessed yet with vnerpessed faith: because it is in the power of the Chirche, to make new articles of the fayth.

First let vs heare by what argumētes they proue þ this authoritie is geuen to the Chirche: and then we shal se how much that maketh for them which they allege of the Chirch. The Chirch (say they) hath notable promises, that it shal neuer be forsakē of Christ her spouse, but that it shalbe guided by his Spirite into al truth. But of the promises which they are wont to allege, many are geuē no lesse to euery one of þ faithful particularly, thā to the whole Chirche vniuersally. For though the Lord spake to the. xii. Apostles, whē he said: Behold I am with you euē to the end of the world: Againe: I wil aske my father, & he shal geue you an other cōfozter, namely the Spirite of truth: yet he made the promise not only to the whole nūber of the. xii. but also to euery one of them: yea to the other disciples likewise, either those þ he had already receined, or those þ should afterwarde be added to them. But whē they expoūde such promises ful of singular cōfozt, as though they were geuē to none of þ Christians, but to the whole Chirche together: what do they ells, but take away frō al Christians that confidence which they all ought to receiue therby to encourage thē: Yet I do not here deny, but þ the whole felowship of the faithful furnished with manifolde diuersitie of gyftes,



is endued with much larger and moze plentifull treasure of the heauenly wisdom, than eche one severally: neither is it my meaning, y<sup>e</sup> thys is so spoken in common to the faithful, as though they were al alike endued with the Spirite of vnderstanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be graunted, to the aduersaries of Christ, y<sup>e</sup> they should for the defense of an euill cause wrest the Scripture to a wrong sense. But, omitting this, I simply cofesse y<sup>e</sup> which is true, y<sup>e</sup> the lord is perpetually present with his, & ruleth them w<sup>th</sup> his Spirite. And y<sup>e</sup> this Spirite is not the Spirite of error, ignorance, y<sup>e</sup>ng or darkenesse: but of sure reuelation, wisdom, trueth, & light, of wh<sup>o</sup> they not deceitfully may learne those thinges that are geue them, that is to say, what is the hope of their calling, & what be the richesse of the glozy of the inheritaunce of God in the saines. But wheras the faythful, euen they that are endued with moze excellent giftes aboue the rest, do in thys fleshe receiue onely the firste frutes & a certainte tast of y<sup>e</sup> Spirite: there remaineth nothing leeuier to them thā knowing their own weakenesse, to hold themselues carefully withi<sup>n</sup> the boundes of the worde of God: least, if they wander farr after their own sense, they by & by stray out of y<sup>e</sup> right waie, in so much as they be yet boide of that Spirite, by whoes only teaching truth is discerned from falshode. For all men do confesse with Paule, that they haue not yet attained to y<sup>e</sup> marke. Therfoze they moze endeuor to daily profiting, than glozy of perfection.

12 But they will take exception, & say y<sup>e</sup> whatsoeuer is particularly attributed to euery one of y<sup>e</sup> holy ones, y<sup>e</sup> same doth throughtly & fully belong to y<sup>e</sup> Chirche it selfe. Although this hath some seming of truth, yet I deny it to be true. God doth in dede so distribute to euery one of y<sup>e</sup> members y<sup>e</sup> giftes of his Spirite by measure, y<sup>e</sup> the whole body wanteth nothing necessarie, whē the giftes are geue in comon. But y<sup>e</sup> richesse of the Chirche are alway such, y<sup>e</sup> there euer wāteth much of y<sup>e</sup> hiest perfection, which our aduersaries do boast of. Yet y<sup>e</sup> Chirche is not therfoze so left destitute in any behalf, but y<sup>e</sup> she alway hath so much as is enough. For the Lord knoweth what her necessitie requireth. But, to holde her vnder humilitie and godly modestie, he geueth her no moze than he knoweth to be expedient. I know what here also they are wont to obiecte, that is, that the Chirche is censed w<sup>th</sup> the washing of water in the worde of life, y<sup>e</sup> it might be without wrinkle and spot, and y<sup>e</sup> therfoze in an other place it is called the pillar and stay of truth. But in the first of these two places is rather taught, what Christ daily worketh in it, than what he hath allredy done. For if he daily sanctifieth, purgeth, pollysheth, wycpeth from spottes all them that be his: truely it is certayne that they are yet besprinkled with some spottes and wrinkles, and that there wanteth somwhat of their sanctificatio. But how bayne and fabulous is it, to iudge the Chirch alredy in enery part holy and spottlesse, wherof all the members are spotty and very vncleane? It is true therfoze that the Chirche is sanctified of Christe. But onely the beginning of that sanctifieng is here seen: but the ende and full accomplishment shall be, when Christe the holiest of holy ones shall truely and fully fill it with his holinesse. It is true also that the spottes and wrinkles of it are wiped awaye: but so that they be daily in wiping awaye, vntill Christe with his comming dooe bitterlye take awaye



all that remaineth. For wlesse we graunt this, we must of necessitie affirme with the Pelagians, that the righteousnesse of the faithfull is perfect in this life: and with the Cathari and Donatistes we muste suffer no infirmitie in the Church. The other place, as we haue ells where seen, hath a sense vtterly differing from that which they pretende. For when Paule hath instructed Timothee, and framed him to the true office of a Bishop, he sayeth y he did it to this purpose, y he should knowe how he ought to behaue himselfe in y Church. And y he should with the greater religiousnesse and endeuoz bend himselfe thereunto, he addeth that the Church is the very pillar & stay of truth. For what ells do these wordes meane, but y the truth of God is preserved in y Church, namely by the ministerie of preaching: As in an other place he teacheth, that Christ gaue Apostles, Pastors and Teachers, that we should no more be caried about with euery winde of doctrine, or be mockt of men: but that being enlightened with the true knowlege of the Sonne of God, we should altogether mete in vnitie of faith. Wheras therfoze the truth is not extinguished in the world, but remayneth safe, y same cometh to passe because it hath the Church a faithful keper of it, by whoes helpe & ministerie it is susteined. But if this keeping standeth in the ministerie of the Prophetes and Apostles, it foloweth y it hangeth wholly herupō, if the word of the Lord be faithfully preserved & doe kepe hys puritie.

Eph. iiii.  
vi.

But that the reder may better vnderstande, vpon what pointe thys question chiefly standeth, I wil in fewe wordes declare what our aduersaries require, and wherin we stande against them. Where they say that the Church can not erre, it tendeth herunto, & thus they expounde it, that forasmuch as it is gouerned by the Spirite of God, it may goe safely without the worde: y whether soeuer it goeth, it can not thinke nor speake any thing but truth: y therfoze if it determine any thing without or beside Gods worde, the same is no otherwise to be esteemed than as a certayne Oracle of God. If we graūt y first point, that the Church can not erre in thinges necessarie to saluation, this is our meaning, that this is therfoze because forsaking al her own wisdom, she suffreth her selfe to be taught of the Holy ghost by the word of God. This therfoze is the difference. They set the authoritie of the Church without the worde of God, but we wil that it be annexed to the worde, and suffer it not to be seuered from it. And what maruel is it, if the spouse and scholar of Christ be subiect to her husbände & scholemaster, y she cōtinually and earnestly hāgeth of his mouth: For this is the order of a wel gouerned house, y the wife should obey the authoritie of the husbände: & thys is y rule of a wel ordered schoole, y the teaching of y scholemaster alone should there be heard. Wherfoze let the Church not be wise of her selfe, not thinke any thing of her selfe: but determine the ende of her wisdom where he hath made an ende of speaking. After thys maner she shall also distruste all the inuentions of her owne reason: but in those thinges wherin it stādeth bpō the word of God, she shall wauer with no distrustfulness or doutyng, but shall reste with great assurednesse and stedfast constancie. So also trusting vpon the largenesse of those promises that she hath, she shall haue whereupon abouāantly to susteine her fayth: that she maye norhyng doute that the best guide of the righte way the holy Spirite is alwaye presente with her: but therewithall she shall kepe in

13



Joh. xvi.  
vii. e. xlii.

Sermo.  
de sanc-  
to & a-  
dorand.  
Spiri.  
Joh. xii.  
l. e. xliii. r

memozie what vse the Lord would haue vs to receiue of his holy Sp<sup>ir</sup>ite. The Spirite (sayth he) which I wil send fro my Father, shal leade you into al truth. But how? because (sayth he) he shal put you in minde of al those thinges that I haue tolde you. Therfore he geueth warning that there is nothing moze to be loked for of his Spirite, but that he should enlighten our mindes to perceiue the truth of his doctrine. Therfore Chrysostome saith excellently well. Many (sayth he) do boaste of the holy Spirite: but they which speake their owne do fally p<sup>re</sup>tende that they haue him. As Ch<sup>ri</sup>st testified that he spake not of himselfe: because he spake out of the law & the Prophetes: so if any thing beside the Gospel be thrust in vnder the title of y<sup>e</sup> Spirite, let vs not beleue it because as Ch<sup>ri</sup>st is the fulfilling of the law & the Prophetes: so is the Spirite, of the Gospel. These be his wordes. Now it is e<sup>asy</sup> to gather, how w<sup>ro</sup>gfully our aduersaries do, which bo<sup>st</sup> of the Holy ghost to no other ende, but to set fourth vnder his name strange and fozeine doctrines from the word of God: wheras he wil w<sup>it</sup>h vn<sup>sp</sup>reakable knott be conioined w<sup>it</sup>h the worde of God, & the same doth Ch<sup>ri</sup>ste p<sup>ro</sup>fesse of him when he p<sup>ro</sup>misseth him to his Ch<sup>ur</sup>ch. So is it truly. What sob<sup>er</sup>ietie y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath ones p<sup>re</sup>scribed to his Ch<sup>ur</sup>ch, y<sup>e</sup> same he wil haue to be perpetually kept. But he hath forbidden her, y<sup>e</sup> she should not adde any thing to his worde, nor take any thing fro it. This is the inuiolable decree of God and of the Holy ghost, whiche our aduersaries goe about to abrogate, when they faine that the Ch<sup>ur</sup>che is ruled of the Spirite without the worde.

14

Joh. xvi.  
vii.

Here againe they murmure against vs, & say that it behoued that the Ch<sup>ur</sup>ch should adde some thinges to y<sup>e</sup> writings of the Apostles, or y<sup>e</sup> they theselues should afterwarde w<sup>it</sup>h liuely voice supply many thinges which they had not clearly enough taught, namely sith Ch<sup>ri</sup>st said vnto them. I haue many thinges to be said to you, which you can not now beare: and y<sup>e</sup> these be the ordina<sup>nces</sup>, which w<sup>it</sup>hout the Scripture haue ben receiued only in vse & maners. But what shamelesse<sup>ness</sup> is this? I graunt the disciples were yet rude, & in a maner vnapt to learne, whē the Lord said this vnto them. But wer they then also holdē w<sup>it</sup>h such dulnesse, whē they did put their doctrine in writing, y<sup>e</sup> they afterward neded to supply with liuely voice y<sup>e</sup> which they had by fault of igno<sup>ra</sup>nce omitted in their writings? But if they were already led by the Spirite of trueth into al trueth whē they did set fourth their writings: what hindred y<sup>e</sup> thei haue not therein contained & left w<sup>ri</sup>tten a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Gos<sup>pel</sup>? But goe to: let vs graunt them that which they require. Only let them point out what be those thinges y<sup>e</sup> it behoued to be reueled without writing. If they dare enterpise that, I wil assaile them with Augustines wordes: that is, When the Lord hath saied nothing of thein, which of vs dare say, these they be or those they be: or if any dare say so, wherby doeth he p<sup>ro</sup>ue it? But why do I str<sup>ive</sup> about a superfluous mater? For a very childe doeth knowe, that in the writings of the Apostles, which these men do make in a maner lame and but half perfecte, there is the frute of that reuelation which the Lord did then promise them.

Hom. in  
Ioh. xcvi

15  
Mat xviii  
vii.

What? say they, did not Ch<sup>ri</sup>st put out of controuersy what soeuer the Ch<sup>ur</sup>che teacheth & decreeth, when he comaundeth him to be taken for a heathen man and a Publicane that dare saye against her? Fir<sup>st</sup>e in that



shalbe made afraide. Againe, The law shall perishe from the prest, and counsell from the Elders. Againe, Night shall be to you in steede of a vision, and darknesse in steede of prophēcieng: & the sunne shall fall downe vpon the Prophetes, and be darkened vpon these daies. &c. Well: if all suche had then ben gathered together in one, what Spirit should haue gouerned in that assemblie: of that thyng we haue a notable example in that Councel which Achab called together. Ther were present fowert hundred Prophetes. But, because they were come together of no other mynde but to flatter the wicked kyng: therfore Satan was sent of the Lorde to be a lying spirite in the mouth of them all. There by all their boices the truthe was condemned, Micha was condemned for an heretike, stricken and cast in prison. So was done to Hieremie, so to the other Prophetes.

But let one example suffice for all, whiche is moze notable then the rest. In that Councell which the Bishops and Pharisees gathered at Hierusalem against Christ, what can a man say that there wanted, in so muche as pertained to the outward shewe: For if there had not then ben a Chirch at Hierusalem, Christ would neuer haue communicate with their sacrifices and other ceremonies. There was made a solemne summoning of them together: the hie Bishop sat as chief: the whole order of prestes sate by hym: yet Christ was there condemned, and his doctrine driuen away. This doynge is a profe that the Chirche was not enclosed in that Councell. But there is no perill that any such thyng should happen to vs. Who hath geue vs assurāce therof: For it is not without fault of sluggishnesse, to be to carelesse in so great a mater. But wher the Holy ghost doeth with expresse wordes prophēcie by the mouth of Paule, that there shall come a departynge (which can not come but that the Pastors must be the first that shall forsake God) why are we her in wilfully blynde to our owne destruction: Wherfore it is in no wise to be graunted, that the Chirch consisteth in the companie of Pastors, for whom the Lorde hath no where vnder taken that they shall perpetually bee good, but he hath pronounced that they shall sometime be euill. But when he warneth vs of the daunger, he doeth it to this entente to make vs the waret.

What then wilt thou saye: Shall the Councells haue no authoritie in determinyng: Yes forsoothe. For neither doo I here argue that all Councells are to be condemned, or all their actes to be repelled, or (as the saying is) to be defaced with one blotte. But (thou wilt say to me) thou bynngest them all into subiection, that it maye bee free for euery man to receiue or refuse that whiche the Councells haue determined. Not so. But so oft as the decree of any Councel is brought forth, I would haue it first to be diligently weyed, at what tyme it was holden, for what cause it was holden, what maner of men were present: and then the very thyng that is entreated of, to be examined by the rule of the Scripture: and that in suche sorte as the determination of the Councell may haue his force, and be as a foreiudged sentence, and yet not hinder the aforesaid examination. I wold to God all men did kepe that moderation which Augustine prescribeth in the third boke against Maximinus. For when he myndes brefely to put to silence this heretike contendyng about the Decrees of Councells: Neither (sayeth he)

Eze. vii.  
rrvi.  
Mich. iii.  
vi.i. Km. rrv  
b. r. rrv.Joh. vi.  
rlvi.ii. Thet.  
ii. iii.

S

ought



ought I to object against thee the Synode of Nice, nor thou against me the Synode of Ariminum, as to the entent to conclude one an other by foreiudged sentēce, neither am I bound by the authoritie of the one, nor thou of the other. By authorities of Scriptures, not such as are propre to either one, but suche as are common to both, let there strīue mater w mater, cause with cause, reason with reason. So should it come to passe, that Coucels should haue the maicstie that they ought: but in the meane season the Scripture should be alone in the hier place, that there might be nothing that should not be subiect to the rule therof. So these old Synods, as of Nice, of Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and such other, which were holdē for confutyring of errozs, we willyngly embrace and reuerēce as holy, so much as belongeth to the doctrines of faith: for they conteine nothyng but the pure and naturall exposition of Scripture, whiche the holy fathers with spirituall wisdome applied to the subduyng of the enemies of religion that then rose by. In some of the later Councils also, we se to appete a true zeale of godlinesse, and plaine tokens of witt, learning, and wisdom. But as thinges ar wonte commonly to growe to woꝛse, we maye se by the later Councils, howe muche the Chirch hath nowe and then degenerate from the purenesse of that golden age. And I doute not but that in these cozrupter ages also, Councils haue had some Bishoppes of the better sorte. But in these the same happened which the Senators themselues complained to be not well doone in makyng of ozdinancez of the senate at Rome. For while the sentences are numbred, not weyed, it is of necessitie that oftētimes the better part is ouercom of the greater. Truly they bzought forth many wicked sentences. Neither is it here nedefull to gather the speciall examples, either because it should be to long, or because other haue doon it so diligently that there can not muche be added.

9

Now, what nede I to reherse Councils disagreying with Councils? And it is no cause that any should murmure against me, and say, that of those Councils that disagree the one is not lawfull. For, howe shall we iudge that? By this, if I be not deceiued, that we shall iudge by the Scriptures, that the decrees thereof are not agreable with true doctrine. For this is the onely certaine law to discern them by. It is now about nine hundred yeares agoe, sīng the Synode of Constantinople gathered together vnder Leo the Emperour, iudged that images sette by in Chirches should be ouerthrowen, and broken in pierces. A lyttell afterward, the Council of Nice, which Irene the Emperesse assembled in spite of him, decreed that they should be restozed. Whether of these two shall we acknowledge for a lawfull Counsell? The later which gaue images a place in Chirches, hath preuailed among the people. But Augustine saith that that can not be doone without moſte present perill of idolatrie. Epiphanius whiche was befoze in tyme, speaketh much moze sharply: for he saith that it is wickednesse & abhominacion to haue images seen in a Chirche of Christians. Would they that so speake, allowe that Council, if they were alīue at this day? But if bothe the hystorians tell truth, and the very actes be beleued, not only images them selues, but also the worshipping of them was there receiued. But it is euident that suche a decree came from Satan. How say you to this, that in deprauing and tearing the Scripture, they shew that they made a mock-  
king



king stocke of it? Whiche thyng I haue befoze sufficiently made open. Howsoeuer it be, we shall no otherwise be able to discern betwene contrarye and disagreying Synodes, whiche were many, vnlesse we trie them all by that balance of all men and angels, that is, by the worde of the Lord. So we embrace the Synode of Chalcedon, refusyng the seconde Synode of Ephesus, because in this latter one the wickednesse of Eutyches was confirmed, which the other former condemned. This thing holy me haue iudged none otherwise but by the Scripture; whom we so folowe in iudgyng: that the woorde of God which gaue light to them doeth also nowe geue light to vs. Nowe let the Romanistes goe and boast, as they are wont, that the Holy ghost is fastned and bound to their Councells.

Howbeit there is also somewhat which a man may well thinke to be wantyng in those auncient and purer Councells: either because thei that then were at them, beyng otherwise learned and wise men, wholly bent to the businesse then in hande, did not foresee many other thyngs; or for that many thynges of lighter impoortance escaped them beeyng busied with weightier and moze earnest maters: or for that simply, as beeyng menne they myghte be deceiued with vnskillfulnesse: or for that they were sometyne caried headlong with to muche affection. Of this laste point (whiche semeth the hardest of all) there was a plaine example in the Nicene Synode; the dignitie whereof hath by consent of all men, as it was worthy, ben receiued with most hie reuerence. For when the principall article of our faith was there in daunger, Arrius the enemye was present in redinesse, with whom they must fyght hande to hande, and the chief impoortance lay in the agrement of them that came prepared to fight againste the erroze of Arrius, this not withstandyng, they carelesse of so great dangers, yea as it were hauyng forgotten grauities, modestie & all humanitie, leauyng the battel that they had in hand, as if they had com thether of purpose to do Arrius a pleasure, began to wound themselves with inward dissentions, and to tourne against themselves the stile that should haue ben bent against Arrius. There were hearde sowl obiectyngs of crimes, there were scattered bookes of accusations, and there would haue ben no ehde made of contentions, vntill they had with mutuall woundes one destroyed an other, vnlesse the Emperoz Constantine had pueneted it, which professyng that the examinyng of their life was a mater aboue his knowledge, and chastised suche intemperance rather with praise than with rebukyng. How many waies is it credible that the other Councells also failed, whiche folowed afterward? Neither doeth this mater nede long profe. For if a man reade ouer the actes of the Councells, he shall note therein many infirmities: though I speake of nothyng moze greuous.

And Leo bishop of Rome sticketh not to charge with ambition and vnadvised rashnesse, the Synode of Chalcedon, which yet he confesseth to be sounde in doctrines. He doeth in dede not denie that it was a lawfull Synode: but he openly affirmeth, that it might erre. Some man peraduenture will thinke me fonde, for that I busy my selfe in shewyng suche errozes: forasmuche as our aduersaries do confesse, that Councells may erre in those thyngs that ar not necessary to saluation. But this laboz is not yet superfluous. For althoughe because they are compelled,



they do in dede confesse it in worde: yet when they thrust vnto vs the determination of al councels in euery mater whatsoeuer it be, for an orac- cle of the Holy ghost, they do therein require moze than they take at the beginnyng. In so doing what do they affirme, but that Councels can not erre: or if they erre, yet it is not lawfull for vs to see the truth, or not to soothe their errors: And I intend nothyng ells, but that it may ther- by be gathered that the Holy ghost so governed the godly and holy Syn- nodes, that in the mean tyme he suffred somewhat to happen to them by the nature of men, lest we should to muche trust to men. This is a muche better sentence, than that of Gregorie Nazianzene, that he neuer sawe a good end of any Council. For he that affirmeth that al without excep- tion ended ill, doth not leaue them much authoritie. It is now nothyng nedefull to make mention severally of prouinciall Councils: forasmu- che as it is easy to iudge by the general, how much authoritie they ought to haue to make newe articles of faith and to receiue what kynde of doctrine soener it pleaseth them.

12  
But our Romanistes, when they see that in defence of their cause all helpe of reason doth faile them; do resort to that extreme and miserable shift: that although the men themselues be blockishe in wit and counsell, and molte wicked: in mynde and will; yet the word of God remaineth, whiche comaundeth to obey Rulers. Is it so: what if I denie that they be rulers that are such: for they ought to take vpon themselues, no moze than Iosua had, which was bothe a Prophet of the Lord & an excellent pastoz. But let vs heare with what wordes he is set by the Lorde into his office. Let not (saith he) the volume of this lawe depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt studie vpon it daies & nights. Thou shalt neither bow to y<sup>e</sup> right hand nor to y<sup>e</sup> left: then shalt y<sup>e</sup> direct thy way & vnderstand it. They therfore shall be to vs spiritual rulers which shall not bowe fro y<sup>e</sup> law of the Lord, neither to the one side nor to the other. But if the doc- trine of al pastozs whatsoeuer they be, is to be receiued wout any dou- ting, to what purpose was it y<sup>e</sup> we should so oft & so earnestly be admoni- shed not to harken to the speche of false prophets. Heare not (saith he by Hieremie) the words of the prophets y<sup>e</sup> prophecie to you. For they teach you vanitie, & not out of the mouth of the Lord. Again, Beware you of false prophets, that come vnto you in shepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening wolues. And John should in vaine exhort vs, that we should proue the Spirits, whether they be of God. From which iudgement the very Angels are not exēpted, much lesse Satan with all his lyes. What is to be said of this saying: if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch: Doth it not sufficiently declare, that it is of great impoz- sance what maner of prophets be heard, and that not all are rashely to be heard: Wherfore there is no reason that they should make vs afraid with their titles, therby to draw vs into partakynge of their blyndnesse: forasmuche as we see on the other side, that the Lorde hadde a singular care to fray vs away from suffring our selues to be led with other mens erroz, vnder what viloz of name soener it lurketh. For if the answer of Christ be true, then al blynd guides, whether they be called fathers of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, or prelates, or bishops, can do nothing but draw their partners into the same headlong downfall. Wherfore let no names of Councils, Pastozs; Bishops, (which may as well be falsely pretended as truly  
bled,

of. i. bii.

Dc. xliii.

vbi.

Dat. bii.

rb.

i. John.

iii. i.

Dat. xv. r



used hinder vs, but that beyng taught by lessons both of words and ex-  
amples, we may examine all spirites of all men by the rule of the word  
of God, that we may proue whether they be of God or no.

Forasmuche as we haue proued that there is not geuen to the Church  
a power to set bp a newe doctrine, now let vs speake of the power whi-  
che they attribute vnto it in expounding of Scripture. Truly we doo  
willingly graunt, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there  
is no better nor surer remedy than if a Synode of true bishops assem-  
ble together, where the doctrine in controuersie maie be discuffed. For  
such a determination, wherunto the Pastors of Churches shall agree  
in common together, calling vpon the Spirite of Christ, shall haue mu-  
che greater force, than if euery one seuerally should conceine it at home,  
& so teach it to the people, or if a few priuate men should make it. Again,  
when bishops are gathered together in one, they doo the more comodi-  
ously take aduise in comon, what & in what forme they ought to teach,  
least diuersitie should breede offence. Thirdely Paule prescribeth this or-  
der in discerning of doctrines: For whereas he geueth to euery seuerall  
Church a power to discern, he sheweth what is the order of doying in  
weightier causes: that is, that the Churches should take vpon them a com-  
mon tryall of the mater together. And so doth the very feeling of godli-  
nesse instructe vs, that if any man trouble the Church with an vnwou-  
ted doctrine, & the mater procede so farre that there be peril of greater  
dissention, the Churches should first mete together, and examine the que-  
stion propounded, at last, after iuste discussing had, bying forth a de-  
termination taken out of the Scripture, suche as may both take away  
doutyng out of the people, and stoppe the mouthes of wicked and greedy  
men, that they may not bee so hardy to procede any further. So when  
Atrius was risen, the Nicene Synode was gathered together, whiche  
with the authoritie therof bothe did breake the wicked endeouors of the  
vngodly man, and restozed peace to the Churches, whiche he had be-  
red, and defended the eternall godhead of Christ, againste his blasphemous  
doctrine. When afterward Eunonius and Macedonius stirred  
bp new troubles, their madnesse was resisted with like remedie by the  
Synode of Constantinople. In the Councel at Ephesus the wickednesse  
of Nestorius was banished. Finally this hath ben from the beginning  
the ordinarie meane in the Church to preserue vnitie, so ofte as Satan  
began to worke any thynge. But let vs remembre, that not in all ages or  
in all places are founde Athanasies, Basiles, Cyrilles, and suche de-  
fenders of true doctrine whom the Lord then rapted bp. But lette vs  
thinke what happened at Ephesus in the second Synode, where the he-  
resie of Eutyches preuailed, the man of holy memozy Flavianus was  
banished with certain other godly men, and many suche mischeues com-  
mitted: euen because Dioscorus a seditious man and of a very naghlye  
nature, was there the chief, and not the Spirite of the Lord. But there  
was not the Church. I graunt. For this I determine vtterly that the  
truthe doeth not therfoze die in the Church, although it be oppzessed of  
one Councell: but that the Lord mercifulously preserueth it, that it maye  
agayne in due tyme ryse vp, and get the ouerhande. But I denie that  
this is perpetuall, that that is a true and certaine exposition of Scrip-  
ture which hath ben receiued by consentes of a Councell,

1. Corin.  
xiii. rxiij.



But the Romanists choote at an other mark, whē they teach that the power to expound the Scripture belongeth to the Councils, yea & that without appellation from them. For they abuse this colour, to call it an exposition of the Scripture what soeuer is decreed in the Councils. Of purgatorie, of the intercession of Saintes, of auricular confession, and such other, there can not be founde one sillable in the Scriptures. But because all these thynges haue been stablished by the authoritie of the Church, that is to say (to speake truly) received in opinion and vse, therefore euery one of them muste bee taken for an exposition of Scripture. And not that only: But if a Council decree any thyng, though Scripture crie out against it, yet it shall beare the name of an exposition thereof. Christ commaundeth all to drynke of the Cuppe, which he reacheth in the Supper. The Council of Constance forbade, that it should not bee geuen to the laie people, but willed that the preste onely should drinke of it. That which so directly fighteth againste the institution of Christe, they will haue to be taken for an exposition of it. Paule calleth the forbidding of mariage, the hypocrisse of deuels: and the Holy ghost in an other place pronounceth, that mariage is in all men holy and honozable. Where as they haue afterwarde forbidden prestes to marry, they require to haue that takē for the true and naturall exposition of the Scripture, when nothing can be imagitted moze against it: If any daie ones open his mouth to the contrary, he shall be iudged an heretike: because the determination of the Church is without appellation: and to doute of her exposition, that it is not true, is a haynous offence. Why hold I inuene against so great shamelesnes: For the very shewing of it is an ouercomyng of it. As for that whiche they teache of the power to allowe the Scripture, I wittingly passe it ouer. For in such sort to make the Oracles of God subiect to the iudgement of men, that they should therefore be of force because they haue pleased men, is a blasphemie vnwoorthy to be reherfed: and I haue before touched the same matter already. Yet I will aske them one thyng: If the authoritie of the Scripture be founded vpon the allowance of the Church, what Councils decree will they alledge of that matter: I thynke they haue none. Why then did Arrius suffer himselfe to be ouetcome at Nice with testimonies brought out of the Gospell of John: For after these mens sayeng, it was free for hym to haue refused them, forasmuche as there had no allowance of a generall Council gone before. They alledge the olde rolle, whiche is called the Canon, whiche they say to haue proceeded from the iudgement of the Church. But I aske them againe, in what Council that Canon was set forth. Here they must nedes be dumme. Howbeit I desire further to knowe, what maner of canon they thynke that was. For I se that the same was not very certainly agreed among the olde wryters. And if that which Hierome saith ought to be of force, the bookes of Machabees, Tobie, Ecclesiasticus and such other shall be thrust among the Apocrypha: which those Canons doo in no wise suffer to bee doone.



## The. r. Chapter.

Of the power in making of lawes: wherin the Pope and his  
haue vsed a moste cruell tyzanny and butcherie vpon soules.

**N**ow foloweth the second part, which they wil haue to consist  
in making of lawes, oute of whiche spryng haue flowed innu-  
merable traditions of men, euen so many snares to strangle  
pooze soules. For they haue had no moze conscience, than had  
the Scribes and Pharisees, to lay burdens vpon other mens Holders,  
which they themselues would not touche with one finger. I haue in an  
other place taught how cruel a butcherie is that whiche they commaunde  
concerning auricular confession. In other lawes there appeareth not so  
great violence: but those which seme the most tolerable of all, doe tyran-  
nously oppresse consciences. I leaue vnspoken how they corrupt y<sup>e</sup> wor-  
ship of God, & do spoile God hymselfe of hys righte, which is the onely  
lawmaker. This power is now to be entreated of, whether the Chirch  
may bind cōsciēces w<sup>th</sup> her lawes. In which discourse the order of poli-  
tie is not touched, but this only is intēded, y<sup>e</sup> God be rightly worshipped  
accozding to the rule which hymselfe hath prescribed, and y<sup>e</sup> the spirituall  
libertie, which hath regarde vnto God, may remayne safe vnto vs. We  
hath made y<sup>e</sup> al those decrees be called traditions of men, whatsoeuer  
they be y<sup>e</sup> haue concerning the worship of God proceeded frō men beside  
hys worde. Against these do we striue, not against the holy & profitable  
ordināces of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch which make for y<sup>e</sup> preferuatiō either of discipline  
oz honestie oz peace. But y<sup>e</sup> ende of our striuing is, that y<sup>e</sup> immeasura-  
ble & barbarous Empire may be restrained, which they vsurpe vppon  
soules, that would be cōpted pastozs of the Chirch, but in verry dede are  
most cruel butchers. For they say that the lawes whiche they make are  
spiritual, & pertainyng to the soule, & they affirme them to be necessarie  
to eternal life. But so (as I euen now touched) the kingdome of Christ  
is innaded, so the libertie by him geuē to the cōsciēces of the faithfull is  
bitterly oppressed & thzowen abrode. I speake not now with howe great  
vngodlynesse they stabllysh the obseruyng of their lawes; while out of it  
they teache men to seke both forgeuēnesse of synnes, & righteousnesse, &  
saluatiō, while they set in it the whole summe of religio and godlynesse.  
This one thyng I earnestly holde, y<sup>e</sup> there ought no necessitie to be lai-  
ed vpon cōsciēces in those thinges wherin they are made free by Christ;  
and vnlesse they be made free, as we haue befoze taught, they cā not rest  
w<sup>th</sup> God. They must acknowledge one only king Christ their deliuerer, &  
be gouerned by one law of libertie, euen y<sup>e</sup> holy word of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, if they  
wil kepe stil the grace which they haue ones obteyned in Christe: they  
must be holden with no bondage, and bounde with no bondes.

These Solons do in dede faine that their constitutions are lawes of  
libertie, a swete yoke, a light burden: but who can not se that they be  
mere lyes: They themselues in dede do fele no heauinesse of their owne  
lawes, which casting away the feate of God, doe carelesly and stoutly  
neglecte both their owne and Gods lawes. But they that are touched  
wyth any care of their saluation, are farr from thynking themselues  
free so long as they be entangled with these snares. We se with howe



*Coz. vii.*  
*xx.* greate warenesse Paule did deale in this behalfe, that he durste not so much as in any one thing laye vpon men any snare at al. and that not without cause. Cruely he foresaw with how great a wounde consciences should be stricken, if they should be charged w a necessitie of those things wherof the Lord had left them libertie. On y other side y constitutions are almost innumerable, which these me haue most greuouly stablished with thzetening of eternal death, which they most seuerely require as necessarie to saluatiō. And among those there are many most hard to be kept, but al of them (if y whole multitude of them be layed together) are impossible: so great is the heape. How thē shal it be possible, y they vpo whō so great a weight of difficultie lyeth, shold not be vexed in perplexitie w extreme anguish and terroz? Therfoze my purpose is here to impugne such cōstitutions, as tend to thys ende, inwardly to bind soules befoze God, and charge them with a religion, as though they taughte them of thinges necessary to saluation.

*3*  
*Ro. xiii.* This question doth therfoze encōber y most part of mē, because they do not suttelly enough put difference betwene y outward court (as thei cal it) & the court of cōscience. Mozeouer thys encrease th y difficultie, y Paul teacheth y the Magistrate ought to be obeyed, not only foz feare of punishmēt, but foz cōsciences sake. Whereupon foloweth, y cōsciences are also bounde w the politike lawes. But if it were so, thē al should fall that we haue spokē in y last chap. and entende now to speake cōcerning the spiritual gouernement. Foz y loosing of thys knot, first it is good to learne what is Cōscience. The definition is to be gathered of y proper deriuatiō of y woꝝd. Foz, as whē mē do w minde & vnderstanding conceiue the knowlege of things, they are therby sayd scire to know, wherupon is deriued y name of science knowlege: so when they haue a feling of Gods iugement as a witnesse adioined w them, which doth not suffer them to hide their sines, but y they be bzought accused to y iudgemēt seate of God, y same feling is called Cōsciēce. Foz it is a certayne meane betwene God & mā: because it suffreth not mā to supprelle that which he knoweth, but pursueth him so far til it bzing him to guiltinesse.

*Ro. ii. xv.* This is it y Paule meaneth whē he teacheth y Cōsciēce doth together witnesse w mē, whē theyz thoughtes do accuse oz acquite them in the iugemēt of God. A simple knowlege might remaine in mā as enclosed. Therfoze thys feling which presenteth mā to y iugemēt of God, is as it were a keper ioyned to mā, to marke & watch al his secretes, y nothing should remaine buryed in darkenesse. Whereupō also cometh y old pro-  
*i. Pet. iii.*  
*xxi.* uerbe, Cōsciēce is a thousand witnesses. Foz y same resō also Peter hath set the examinatio of a good cōscience, foz quietnesse of mynde, whē we being perswaded of the grace of Chryste, doe without feare present our selues to God. And the authoz of the Epistle to y Hebzues, vbleth these woꝝdes, to haue no moze cōscience of synne, in stede of to be deliuered oz acquitted, that synne may no moze accuse vs.

*4*  
*ii. Tim. i.*  
*5.* Therfoze as woꝝkes haue respect to mē, so y cōscience is referred to God: so y Cōscience is nothyng els but the inwarde purenesse of y hart. In which sense Paule writeth y Charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe, out of a pure cōscience, and Fayth not fayned. Afterwarde also in the same chap. he sheweth, how much it differeth from vnderstanding, sayeng that some had suffered shipwoꝝcke from the fayth, because they had  
fozsaiken



fozlake good Cōscience. For in these wordes he signifieth, ȳ it is a lue-  
ly affectiō to worshop God, & a sincere desire to liue Godlily and holily.  
Somtime in dede it is referred also to men, as in Luke, when ȳ same  
Paul testifieth, ȳ he endeouored himselfe ȳ he mighte walke w̄ a good  
cōscience toward God & men. But this was therfoze saied, because the  
frutes of good cōscience do flowe, & come euen to mē. But in speakyng  
properly, it hath respect to God only, as I haue alre dy said. Hereupon  
cometh ȳ a law is saied to binde cōscience, which simply bindeth a man,  
without regarde of mē, oz not hauing any cōsideration of them. As for  
exāple. God comaundeth not only to kepe the minde chaste & pure from  
al lust, but also forbiddeth al maner of filthinesse of wordes & outward  
wantōnesse whatsoeuer it be. To ȳ keping of this lawe my cōscience is  
subiect, although there liued not one man in the world. So he that be-  
haueth himselfe intēperantly, doeth not only synne in thys ȳ he geueth  
euil exāple to his bꝛethzen, but he hath his cōscience bounde with gilty-  
nesse befoze God. In thinges ȳ are of themselues meane, there is an  
other cōsideratiō. For we ought to absteyne frō them, if they brede any  
offēse, but ȳ cōscience stil being free. So Paule speaketh of fleshe conse-  
crate to idols. If any (sayth he) make dout, touch it not, for consciences  
sake: I say for cōsciēce, not thine own, but ȳ others. A faithful mā shold  
sinne, which being first warned should neuerthelesse eate of such fleshe.  
But howsoeuer in respect of his bꝛother, it be necessarie for him to ab-  
steyne, as it is prescribed of God, yet he celseth not to kepe still ȳ libertie  
of cōscience. We see how this law bynding the outward worke, leaueth  
the conscience vnbounde.

Now let vs retorne to ȳ lawes of mē. If they be made to this end, to  
charge vs w̄ a religiō, as though ȳ obseruing of them wer of it selfe ne-  
cessarie, thē we say ȳ that is layed vpo cōscience which was not lawfull  
to be laied vpo it. For our consciēces haue not to doe w̄ mē, but w̄ God  
only: whereunto pertaineth ȳ comō differēce betwene ȳ earthly court &  
the court of cōscience. Whē ȳ whole world was wꝛapped in a most thicke  
mist of ignozāce, yet this smal sparckle of light remained, ȳ they acknow-  
leged a mans cōscience to be aboue al iugemētes of mē. Howbeit ȳ same  
thing ȳ they did w̄ one worde cōfesse, they did afterwarde in dede ouer-  
throwe: yet it was Gods wil ȳ there shold thē also remaine some testi-  
monie of Christiā libertie, which might deliuer cōsciēces from the ty-  
ranny of mē. But ȳ difficultie is not yet dissolued, which ariseth out of ȳ  
wordes of Paule. For if we must obeye Princes not onely for penalties  
sake, but also for cōsciēce, it semeth thereupō to folowe ȳ Princes lawes  
haue also dominio ouer cōsciēce. If this be true, thē thesame also ought  
to be saied of ȳ lawes of ȳ Church. I answer ȳ first here we must put a  
differēce betwene ȳ generaltie & ȳ specialtie. For though all speciallawes  
do not touch ȳ cōsciēce, yet we are bounde by ȳ general comaundemēt of  
god, which comēdeth vnto vs ȳ authozitie of magistrates. And vpo this  
point stādeth ȳ disputatiō of Paul, ȳ magistrates are to be honozed be-  
cause they ar ordeined of god. In ȳ meane time he teacheth not ȳ those  
lawes ȳ are prescribed by thē, do belong to ȳ inward gouernemēt of the  
soule: wheras he eche where extollet both ȳ worshipping of God & the  
spiritual rule of liuig righteously, aboue al ȳ ordināces of mē whatsoe-  
uer they be. An other thig also is woꝛthy to be noted, (which yet hāgeth  
vpon

Act. xliiii  
vbi.i. Cor. x.  
xviii.

5

Ro. xliiii.



woꝛshippinges in the Chirche were condemned, and are so much moꝛe suspicious to the faithfull as they moꝛe delite the witt of man : because he knewe that that fained image of outwarde humilitie doeth so muche differ frō true humilitie, as it might easily be discerned : finally because he knewe that that childish introduction was no moꝛe esteemed than an exercise of the body: therfoꝛe he willed that the very same things should be to the faithfull in steede of a cōfutation of mens traditions, by fauoz of which they were commended among the ignozant.

12

So at this day not only the vnlearned cōmon people, but euery man as he is most puffed bp with woꝛldli wisdom, so is he most maruelously delited with beholding of Ceremonies. But hipocrites and foolish woꝛmen thinke that there can be nothing deuised moꝛe glozious noꝛ better. But they which do moꝛe depely searche, & moꝛe truely weye according to the rule of godlinesse, of what value so many & such Ceremonies are, do vnderstande, first that they are trifles, because they haue no profite: then, that they are deceites, because they do with vaine pompe beguile the eyes of the beholders. I speake of those Ceremonies, vnder which y Romish maisters will that there be great misteries: but we finde them by experience to be nothing ells but mere mockeries. And it is no maruell that the authozs of them haue fallen so far as to mocke both themselves and other with trifling follies: because they partly toke their examplar out of the dotages of the Gentiles, and partly after the maner of apes did vndiscretely cōterfaite the olde vsages of the law of Moses, which no moꝛe pertained to vs than the Sacrifices of beastes and such other thinges. Cruely although there were none other argument, yet no man y hath his soude witt wil loke for any goodnesse of a heape so ill patched together. And the thing it selfe plainly sheweth, that many Ceremonies haue no other vse but to amase the people rather than to teache them. So in these new founde Canons, y doe rather peruerete than pꝛeserue discipline, the hipocrites repose great importāce : but if a man do better loke into them, he shall finde that they are nothing ells but a shadowish and vanishing shew of discipline.

13

ad Ian.  
Episto.  
xix.

But now (to come to the other point) who doth not see that traditions with heaping one vpon an other, are ouergrown into so great a number, that the Christian Chirche may in no wise beare them: Hereby it is come to passe, that in Ceremonies there appeareth I wote not what Jewishnesse, and the other obseruations bzing a greuous butcherie to Christian soules. Augustine complained that in his time, the commaūdementes of God neglected, al thinges were ful of so many pꝛesumptiōns, that he was moꝛe greuously rebuked that in his bras had touched the grounde with bare foote, thā he y had buried his witt with dronkenesse. He complained that the Chirche, whiche the mercy of God willed to be free, was so burdened, that the state of the Jewes was much moꝛe tolerable. If that holy man had happened to liue in our age, with what complaintes would he haue bewailed the bōdage that now is: For both the number is ten times greater, & euery small tittle is a hūdzred times moꝛe rigerously looked vnto, than at that tyme. So is wont to be done: when these peruerse lawmakers haue gotten the dominion, they make no ende of bidding and forbidding, til they come to extreme peuisnesse. Which thing Paule hath also very well declared in these woꝛdes: If ye  
be



be dead to the world, why are ye holden as though ye were liuyng, with traditions, as eate not, taste not, handle not: For where as the Greeke woorde *aprekhai*, signifieth bothe to eate and to touche, doubtlesse in this place it is taken in the first of these two significatiōs, least there shold be a superfluous repetition. Therfoze he doth here excellently wel describe the procedynges of the false Apostles. They beginne at superstition, so that they doo not only forbid to eate, but also euen slenderly to chaw: when they haue obtained this, they then also forbid to tast. When this is also graunted them, they recken it not lawfull so muche as to touch with a finger.

This tyrannie in the ordinances of men we doo at this daye worthisly blame, by which it is come to passe that pooze consciences are mercifulously tormented with innumerable decrees & immeasurable exacting of keping them. Of canōs pertainyng to discipline we haue spoken in another place. Of the Ceremonies what shal I say, by which it is brought about that, Christ beyng halfe buried, we are returned to Jewish figures: Our Lorde Christ (saieyth Augustine) hath bound together the feulowship of the newe people, with Sacramentes very fewe in number, most excellent in signification, mooste easy in obseruyng. Howe farre the multitude & diuersitie of vsages wherewith at this daye we see the Chirche to be entangled, doeth differ from this simplicitie, it can not be sufficiently declared. I knowe with what crafty wisse some suttile men doo excuse this pueruersion. They say that among vs there are manye as rude as they were in the people of Israell: that such introduction was ordeined for their sakes, whiche although the stronger may well want, yet they oughte not to neglecte it, forasmuche as they see it to be profitable for the weake brethren. I answer, that we ar not ignozant, what we owe to the weakenesse of our brethren: but on the other side we take exception and say, that this is not the way whereby the weake may be prouided for, that they shold be ouerwhelmed with great heapes of Ceremonies. The Lorde did not in vaine put this difference betweene vs and the olde people, that his wil was to instruct them like childzen with signes & figures, but vs more simply without such outward furniture. As (saieyth Paule) a childe is ruled of his scholemaister, and kept vnder custodie, accor dyng to the capacitie of his age: so the Jewes are kepte vnder the lawe. But we are like vnto full growen men, whiche beeyng set at libertie from tutozshyp and gouernement, haue no more neede of childlike introductions. Cruely the Lorde did foresee what maner of common people there shold be in his Chirche, and how they shoulde be ruled. Yet he did in this maner as we haue said, make differēce betwene vs and the Jewes. Therfoze it is a foolish way, if we will prouide for the ignozant, in raising by Jewishenesse which is abrogate by Christ: Christ also touched in his owne woordes this difference of the olde and newe people, when he said to the woman of Samaria, that the time was come wherin the true worshippers shoulde worship God in Spirite and truth. This verily had alway ben don: but the new worshippers differed fro the old in this point, that vnder Moses the spiritual worshipping of God was shadowed and in a maner entangled with many Ceremonies, which being abolished, he is now more simply worshipped. Therfoze they that confound this difference, do ouerthrow the order institute and established

Coloss. ii. ff.

14

Episto. Cxviii. ad Iacuar.

Gal. iii. 26



blished by Christ. Shal there then (wilt thou say) no Ceremonies be geuen to the ruder sort to helpe their vnskilfulnesse? I say not so: for I verily thinke that this kynde of helpe is profitable for them. I doe here trauaile only that suche a meane may be vled, as may brightly sette out Christ, and not darken hym. Therfore there are geuen vs of God few Ceremonies, & those not laborious, that they should shew Christ being present. The Jewes had moe geuen them, that they should be images of him being absent. Absent I say he was, not in power, but in maner of signifying. Therfore, that meane may be kept, it is necessarie to keepe that fettonesse in number, easinesse in obseruing, and dignitie in signifying, which also consisteth in clerenesse. What nede I to say that this hath not ben done? For the thyng it selfe is in all mens eyes.

Here I omitt with how pernicious opinions mens myndes are filled, in thinking y they be sacrifices, wherewith oblation is rightly made to God, wherby sinnes are clesed, wherby righteousnesse & saluatio is obtained. They wyl deny that good things ar corrupted w such forein errors: forasmuch as in this behalf a man may no lesse offende in the very woorks also comaunded of God. But this hath moze hainousnesse, y so much honoz is geue to woorks rashely fained by the will of ma, y they are thought to be things deseruing eternal life. For the woorks comaunded of God haue reward therfore, because y lawmaker himself in respect of obedience accepteth them. Therfore they receiue not their value of their own woorthinesse, oz of their own deseruing, but because God so much esteemeth our obediēce toward him. I speake here of y perfectio of woorks which is commaunded of God, and is not perfozmed of me. For therfore the very woorks of the law which we do, haue no thak but of the fre goodnesse of God, because in them our obediēce is weake & lame. But bicause we do not here dispute, of what value woorks ar without Christ, therfore let vs passe ouer y question. I come back again to y which properly belongeth to this presēt argumēt, that whatsoeuer comēdation woorks haue in them, they haue it in respect of y obediēce, which only the Lord doth loke vpon, as he testifieth by y Prophet: I gaue not comāndement of sacrifices & burnt offerings, but only y ye should with hearing, heare my voice. But of fained woorks he speaketh in an other place, saying: Ye wepe your siluer & not in bred, Again, they worshop me in vaine with the precepts of men. This therfore they can by no waies excuse, that they suffer the silly people to seke in those outward trifles y righteousnesse wherby they may stand against God, & vphold themselues befoze the heavenly iugement seate. Moreouer, is not this a fault woorthy to be inueyed against, that they shew foorth Ceremonies not vnderstanded as it were a stage play, oz a magicall enchaūtment? For it is certaine that al Ceremonies are corrupt and hurtfull, vnlesse men be by them directed to Christ. But the Ceremonies that are vled vnder the papacie, are seuered from doctrine, that they may the moze holde men in signes without all signification. Finally (such a conning craftesman is the belly) it appeareth that many of them haue ben inuented by couetous sacrificing prestes, to bee snares to catche money. But what beginning soeuer they haue, they are all so geuen foorth in comon for filthy gaine, that we must nedes cut of a greate parte of them, if we will bzing to passe that there be not a prophane market, and full of sacrilege vled in the Chirch.



Although I seeme not to teach a continuall doctrine concerning the ordinances of men, because this speakyng is altogether applied to our owne tyme: yet there is nothyng spoken that shall not be profitable for all tymes. For so oft as this superstition crepeth in, that men wyl worship God with theyr owne fayned deuises, whatsoeuer the lawes bee that are made to that purpose, they do by & by degenerate to those grosse abuses. For the Lord threteth not this curse to one or two ages, but to all ages of the world, that he wil strike them with blyndnesse and amazed dullnesse that worship him with the doctrines of men. This blyndyng continually maketh that they flee from no kynde of absurditie, whiche despisyng so many warnyngs of God, doe wilfully wrap them selues in those deadly snares. But if, setting asyde circumstances, you wyl haue simply shewed what be the mens traditions of all ages, which it is mete to be reiected of the Chirche, and to bee disallowed of all the godly, that same shall be a sure and playne definition whiche we haue aboue sette: that all lawes without the worde of God are made by men to this end, either to prescribe a maner of worshippynge God, or to bind consciences with religion, as though they gaue commaundement of thynges necessary to saluation. If to the one or both of these there be adioyned other faultes: as, that with their multitude they darken the brightnesse of the Gospell: that they nothyng edifie, but be rather vnprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godlinesse: that they be laied abrode to filthinesse and vnhonest game: that they be to hard to be kept: that they be defiled with euell superstitions: these shall be helpes that we may the more easily finde how much euell is in them.

Esa. xlix.  
viii.

I heare what they aunswere for them selues, that their traditions are not of the selues, but of God. For, they say that the Chirch is gouerned of the Holy gost, & it can not erre: and & the authoritie therof remaineth with them. Whē this is obtained, it therewithal foloweth, that their traditions are the reuelations of the Holy ghost, which can not be despised but wickedly and with the contempt of God. And that they shoulde not seme to haue attempted any thing without greate authoritie, they wyl haue it beleued that a greate parte of their obseruations came from the Apostles: and they affirme that by one example is sufficiently declared what the Apostles did in other thinges, when beyng assembled in one Councell, they dyd by the decree of the Councell commaunde the Gentiles to absteyne from thyngs offered to idols, from blood and strangled. We haue already in an other place declared, howe falsly for boastyng of themselves they lyngly vsurpe the title of the Chirche. So muche as concernyng this present cause: if, pluckyng away all visors and deceitfull colozs, we truly loke vpon that which we ought principally to care for, and whiche chesely is for our behofe, that is, what maner of Chirch Christ will haue, that we maye fashion and frame our selues to the rule therof: it shall easily be euident vnto vs, that it is not the Chirch, which passyng the boundes of the worde of God, doeth outrage and runne at riot in makyng of newe lawes. For doeth not that lawe whiche was ones prescribed to the Chirche, remayne eternall: What I commaunde thee, that thou shalt kepe that thou mayste doo it: Thou shalt not adde any thyng, nor take any thyng from it. And in an other place: Adde not to the word of the Lord, nor minishe any thing: least he peraduenture reprove

17

Acts. xv.  
xx. & xxix.Deut. xxi.  
xviii.  
Psa. cxx.  
vi.



reproue thee, and thou be founde a lyer. Sithe they can not denie that this was spoken to the Chirch, what do they els but repozte the stubboznesse of that Chirche, which they boast to haue ben so bold as after suche prohibitions neuerthelesse to adde & myngle of her owne with the doctrine of God: But God forbiddeth that we should assent to their lyes, wherby they burden the Chirch with so greate a sleaunders: but let vs vnderstande, that the name of the Chirch is falsly pretended, so ofte as this lust of mens rashnesse is spoken of, which can not hold it self within the prescribed boundes of God, but that it wyldly rangeth and runneth out into her owne inuentions. There is nothyng entangled, nothing darke, nothing doutefull in these woordes, in whiche the whole Chirche is forbidden to adde to the worde of God, or to take any thyng from it, when the worshipping of God, and preceptes concernyng saluation, are entreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the law only, after which folowed the prophesies and the whole ministratio of the Gospell. I graunt in deede: and I adde also, whiche are rather fulfillings of the law, than additions or diminyschynges. But if the Lorde suffred nothyng to be added to or taken from the ministerie of Moses, whych was (as I may so terme it) darke by reason of many doutefull entwappyngs, tyll by hys seruantes the Prophetes, and at length by his beloued Sonne, he ministred a cleerer doctrine: why should we not thynke it muche moze seuerely forbydden vs, that we should adde nothyng to the lawe, the Prophetes, the Psalmes, and the Gospell: The Lorde is not gone out of kynde from hymselfe, whych hath long agoe declared, that he is with nothyng so hvely offended, as when he is worshipped with the inuentions of men: Wherof cam those notable sayings in the Prophetes, which ought to haue continually sounded in our eares: I spake no wordes to your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of Egypt, concernyng sacrifice and burnt offryng. But this worde I commaunded them, sayeng: With hearyng heare my voyce: and I wyll be your God, and you shall be my people, and ye shall walke in all the way that I shall commaunde you. Agayne, I haue with protestyng protested vnto your fathers, Heare my voyce. And other lyke sayengs: but this is notable aboue the reste. Wyll God haue burnt offrynges and sacrifices, and not rather that his voyce be obeyed: For obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken is better than to offer the fatte of rammes. For, to resyst is as the synne of soothsayeng: and not to obey is as the wyckednesse of Idolatrie. Therfore whatsoeuer inuentions of menne are in this behalfe defended with the authoritie of the Chirche, forasmuche as the same can not be excused from the crime of vngodlynnesse, it is easy to proue that it is falsly imputed to the Chirch.

After this sort we freely inuey agaynst this tyrannie of mens traditions, which is proudly thrust in among vs, vnder the title of the Chirche. For neither do we scozne the Chirche (as our aduersaries, to byrnyng vs in hatred, do vniustly lye vpon vs) but we geue vnto her the prayse of obedience, than whych she knoweth no greater prayse. They rather are very soze wrongdoers to the Chirche, whiche make her obstinate against her Lorde, whyle they fayne that she hath proceded further than she lawfully myght do by the word of God: though I speake nothyng howe it is a notable shamelesnesse ioyned with as great malice, continually

Hier. vii.  
viii.

Hier: xi.  
i. Samu.  
v. xxi.



nually to crie oute of the authoritie of the Chirche, and in the meane tyme dissemblyngly to hyde bothe what is commaunded her by the Lorde, and what obedience she oweth to the commaundement of the Lorde. But if we haue a mynde, as it is mete we should haue, to agree with the Chirch, this perteyneth rather to the purpose, to haue an eye vnto and remember what is commaunded by the Lord bothe to vs and the Chirch, that we should with one agreement obey hym. For there is no doute but we shall very well agree with the Chirch, if we doe in all thynges shewe our selues obedient to the Lord. But now to father vpon the Apostles, the originall of the traditions wherewith the Chirch hath ben hetherto oppressed, was a point of mere deceite: forasmuche as the doctrine of the Apostles trauaileth wholly to this ende, that consciences should not be burdened with newe obseruations, nor the woorthipping of God bee defiled with oure inuentions. Moreover if there be any faithfulness in histories and auncient monuments, the Apostles not only neuer knew, but also neuer heard of this that they attribute vnto them. Neither let them prate, that the most part of their decrees were receiued in vse and in mens behauiours, which neuer were put in writing: euen those thyngs forsothe, which, while Christ was yet liuyng, they coude not vnderstand, after his ascendyng they learned by the reuelation of the Holy ghost. Of the exposition of that place we haue els where already seen. So much as is sufficient for this present cause: truely they make themselues worthy to be laughed at, whyle they faine that those greate mysteries, which so long tyme were vnknewen to the Apostles, were partly obseruations epyther Jewishe or Gentile (of whiche all the one sort had ben long before published among the Jewes; and all the other sort among the Gentiles) and partly foolyshe gesturynge and hayne pety Ceremonies, whiche foolishe sacrificyng prestes; that can neither skill of swimmyng nor of letters, vse to doo very trimly: yea suche as children and fooles do so aptely counterfaite that it may seme that there be no fitter ministers of suche holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that haue their sound witte myght consider by the thing it self, that so great a heape of Ceremonies and obseruations did not sodenly burst into þe Chirch, but by little & little crept in. For when those holper Bishops, whiche were next in tyme to the Apostles, had ordeyned some thynges that belonged to order and discipline, afterwarde there folowed men, some after other, not discrete enough, and to curious and gredy: of whiche the later that euery one was, so he more strived with his predecessours in foolyshe enuious counterfaytyng, not to geue place in inuentyng of newe thynges. And because there was peryll least their deuyses woulde shortly growe oute of vse, by whiche they coueted to gette prayse among their posteritie, they were muche more rygorous in exact calling vpon the keepyng of them. This wrongfull zeale hath bredde vs a great part of these Ceremonies whych they sette out vnto vs for Apostolike. And this also the histories doo testifie.

Least in makyng a register of them we should be to tedious, we will be content with one example. In the ministryng of the Lordes supper, there was in the Apostles tyme great simplicitie. The next successours, to garnishe the dignitie of the mysterie, added somewhat that was not



to be disallowed. But afterwarde there came those foolish counterfa-  
 ters, which with now and then patchyng of peces together, haue made  
 vs this apparel of the prest whiche we se in the Masse, those ornamens  
 of the altar, those gesturynge, and the whole furniture of vnpro-  
 fitable thynges. But they object, that this in olde tyme was the per-  
 suasion, that those thynges which were with one consente doone in the  
 vniuersall Chirch, came from the Apostles themselues, whereof they  
 cite Augustine for witnesse. But I wyll bryng a solution from no o-  
 ther where than out of the words of Augustine hymselfe. Those thin-  
 ges (saith he) that are keppe in the whole world, we may vnderstand  
 to haue ben ordeined either of the Apostles themselues, oz of the gene-  
 rall Councells, whoes authozitie is moste healthfull in the Chirche:  
 as, that the Lozdes passion, and resurrection, and his ascendyng into  
 heauen, and the comming of the Holy ghoste, are celebrate with  
 yearely solemnitie: and whatsoeuer lyke thyng bee founde, that is  
 keppe of the whole Chirch, whiche waie soeuer it be spread abzoade.  
 When he reckneth by so fewe examples, who doeth not se that he meant  
 to impute to authozs worthy of credite and reuerence, the observati-  
 ons that then were bled, euen none but those symple, rare, and sobze  
 ones, with which it was profitable that the order of the Chirch shold  
 be keppe together: But howe farre doeth this differ from that why-  
 che the Romishe maisters would enforce men to graunte, that there  
 is no pety Ceremonie among them that oughte not to be iudged Apo-  
 stolike.

Episto.  
cxviii.

20

That I be not to long, I wyll bryng foorth onely one example. If  
 any man aske them, whense they haue theyr Holy water: they by and by  
 answer, from the Apostles. As though the historiez dooe not attribute  
 this inuention to I wote not what Bishop of Rome, which truely, if he  
 had called the Apostles to counsell, woulde neuer haue defiled Bap-  
 tisme with a strange and vnfitte signe. Albe it I do not thynke it like  
 to be true, that the beginnyng of that halowpyng is so olde as it is there  
 wrytten. For, that whyche Augustine sayeth, that certayne Chirches  
 in his tyme dyd thynke that solemne folowpyng of Chyristes example  
 in washyng of feete, least that vsage shoulde seeme to pertayne to Bap-  
 tisme, secretely sheweth that there was then no kynde of washyng that  
 hadde any lykenesse with Baptisme: Whatsoeuer it bee, I wyll not  
 graunte that this proceded from an Apostolike Spirite, that Bap-  
 tisme, when it is with a dayly signe brought into remembrance, shold  
 after a certayne maner bee repeted. And I passe not vpon this, that  
 the selfe same Augustine in an other place ascribeth other thynges  
 also to the Apostles. For lithe he hath nothyng but coniectures, iudge-  
 ment oughte not vpon them to bee geuen of so greate a mater. Fi-  
 nally admytte that we graunte them also, that those thynges which  
 he rehearseth came from the tyme of the Apostles. Yet there is  
 greate difference betweene institutyng somme exercise of Godlynesse,  
 which the faithfull with a free conscience may vse, oz if the vse of it shal  
 not be profitable for them, they may forbear it: and making a law that  
 may snare consciences with bondage. But now, from what authoz soeuer  
 they proceded, lithe we see that they are slidden into so greate abuse;  
 nothing

Episto.  
cxviii.  
ad Ianu.



nothyng withstandeth, but that we may without offence of hym abolish them: forasmuche as they were neuer so commended; that they muste be perpetually immouable,

Neither doth it much helpe them, that to excuse their tyzannie they pretende the example of the Apostles: The Apostles (saye they) and the elders of the first Church, made a decree besyde the commaundement of Christ, wherin they commaunded all the Gentiles to absteyn from thynges offred to idols, from strangled, and from blood. If that was lawefull for them, why is it not also lawfull for their successours, to followe the same so oft as occasion so requireth? I wold to God, they did bothe in all other thynges and in this thing folow them. For I deny that the Apostles did there institute or decree any newe thing, which is easy to be proued by a strong reason. For whereas Peter in that Councel pronounceth, that God is tempted, if a yoke be layed vpon the neckes of the disciples: he doth himselfe ouerthrowe his owne sentence, if he afterwarde consent to haue any yoke layed vpon them. But there is a yoke layed, if the Apostles do decree of their owne authoritie that the Gentiles shold be forbidden, that they shold not touch thynges offred to idoles, blood, & strangled. In dede there yet remaineth a dout, for that they do neuertheless seme to forbidde. But this dout shal easily be dissolued, if a man doo moze nerely consider the meaning of the decree it selfe: in the order and effecte whereof the chiefe point is, that to the Gentiles their libertie is to be left, and that they ought not to be troubled, nor accombred about the obseruations of the law. Hetherto it very wel maketh of our syde. But the exception that immediatly foloweth, neither is any newe lawe made by the Apostles, but the diuine and eternall commaundemēt of God, that charitie ought not to be broken, nor doth dimynishe one tittle of that libertie: but onely admonissheth the Gentiles, how they shold temper themselues to their brethren, that they abuse not their libertie to the offence of them. Let this therfore be the second poynt, that the Gentiles shold vse a harmelesse libertie, and without offence of theyr brethren. But yet they prescribe some certain thyng: that is, they teach and appoint, so farre as was expedient for the tyme, by what thynges they might runne into the offence of their brethren, that they myght beware of those thynges: but they adde no newe thyng of their own to the eternall lawe of God, whiche forbidde the offendyng of brethren.

Lyke as if the faithfull Pastors which gouerne Churches not yet wel reformed, shoulde comaunde all their people, that tyll the weake with whome they lyue doo growe stronger, they shold not openly eate fleshe on Friday, or openly labor vppon holy dayes, or any suche thyng. For although these thynges, setting superstition asyde, are by themselues indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they can not be doone without a faulte. But the tymes are suche, that the faithfull can not thewe suche a sight to the weake brethren, but that they shal sore wounde their consciences. Who, but a cauiller, wil say that so they make a newe lawe, whereas it is certayn that they do onely preuent offences, whiche are expressely enough forbidden of the Lord? And no moze can it be sayd of the Apostles, whoes purpose was nothyng ells, but in takyng away the mater of offences, to call vpon the lawe of God concernyng the auordyng of offence: as if they had sayd: It is the Lords commaunde-



maundement that ye offend not a weake brother. Ye can not eate thinges offered to images, strangled and blood, but that the weake brethren shall be offended: Therfore we commaunde you in the woorde of the Lorde, that ye eate not with offence. And that the Apostles had respect to the same thyng, Paule hymselfe is a very good witnesse, which writeth thus, verily none otherwise than accordyng to the meanyng of the Councell: Concernyng meates that are offered to Idols, we know that the Idole is nothyng. But some with conscience of the Idole, do eate it as offered to Idols, and their conscience, forasmuche as it is weake, is defiled. See that your libertie be not made an offence to the weake. He that shall haue well weyed these thynges, shall not afterwarde be deceiued with such a false color as they make, that pretende the Apostles for defence of their tyrannie, as though the Apostles had begon with their decree to breake the libertie of the Chirche. But, that they may not be able to escape, but be dyspuen euen with their owne confession to allowe this solution, let them answer me, by what right they were so bolde to abrogate the same decree. Because there was no moze perill of those offences and dissencions, which the Apostles meant to prouide for, and they knowe that the lawe was to be weyed by the ende therof. Forasmuch as therfore this lawe was made in respect of charitie, there is nothyng prescribed in it, but so muche as pertaineth to charitie. When they confesse that the transgressyng of this lawe is nothyng but a breakyng of charitie, do they not therwithall acknowlege, that it is not a forged addition to the lawe of God, but a naturall and simple appliance to the tymes and maners wherunto it was directed:

22 But although such lawes be a hundred times vniuste and iniurious vn to vs, yet they affirme that they must be heard without exception: for they say that this is not here intended, that we should consent to errors, but onely that beyng subiectes we should beare the hard commaundementes of our gouernours, whiche it is not our partes to refuse. But here also the Lorde very well resisteth them with the truth of his word, and deliuereth vs out of such bondage into the libertie, which he hath purchased for vs with his holy blood, the benefit wherof he hath moze than ones confirmed with his word. For that is not here onely intended (as they maliciously faine) that we should suffer some greuous opprellion in our body, but that our consciences being spoiled of their libertie that is of the benefit of the blood of Christ, should be seruilely tormented. Howbeit let vs passe over this also, as though it made litle to the mater. But of howe great importance do we thinke it is, that the Lordes kingdome is take away fro him, which he claimeth to himself with so great seueritie: But it is take away so oft as he is worshipped with the lawes of mens inventions, wheras he will be holden for the only lawmaker of his own worship. And least any man should thinke it to be a mater of nothing, let vs heare how much the Lord esteemeth it. Because (saith he) this people hath feared me with the commaundement & doctrine of men: behold I will astonish them with a great & wonderous miracle. For wisdoome shall perish fro the wise men therof, & vnderstanding shall depart from the elders. In another place, They worship me in vaine teachyng doctrines, the commaundements of men. And truly wheras the childre of Israel defiled theselues with many idolatries, the cause of al that euil is ascribed to this vncharit

1. Corin.  
viii. 1.

1. Cor. xviii.  
xiii.

Mat. xv.  
ix.



mixture, that transgressing the commaundementes of God, they haue forged new worshippinges. And therfoze the holy Historie rehearseth that the new strangers that had ben transplated by the king of Babilo to inhabite Samaria, wer tozne in peces and consumed of wilde beastes, because they knew not the iudgementes oz statutes of the God of that lande. Although they had nothing offēded in the Ceremonies, yet God would not haue allowed a baine pompe: but in the meane time he cesed not to take vengeāce of the defyling of hys worshop, for that mē did thrust in deuises strange from his worde. Wherupon it is afterwarde sayd, y they beyng made afrayd with that punishmente, receiued y Ceremonies prescribed in the law: but because they did not yet purely worshop the true God, it is twise repeted that they did feare him and did not feare him. Wherupon we gather, that the part of reuerēce which is geuen to him, consisteth in this, while in worshipping him we simply folow what he commaundeth with mingling none of our own inuentions.

And therfoze the godly kynges are oftentimes praised, because they did according to al the commaundementes, and declined not to the ryghte hande noz to the left. I go yet further: although in some fayned worshipping there do not opely appeare vngodlinesse, yet it is seuerely condemned of the Holy ghost, so sone as men depart from the commaundement of God. The Altar of Achaz, the paterne whereof was broughte out of Samaria, might haue semed to encrease the garnishment of the tēple, wheras his deuise was to offre Sacrifices therupō to God only, which he should do moze honozably than vpon the first & olde Altar: yet we see how the Spirite detesteth y boldnesse, for none other cause but for y the inuentions of mē in the worshipping of God are vnclene corruptions. And how much moze clerely the will of God is opened vnto vs, so much the lesse excusable is our frowardnesse to attempt any thig. And therfoze worthily with this circumstance the crime of Manasses is enforced, for that he bilded a new altar in Jerusalem, of which God had pronounced I wil there set my name, because y authozitie of God is now as it were of set purpose refused.

Many do maruel why God so sharply threteneth y he wil do thinges to be wondzed at to y people of whō he was worshipped w the cōmaundemētes of men, & pronounceth y he is worshipped in baine w the preceptes of mē. But if they cōsidered, what it is in y cause of religion, y is to say of heauēly wisdom, to hāg bpō y only mouth of God, they would therewal se, y it is no sclēder reso why God so abhorreth such peruerse seruices, y are done to him accordig to y lust of mā's wit. For althoughe they that obey such lawes for the worshipping of God, haue a certaine shewe of humilitie in this their obedience, yet they are not hāble befoze God, to whō they prescribe y same lawes which they thēselues do kepe. This is y reson why Paul willeth vs so diligently to beware, that we be not deceiued by y traditions of mē & y which he calleth echelohreskian that is, Wilworshop inuēted of mē beside y doctrine of God. This is verily true, both our own wisdom, & al mens wisdom must be foolish vnto vs, y we may suffer him alone to be wise. Which way they kepe not which do studie with pety obseruations fayned by the wil of men to cōmend themselues vnto hym, & do thrust vnto hym as it were against his will a transgressing obedience towarde hym, whiche is in dede geuen to mē. As it hath ben done both in many ages heretofore, and in the tyme

ii. Ki. xxi.

ii. King. xvi. r.

ii. Ki. xxi. iii.

24

Colos. ii. iii.



within our owne remembrance, and is also at thys dape done in those places where the authozitie of the creature is moze esteemed thā of the creator: where religion (if yet the same be worthy to be called religion) is defiled with moe and moze vnfauozie superstitions, than ever was any Daynime wickednesse. For what could the witt of men bzede but al thynges carnal and foolishe and such as truely resemble theyr authozs?

Whereas also the Patrones of superstitions allege, that Samuell Sacrificed in Ramatha, and although the same was done beside the law, yet it pleased God: the solution is easy, that it was not a certayne seconde altar to set against the one onely altar: but because the place was not yet appointed for the arke of couenant, he appointed y<sup>e</sup> towne where he dwelled for Sacrifices, as the most conuenient place. Truly the minde of the holy Prophete was not to make any inuouation in holy thynges, whereas God had so streightly forbidden any thing to be added or minished. As for the example of Menoha, I say that it was an extraozdinarie and singular case. He being a priuate man offered sacrifice to God & not without the allowāce of God: verily because he enterprised it not of a rash motion of his owne minde, but by a heauenlye instinction. But how much the Lord abhorreth those thynges that men deuise of themselues to worshop hym withall, an other not inferior to Gedeon is a notable example, whoes Ephod turned to destruction not only to hym and hys familie, but to the whole people. Finally euery new founde inuention, wherewith mē couet to worshop God, is nothing ells but a defiling of true holinesse.

Why then (saye they) did Christ will that those intollerable burdens should be bozne, which the Scribes and Pharisees bounde vpon men? But why in an other place did the same Christ wil that men should beware of the leuen of the Pharisees: calling leuen (as Mathew y<sup>e</sup> Euangelist expoundeth it) all their owne doctrine that they mingled with the purenesse of the worde of God? What would we haue moze playne, thā that we be commaunded to flee and beware of al their doctrine? Whereby it is made most certaine vnto vs, that in y<sup>e</sup> other place also the Lorde willed not, that the cōsciēces of his should be bered with y<sup>e</sup> Pharisees owne traditiōs. And the very wordes, if they be not wrested, soude of no such thing. For the Lord purposing there to enuey sharply againste the maners of the Pharisees, did first simply instruct them y<sup>e</sup> heard hym, y<sup>e</sup> although they saw nothing in their life mete for them to folow, yet they should not cesse to do those thyngs which they taught in wordes, whyle they sate in the chaire of Moses, y<sup>e</sup> is, to declare the law. Therefore he meant nothing ells but to prouide that the cōmon people should not w<sup>th</sup> the euil exāples of y<sup>e</sup> teachers be brought to despise y<sup>e</sup> doctrine. But forasmuch as many are nothing at al moued with reſong, but alwaye require authozitie, I wil allege Augustines wordes, in whiche the very same thing is spoken. The Lordes shepfolde hath gouernoures, some faithfull, and some hirelinges. The gouernours that are faithfull, are true Pastors: but heare ye, y<sup>e</sup> the hireliges also are necessarie: for many in y<sup>e</sup> Chirch folowing earthly profites, do preach Christe, and by them the voice of Christ is heard: and y<sup>e</sup> thepe do folowe, not a hireling, but y<sup>e</sup> Pastor by the meanes of a hireling. Heare ye y<sup>e</sup> hirelinges are thewed by y<sup>e</sup> Lord himselke. The Scribes (saith he) & the Pharisees sitt in the chaire

25  
1. Samu.  
vii. xlii.

Jud. xlii.  
xii.

Jud. viii.  
xvii.

26  
Mat. xxiii  
li. & xli.  
vi.

In Job.  
Tract.  
xli.



chaire of Moses. Doe ye those thinges that they saye, but do not those thinges that they do. What other thing said he, but heare the voice of y<sup>e</sup> Pastor by the hirelinges? For in sitting in the chaire they teache the law of God: therfoze God teacheth by thē. But if they wil teache their owne heare it not, do it not. This saith Augustine.

27

But wheras many vnskillfull men, when they heare that consciences are wickedly bovide and God worshipping in baine with the traditions of men, do at ones blott out altogether al lawes whereby the order of the Chirch is set in frame: therfoze it is conuenient also to mete w<sup>th</sup> their erroz: Verily in this point it is easy to be deceiued, because at the first sight it doeth not by and by appeare what differēce is betwene the one sort and the other. But I will so plainly in few wordes sett out the whole mater, that the likenesse may deceiue no man. First let vs holde this, that if we see in euery felowship of men some policie to be necessarie, that may serue to nourishe common peace and to reteine conkozde: if we se that in the doing of thinges there is alway some orderly forme, which is behouefull for publike honestie and for very humanitie not to be refused: thesame ought chesely to be obserued in Chirches, whiche are both best maintained by a well framed disposition of al thinges, and without agreement are no Chirches at al. Therfoze if we wil haue the safetie of the Chirch wel prouided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which Paule commaundeth, that al thinges be done comlily and accozding to order. But forasmuch as there is so greate diuersitie in the manners of men, so greate varietie in mindes, so greate disagremente in iudgements and wittes: neither is there any policie stedfast enough, vnlesse it be stablised by certaine lawes, noz any orderly vsage can be obserued without a certaine appointed forme. Therfoze we are so farr of from condemning the lawes that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirme y<sup>e</sup> when those be taken away, Chirches are dissolued from their sinewes, and bitterly deformed and scattered abzode. For this which Paule requireth, that all thinges be done decently and in order, can not be had, vnlesse the order it selfe and comliness be stablised, with obseruations adioyned as with certaine bondes. But this only thing is alway to be excepted in those obseruations, that they be not either beleued to be necessarie to saluation, and so bynd consciences with religion, or be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godlinesse be reposed in them.

i. Corin.  
xiii. pl.

We haue therfoze a very good and most faithful marke, which putteth differēce betwene those wicked ordināces, by which we haue saied y<sup>e</sup> true religion is darkened and cōsciēces subuerted, & the lawfull obseruatiōs of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch: if we remēber that the lawfull obseruatiōs tende alway to one of these twoo thinges or to both together, that in the holy assembly of the faithfull al thynges be done comly and with such dignitie as becometh: and y<sup>e</sup> the very common felowship of mē should be kept in order as it were by certaine bondes of humanitie & moderation. For when it is ones vnderstode y<sup>e</sup> the law is made for publike honesties sake, y<sup>e</sup> superstition is now take away, into which they fal y<sup>e</sup> measure y<sup>e</sup> worshipping of God by y<sup>e</sup> inuētiōs of mē. Again whē it is knowē y<sup>e</sup> it pertaineth to cōmō vse, thē y<sup>e</sup> false opiniō of bōd & necessitie is ouerthrowē, which did strike a great terroz into cōsciēces, when traditions were thoughte

28

I.ii.

necessarie



necessarie to saluation. For herein is nothing required but that charitie should with common dutiefull doing be nourished among vs. But it is good yet to define moze plainely, what is comprehended vnder that comelinesse which Paule commendeth, and also what vnder order. The ende of comelinesse is, partly that when suche Ceremonies are vsed as may procure a reuerence to holy thinges, we maye by suche helpes be stirred by to godlinesse: partly also that þ modestie and grauitie whiche ought to be seen in all honest doinges may therein principally appeare. In order, this is the first point, that they which gouerne may knowe the rule and law to rule well: and the people which are gouerned maye be accustomed to obeying of God, and to right discipline: Then, that þ state of the Chirch being wel framed, peace and quietnesse may be prouided for.

29 Therfoze we shall not say that comelinesse is, wherin shalbe nothing but vaine delectation: suche as we se in that playerlike apparel whiche the Papistes vse in their Ceremonies, where appeareth nothing ells but an vnprofitable visor of gainesse, and excesse without frute. But we shall accompt that to be comelinesse which shall so be mete for the reuerence of holy mysteries, that it be a fitt exercise to godlinesse, or at least suche as shall serue to conuenient garnishing for the celebrating thereof: and the same not without frute, but that it may put the saythfull in minde with howe greate modestie, religiousnesse and reuerence, they ought to handle holy thinges. Now, that Ceremonies may be exercises of godlinesse, it is necessarie that they leade vs þ streight way to Christ. Likewise we may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pompes that haue nothing ells than a vanishing gaynesse: but that it standeth in suche an orderly framing as may take away all confusio, barbarousnesse, obstinacie, and all strifes and dissentions. Of the first sorte are these examples in Paule: that Prophane bankettinges shoulde not be myngled with the holy Supper of the Lord: that women shoulde not come abrode, but couered: and many other which we haue in comon vse: as this, that we praye kneeling and bare hedded: that we minister the Lordes Sacramentes not vnclenly, but with some dignitie: that in þ buryeng of the dead we vse some honest shewe: and other thinges that are of the same sort. Of the other kynde are the houres appointed for publike prayers, Sermons, and celebratiōs of mysteries: at Sermons, quietnesse and silence, places appointed, singing together of Hymnes, dayes prefixed for relectuating of the Lordes Supper, that Paule forbiddeth that women should teache in the Chirch, and suche like. But specially those thinges that concerne discipline, as the teaching of the Catechisine, the censures of the Chirch, excommunication, fastinges, & such as may be reckened in the same number. So all the constitutions of the Chirch, which we receiue for holy and holsome, we may referre to twoo chiefe titles: for some pertain to rites and Ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

30 But because here is peril, least on þ one side þ false Bishops shoulde therby catch a pretēse to excuse their wicked and tyrannous lawes, and least on the other side there be some men to ferefull, which admonished with þ aforesaid euels do leaue no place to lawes be they neuer so holy: here it is good to protest, þ I allow only those ordināces of mē, which be bothe

Coz. xi.  
v. 7. b.

Cozin.  
iii.  
xxiii.



both grounded vpon the authoritie of God, and take out of the Scripture, yea and altogether Gods owne. Let vs take for an example the kneeling which is vsed in time of commo pzaier. It is demaunded, whether it be a tradition of man, which euery man may lawfully refuse or neglect. I say that it is so of men, that it is also of God. It is of God, in respect that it is a part of that comlineſſe, the care and keeping whereof is commended vnto vs by the Apostle: it is of men, in respect that it ſpecially betokeneth that which had in generaltie rather been pointed to than declared. By this one exāple we may iudge, what is to be thought of that whole kynde: verily because the Lord hath in his holy Oracles both faithfully contained and clerely set fourth both the whole ſume of true righteouſneſſe, and al the partes of the worshipping of his diuine maieſtie, and whatſoener was neceſſarie to ſaluation: therfore in theſe thinges he is onely to be heard as our ſcholemaſter. But because in outward diſcipline and Ceremonies his wil was not to preſcribe ech thing particularly what we ought to follow, because he foresaw thys to hang vpon the ſtate of tymes, and did not thinke one forme to be fitt for all ages) herein we muſt ſee to thoſe generall rules which he hath geuen, that thereby all thoſe thinges ſhould be tryed which the neceſſitie of the Chirch ſhall require to be commaunded for order and comlynneſſe. Finally, ſo far as much as he hath therfore taught nothig expreſly, because theſe thinges both are not neceſſary to ſaluation, & according to the maners of euery nation and age ought diuerſly to be applied to the edifieng of the Chirch: therfore as the profit of the Chirch ſhall require, it ſhalbe cōuenient as well to change and abzogate thoſe that be vsed, as to inſtitute newe. I graunte in dede, that we ought not rashly, noz oft, noz for light cauſes to runne to innouation. But what may hurt or edifie, charitie ſhall beſt iudge: which if we will ſuffer to be the gouerneſſe, al ſhall be ſafe.

Now it is the dutie of Chriſtian people, to kepe ſuch thinges as haue ben ordeined according to this rule, with a free conſcience and without any ſuperſtition, but yet with a godly and eaſy redineſſe to obey, not to deſpise them, not to paſſe them ouer with careleſſe negligence: ſo farre is it of, that they ought by pride & obſtinacie openly to breake them. What maner of libertie of conſcience (wilt thou ſay) may there be in ſo greate obſeruation and wareneſſe: yea, it ſhall ſtande excellently well whē we ſhall conſider, that they are not ſtedfaſt and perpetuall ſtayed lawes, wherunto we be bounde, but outward rudementes for the weakeneſſe of men: which although we do not all nede, yet we do all ble them, because we are mutually one bounde to an other, to nouriche charitie among vs. This we may reknowlege in the examples aboue reherſed. What: Doth religion ſtande in a womans veile, that it is not lawfull to goe out of dozes with her hed vncouered: Is that holy decree of hys concerning ſilence, ſuche as can not be broken wythout moſte haynous offence: Is ther any miſterie in kneeling, or in burying of a dead carcaſe, that may not be omytted wythout ſynne: No. For if a woman nede, for the helping of her neighboz, to make ſuch haſt as may not ſuffer her to couer her hed, ſhe offendeth not if ſhe runne thether with her hed vncouered. And it may ſomtyme befall ꝑ it may be no leſſe cōueniēt for her to ſpeake, thā at an other time to holde her peace. And there is no cauſe



to the contrary, but that he which by reason of disease can not bowe hys knees may pray standing. Finally, it is better to burie a dead man speedely in tyme, than when they lacke a wynding shete, or when there be not men present to conuey him, to tarry till he rott vnburied. But neuerthelesse in these thinges there is somewhat whych the maner and ordynances of the contree, and finally very naturall honestie and the rule of modestie apointeth to be done or auoided: wherein if a man swarue any thing from them, by vnbwarenesse, or forgetfulnesse, there is no crime committed: but if vpon contempt, such stubboznesse is to be disallowed. Likewise the dayes themselues, whiche they be, and the houres, and how the places be bilded, and what Psalmes be soong vpon whiche day, it maketh no mater. But it is mete that there be both certaine daies, and appointed houres, and a place fitt to receiue all, if there be regarde had of the preservation of peace. For howe great an occasion of brawlynges should the confusion of these thinges be, if it were laboufull for euery man, as he liste, to change those thynges that belong to cominon state: forasmuche as it will neuer come to passe that one same thing shall please all men, if thinges be lefte as it were in the middest to the choise of euery man: If any man do carpe against vs, and will herein be moze wise than he oughte; lette hym se himselfe by what reason he can defende his owne precisenesse to the Lorde. As for vs, this saying of Paule ought to satisfie vs, that we haue not an vse to contende, nor the Chirches of God.

1. Cor. vi.  
vbi.

32

Howeouer it is with great diligence to be endeouored, that no erroz crepe in, that may corrupt or obscure thys pure vse. Which shall be obtayned; if all obseruations, whatsoeuer they shall be, shall haue a shewe of manifeste profit, and if very fewe be receiued, but principally if there be adioyned a faythfull doctrine of the Pastor, that may stoppe by the waie to peruerse opinions. This knowlege maketh, that in all these thinges euery man may haue his owne libertie preserved, and neuerthelesse shall willingly charge his owne libertie with a certaine necessitie, so farr as either thys comliness that we haue spoken of, or the order of Charitie shall require. Secodly, that both we our selues should without any superstition be busied in the obseruing of those thinges, and should not to precisely require them of other, so as we should thinke the worshipping of God to be the better for the multitude of Ceremonies: that one Chirch should not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline: last of all that setting herein no perpetuall lawe to our selues, we should referre the whole vse and ende of obseruations to the edification of the Chirch, that, when it requireth we may without any offense suffer not onely somewhat to be changed, but all the obseruations that were befoze in vse among vs to be altered. For thys age is a presente experience, that certaine rites, which otherwys are not vngodly nor vncomly, may according to the fytt occasion of the mater, be conueniently abrogate. For (suche hath ben the blindenesse and ignozance, of the former tymes) Chirches haue heretofore, with so corrupte opinion and with so stiffe affection, sticke in Ceremonies, that they can scarcely be sufficiently purged from monstrous superstitions, but that many Ceremonies must be taken away, whiche in  
olde



olde tyme were paradventure ordeined not without cause, and of them-  
selues haue no notable vngodlinesse in them.

## The. xi. Chapter.

Of the iurisdiction of the Chirch, and the abuse therof, such as is seen  
in the Papacie.



**N**ow remaineth the thirde parte of the power of the  
Chirch, yea and the chiefe parte in a well ordeined  
state, whiche we haue saied to consist in iurisdic-  
tion. The whole iurisdiction of the Chirch pertei-  
neth to the discipline of manners, of whiche we  
shall entreate by and by. Forasmuche as no citie,  
oz no towne can stande without Magistrate and  
police: so the Chirche of God (as I haue alredey  
taught, but now I am compelled to repete it againe) nedeth her cer-  
taine spirituall policie: but suche as is vtterly seuered from the ci-  
uile policie, and doth so nothing hinder oz minish it, that it rather doeth  
much helpe and further it. Therefore this power of iurisdiction shall in  
a summe be nothing ells but an order framed for the preseruatiō of spi-  
rituall policie. To this ende from the beginning were ordeined iudicial  
orders in Chirches, which might vse examination of maners, coorrecte  
vices, and exercise the office of the keyes. This order Paule speaketh  
of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, when he nameth gouernementes. i. Cor. xii  
Againe to the Romaines, whē he saith: let him that ruleth, rule in care- xii.  
fulnesse. For he speaketh not to the magistrates, (for at that time there Rom. xii.  
were no Christian magistrates) but to them that were ioyned with the viii.  
Pastors for the spirituall gouernement of the Chirch. Also in the Epi- i. Tim. v.  
stle to Timothee, he maketh twoo sortes of Elders: some, that labor in xvii.  
the worde: other some, that do not vse the preaching of the worde, and  
yet do rule well. By this later sort it is no doute that he meaneth them  
that were appointed to loke vnto maners, and to the whole vse of the  
keyes. For this power, of which we now speake, hangeth wholly vpon  
the keyes which Christ gaue to the Chirche, in the xviii. Chap. of Ma-  
thew: where he commaundeth, that they should be sharply admonished  
in the name of the whole Chirch, that haue despised priuate monitiōs:  
but if they goe forward in their obstinacie, he teacheth that they should  
be put out of the felowship of the faithful. But these monitions and cor-  
rections can not be without knowlege of the cause: therefore there ne-  
deth both some ingement and order. Wherefore vnlesse we will make  
bolde the promise of the keyes, and take vtterly away excoommunicatiō,  
solemne monitions, and all suche thynges whatsoeuer they be: we  
must nedes geue to the Chirch some iurisdiction. Let the reders marke  
that that place entreateth not of the generall authoritie of doctrine,  
as in the. xvi. Chapter of Mathewe, and the. xxi. of John: but that  
the power of the Sinagoge is for the time to come transferred to the  
flocke of Christ. Untill that day the Jewes had their order of gover-  
ning, which Christ stablisseth in his Chirch, and y<sup>e</sup> with great penaltie.



so much as concerneth the pure institution of it. For so it behoued, forasmuch as otherwise the iugemente of an vn noble and vnregarded congregation might be despised of rash and proude men. And that it should not encomber the readers, that Christ doth in the same words expresse thinges somewhat differing one from the other, it shalbe profitable to dissolve this doubt. There be therfore two places, that speake of bynding and loosing. The one is in y<sup>e</sup> xvi. Chapter of Mathew, where Christ, after that he had promised that he would geue to Peter y<sup>e</sup> keyes of the kingdome of heauen, immediatly addeth, that whatsoeuer he shal bynde or loose in earth, shalbe confirmed in heauen. In which wordes he meaneth none other thing, than he doth by other wordes in John, when sending his disciples to preache, after that he had breathed vpon them he said: whose synnes ye forgeue, they shalbe forgeuen: & whoes ye reteine, they shalbe reteined in heauen. I will bring an exposition not suttle, not enforced, not wrested: but natural, flowyng, and offering it selfe. This commaundemente of forgeuing and reteining synnes, and that promise of bynding and loosing made to Peter, oughte to be referred to no other thyng but to the ministerie of the worde: which when the Lord committed to the Apostles, he did therewith also arme them with this office of bynding and loosing. For what is the summe of the Gospell, but that we all being the bondseruantes of synne and of death, are loosed and made fre by the redemption that is in Christ Iesus: and that they which do not receiue nor acknowledge Christe theyr deliuerer and redemer, are damned & adiudged to euerlasting bondes: When the Lord deliuered this message to his Apostles, to be carried into al nations: to approue that it was his owne and proceeding from himself, he honozed it with this noble testimonie: and that to the singular strengthening both of the Apostles themselves, and of all those to whom it should come. It behoued that the Apostles should haue a stedfast and sounde certaintie of their preaching, which they should not onely execute with infinite labors, cares, troubles and dangers, but also at the last seale it with their blood. That they might (I say) knowe the same to be not baine nor boide, but full of power and force: it behoued that in so great carefulnesse, in so great hardnesse of thynges, and in so great dangers, they should be perswaded that they did the businesse of God: that when all the worlde withstode them and fought againste them, they should knowe that God stode on their side: that hauing not Christ the authoz of their doctrine present by sight in earth, they should vnderstande him to be in heauen, to confirme the trueth of the doctrine which he had deliuered them. It behoued againe that it should also be most certainly proued by testimonie to the hearers, that that doctrine of the Gospell was not the worde of the Apostles, but of God himselfe: not a voice bred in earth, but come downe from heauen. For these thinges, the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the promise of euerlasting life, the message of saluation, can not be in the power of man. Therefore Christe hath testified, that in the preaching of the Gospell there is nothing of the Apostles, but the only ministerie: that it was he himselfe that spake and promised all thynges by their mouthes as by instrumentes: and therefore that the forgeuenesse of sinnes which they preached, was the true promise of God: and the damnation which they pronouced, was the certaine

John. xxi.  
 Mat. xvi.  
 xxi.



certaine iudgement of God. But this testifieng is geuen to all ages, and remaineth in force, to certifie and assure all men, that the word of the Gospel, by what man soeuer it be preached, is y<sup>e</sup> very sentēce of God, published at the soueraigne iudgement seate, w<sup>r</sup>itten in the boke of life, ratified, firme and fixed in heauen. Thus we see that in those places the power of the keyes is nothyng but the preachyng of the Gospell: and that it is not so muche a power as a ministerie, if we haue respect to mē. For Christ hath not geuen this power p<sup>r</sup>opzely to men, but to his owne worde, wherof he hath made men ministers.

The other place whiche we haue said to be, concernyng the power of bynding and loosyng, is in the .xviii. chapter of Mathew, where Christ sayth: If any brother heare not the Chirch, let him be to thee as a heathen mā or a publicane. Verily I say vnto you: whatsoeuer ye bynd vpon earth, shalbe bound also in heauen; whatsoeuer ye loose shalbe loosed. This place is not altogether like the first, but is a little otherwise to be vnderstanded. But I do not so make them diuerse, that they haue not great affinitie together. This first point is like in both, that either of them is a generall sentēce: that in both there is allway all one power of bynding and loosyng, namely by the worde of God, all one commaundement, all one promise. But herein they differ, that the first place peculiarly belongeth to preachyng, whych the Ministers of the woord do execute: this later place to the discipline of Excommunication, which is committed to the Chirch. The Chirch byndeth, whom she excommunicateth: not that she throweth him into perpetual ruine and desperation, but because she condemneth his lyfe and maners, and vnesse he repent, doeth already warne hym of his damnation. She looseth whome she receiueth into communion: because she doeth make hym as it were partaker of the vnitie whych she hath in Christ Iesus. Therfore that no man should obstinately despise the iudgement of the Chirch, or little regard that he is condemned by the consentyng voices of the faithfull: the Word testifieth that suche iudgements of the faithfull is nothyng ells but a publishyng of his owne sentēce: and that whatsoeuer they do in earth, is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the woord of God, wherby they may condemne the peruerse: they haue the woord, wherby they may receiue the repentant into grace. And they can not erre, nor dissent from the iudgement of God: because they iudge not but after the lawe of God, whiche is not an vncertaine or earthly opinion, but the holy will of God, and a heavenly Oracle. Out of these two places, whych I thinke I haue bothe bysely and familiarly and truely expounded, those furious men without difference as they be caried with theire owne giddyngesse, goe about to stablishe sometyme confession, sometyme excommunication, sometime iurisdiction, sometyme the power to make lawes, sometyme pardons. But the first place they allege to stablishe the supremacie of the See of Rome: they can so well skill to fit their keyes to all lockes and dozes, that a man may say they haue practised smithes craft all their lyfe.

For wheras many thynke that those thyngs endured but for a time, when the Magistrates were yet strangers from the profession of our religion: they are deceined in this, that they consider not, how great difference and what manner of vnlikenesse there is of the Ecclesiasticall  
and



and ciuile power. For the Chirch hath not the power of the sword to punish or restrain, no empire to commaund, no prison, no other pains which y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate is wont to lay vpon mē. Again, it tendeth not to this end. y<sup>e</sup> he y<sup>e</sup> hath sinned shold be punished against his will, but shold with willig chastisement professe his repētāce. Therfoze there is a far diuers order: because neither doth the Chirch take to it self any thing which propzely belongeth to the Magistrate, noz the magistrate can execute that which the Chirch doeth. This shalbe made plainer by an example. Is any mā dronke? In a well ordered citie prison shalbe his punishment. Hath he comitted fornicatiō? He shal haue like, or rather greater punishmēt. So shal both y<sup>e</sup> lawes, & the magistrate, & the outward iudgemēt be satisfied. But it may be that he shal geue no signification of repentāce, but rather murmure and grudge against it. Shall the Chirche in this case do nothynz? But suche can not bee receiued to the Supper, without doynz wrong both to Christe and his hollye institution. And reason requirerh this, that he which offendeth the Chirch with an euill example, shoulde with solempne declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raised. The reason which they bring that are of contrary opinion, is to colde. Christe saye they committed these doinges to the Chirche, when there was no magistrate to execute them. But it happeneth oftētimes that the magistrate is moze negligent, yea somtime peradventure that himself is to be chastised, which hapened to the Emperoz Theodosius. There may beside this asmuche be said of y<sup>e</sup> ministerie of the word. Nowe therfoze after their sentence, let Pastozs cesse to blame manifest wicked doings, let them cesse to chide, to reprove, to rebuke: for there be Christiā magistrates, which ought to correct these things with y<sup>e</sup> lawes and with the sword. But as y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate oughte by punishyng, and by restraining with force, to purge y<sup>e</sup> Chirch of offences: so likewise the minister of the worde for his part ought to help the magistrate that there may not so many offend. So ought their workings to be cōioyned, that the one may be a helpe, not a hindzance to the other.

4

And truly if a man moze nerely weye the wordes of Christ, he shall easily perceiue that in these places is described a stayed state, and a perpetuall order of the Chirche, not suche as endureth but for a tyme. For it is not mete that we shoulde accuse them to the magistrate, that wyl not obey our monitions: which yet shold be necessary if the magistrate succeeded into the office of the Chirch. What is this promise? Shall we saye that it is a promise of one or a few yeres? Verily verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer ye bind in earth: Mozeouer Christ did here institute no new thing, but folowed the custome alway obserued in the aūcient Chirch of his owne nation: wherby he signified that the Chirch can not want the spirituall iurisdiction, whiche hadde been from the beginning. And this hath ben confirmed by the consent of all tymes. For when Emperozs & magistrates began to professe Christ, the spirituall iurisdiction was not by and by abolished: but only so ordzed, that it shold diminish nothing of the ciuile iurisdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magistrate, if he be godly, wil not exempt himselfe from the cōmon subiection of the childzē of God, wherof it is not y<sup>e</sup> last part to submit himselfe to the Chirch, iudgyng by the worde of God: so farre is it of, that he ought to take away y<sup>e</sup> order of iugemēt. For what is moze honozable

(saith)



(sayth Ambrose) for the Emperour than to be called the son of the Church: For a good Emperour is within the Church, not about the Church. Therfore they, which to honor the Magistrate do spoile the Church of this power, do not onely with false exposition corrupt the sentence of Christ, but also do not slenderly condemne so many holy Bishops whiche haue ben from the tyme of the Apostles, that they haue by false pretence blurred the honor and office of the Magistrate.

Episto.  
xxxii, ad  
Valent.

But on the other syde it is good to see this, what was in old time the true vse of the iurisdiction of the Church, and how great abuse is crepte in, that we may knowe what is to be abrogate, and what is to be restored of antiquitie, if we will ouerthrowe the kingdome of Antichrist, and set by the true kyngdome of Christ againe. First this is the marke to be shotte at, that offences be prevented, and if any offence be risen by, that it may be abolished. In the vse two thinges are to be considered: first, that this spirituall power be altogether seuered from the power of the sword: then, that it be not executed by the wil of one man, but by a lawfull assemblie. Bothe these thynges were obserued in the purer Church. For the holy Bishops did not exercise theyr power with fines, or emprisonmentes, or other ciuile punishmentes: but they vsed the only word of the Lorde, as they ought to do. For the seuerest reuenge, and as it were the bittermost thunderbolt of the Church is Excommunication, whiche is not vsed but in necessitie. But this requireth neyther force nor strong hande, but is content with the power of the worde of God. Finally the iurisdiction of the olde Church was nothyng els but a declaration in practise (as I may so call it) of that which Paul teacheth concerning the spirituall power of Pastors. There is (sayth he) power geuen to vs, wherby we may throwe downe strong holdes, wherby we may make low all height that listeth by it selfe againste the knowlege of God, wherby we may subdue all thought, and may leade it captiue into the obedience of Christ, and we haue in readinesse a reuenge against all disobedience. As this is doone by the preachyng of the doctrine of Christ: so, least the doctrine should be scorned, accordyng to that whiche is taught ought they to be iuged which professe themselves of the household of faith. But that can not be done, vnlesse there be ioyned with the ministerie a power to call them that are to be priuately admonished, or to be moze sharply corrected, and also a power to exclude them from the Communion of the Supper, whiche can not be receiued without prophaning of so great a mysterie. Therfore whē in an other place he saith, that it belongeth not to vs to iudge strangers, he maketh the children subiect to the Censures of the Church, which may chastise their faultes: and he secretely signifieth that there were then iudiciall orders in force from which none of the faithfull was free.

ff. Cor. p.  
iii.

1. Cor. vi.  
iii.

But suche authoritie (as we haue declared) was not in the power of one man, to do euery thyng accordyng to his owne wyll: but in the power of the assemblie of the Elders, whiche was the same thing in the Church that a Senate is in a Citie. Cyprian, when he maketh mention by whom it was exercised in his tyme, vseth to ioyne the whole Clergie with the Bishop. But in an other place also he sheweth, y the very clergy so gouerned, that in the meane tyme the people was not excluded from the hearyng of maters. For thus he writeth: Sing the beginnyng of my

Episto.  
14, et ix.  
lib. ii.



my bishoplike I haue determined to do nothyng without the counsell of the clergie and consent of the people. But this was the common and vsuall maner, that the iurisdiction of the Chirch should be exercised by a Senate of Elders: of whom (as I haue saied) there were two sortes: For some were ordeined to teachyng, & other some were only iudges of maners. By little and little this institution grewe out of kynd from the first beginning of it: so that euen in the tyme of Ambrose onely clerkes were iudges in ecclesiastical iudgements. Which thing he himselfe complaineth of in these wordes: The old Synagoge (saith he) and sing that tyme the Chirche hath had Elders; without whoes counsell nothyng was done. Which by what negligence it is growen out of vse, I know not, vnlesse peraduenture by the slouthfulnesse or rather the pryde of the teachers, while they alone wold be thought to be somewhat. We see how much the holy man is displeas'd, that any thyng of the better state is decayed, when notwithstanding they had yet continuyng an order that was at the least tolerable. What then wold he do if he saw these defozmed ruines that shewe almoste no signe of the olde byldyng? What bewaylyng wold he vse: fyrst agaynst lawe and right, the Bishop hath claimed to hymselfe alone, that whiche was geuen to the whole Chirch: For it is like as if the Consul, dzyuyng out the Senate, should take the empire vpon hymselfe alone. But as he is aboue the rest in honor, so in the whole assemblie is moze authoritie than in one man. Therefore it was to wicked a dede, that one man, remouyng the common power to hymselfe, hath bothe opened an entrie to tyzannous lust, and hath taken from the Chirch that which belonged vnto her, and hath suppressed and put away the assemblie ordeined by the Spirite of Chzist.

In. v. ca  
pi. 1. ad  
Tim.

7 But (as of one euil alway groweth an other) Bishops disdainyng it as a thing vnworthie of their care, haue comitted it ouer to other. Hereupō are created Officials to serue that roome: I do not yet speake what kind of men they be, but onely this I say, that they nothyng differ from profane Iudges. And yet they stil cal it a spiritual iurisdiction, where men contende about nothyng but earthly maters. Although there were no moze euell, with what face dare they call a brawlyng courte the iudgement of the Chirch? But there are monitions, there is excommunication. So verily they mocke with God. Doeth a pooze man owe a litle money: he is cited: if he appeare, he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he do not satisfie it, he is monished: after the seconde monition they procede one steppe toward excommunication: if he appeare not, he is monished to come and yeld hymself to iudgement: if he then make delay, he is monished, and by & by excommunicate. I beseeche you, what is there any thyng like either to the institution of Chziste, or to the auncient maner, or to an Ecclesiasticall order? But there is also cozrection of vices. But how verily they not onely suffer but with secrete allowance do after a certayne maner cherishe and confirme adulteries, wantonnesse, dzonkennesse and suche kynde of mischeuous doynges: and that not onely in the common people, but also in the clergie themselues. Of many they call a fewe befoze them, either that they should not seeme slouthfull in winkyng at them, or that they may milke out some money. I speake not of the pillages, robberies, bziberies, and sacrileges that are gathered thereby, I speake not what maner of men are for the most



moste part chosen to this office. This is enough and so much, that whē the Romanists do boast that their iurisdiction is spirituall, it is easy to shew that there is nothing moze cōtrary to the order institute of Christ, and that it hath no moze likenesse to the auncient custome than darke- nesse hath to light.

Although we haue not spoken all thynges that might be alleged for this purpose, and those thynges that we haue spoken of are knyt by in fewe words: yet I trust that we haue so fought it out, that there is now no moze cause why any man should doubt, that the spiritual power wherof the Pope with all his kingdome proudly glozieth, is wicked againste God, and an vniust tyrannie ouer his people. Under the name of spirituall power I comprehend both boldenesse in frampng new doctrines, wherwith they haue turned away the silly people from the natural pure- nesse of the word of God, & the wicked traditions wherewith they haue snared them, & also the false ecclesiastical iurisdiction which they execute by Suffraganes & Officials. For if we graunt vnto Christ a kingdome among vs, it is not possible but that all this kynd of dominion must im- mediately be ouerthrowen and fall down. As for the power of the sword whiche they also geue to themselues, because it is not exercised bypon consciēces, it pertaineth not to our present purpose to entreate of it. In which behalf yet it is also to note, that they be alwaye like themselues, verily nothyng lesse than that which they would be taken for, that is to say, Pastors of the Chirch. Neither do I blame the peculiar faultes of men, but the common wickednesse of the whole order, yea the verye pe- stilence of the order: for in much as it is thought that the same should be maymed, vnlesse it be gloriously set forth with welth and proude titles. If we require the authoritie of Christ concernyng this māter, it is no dout but that his mynd was to debarre the ministers of his word from ciuile dominion and earthly gouernement, when he said, The kyngs of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them: but you shall not so. For he signifieth not onely that the office of Pastor is distinct from the office of a Prince, but that they be thynges so seuered, that they can not mete together in one man. For wheras Moses did beare both the offices together: first, that was done by a rare myracle: agayne, it was but for a time tyl thin- ges were better set in order. But when a certaine forme was ones pre- scribed of God, the ciuile gouernement was left vnto him, and he was cōmaunded to religne the priesthode to his brother. And worthily. For it is aboue nature, that one mā should suffice to beare both burdens. And this hath in all ages beene diligently obserued in the Chirche. And there was neuer any of the Bishoppes, so long as the true forme of the Chirch endured, that ones thought of vsurping the power of the sword: so that this was a common prouetbe in the tyme of Ambrose, that Em- perors rather coueted the prestehode, than prestes the empire. For this which he afterwarde sayth, was emprinted in the myndes of all men: that palaces pertained to the Emperoz, and Chirches to the prest.

But sins that a way hath ben deuised, wherby Bishops myght holde the title, honoz and richesse of their office withoute burden or care: least they should be lefte altogethet idle, the power of the swerde was geuen them, or rather they dyd by vsurpation take it bypon the selues. By what coloz wil they defend this shamelesnesse: Was this the durie of Bishops to wrappe

Mat. xi.  
rb.  
Luc. xii.  
rb.

Cr. lxxi.  
rb.

Homil.  
de Basil.  
tradend.



to worappe themselues with iudiciall hearyng of causes, wyth the gouernementes of cities & prouinces, & through large circuites to meddle in busineses so vnparteining to them: which haue so much worke & businesse in their owne office, that if they were wholly and continually occupied in it, and were withdrawen with no callinges away from it, yet they were scarcely able to satisfie it: But (suche is their waywardnesse) they sticke not to boast, that by this meane the Church doth florithe accordyng to her worthinesse, and that they them selues in the meane tyme are not to muche drawen away from the dueties of their vocation. As touchyng the first point: if this be a comely orzament of the holy office, that they be aduanced to suche heighth, that the hyst monarches may stand in feare of them: then they haue cause to quarel with Christ, which hath in such sort greuously pinched their honoz. For, at lest in their opinion, what could haue ben spoken more dishonozably than these wordz: The kinges of the Gentiles and princes beare rule ouer them, but you shall not so: And yet he layd no harder laboure vpon his seruantes than he first layde and receiued vpon himselfe. Who (sayth he) hath made me a iudge or diuider among you? We see that he plainly putteth away fro hymselfe the office of iudgyng, whych he wolde not do if it were a thing agreyng with his office: will not the seruantes suffer themselues to be brought into that order, wherunto the Lorde hath yelded hymselfe subiecte? As for the other pointe, I woulde to God they coulde so proue it in experiance as it is easy to speake it. But forasmuche as the Apostles thoughte it not good, to leaue the woorde of God and minister at tables: therby, because they will not be taught, they are conuincid, that it is not all one mans woorde to be bothe a good Bishoppe and a good Prince. For if they (whyche accordyng to the largenesse of the gistes wherwith they were endued, were able to satisfie moe and greater cares than any men that haue ben bozne since them) haue yet confessed y they can not at ones applie y ministerie both of the woorde and of tables, but y they shold faint vnder the burden: how coulde these that be me of no valor in coparison of the Apostles a hundred folde excell the industrie of y Apostles? Cruely, to attempt it was a point of most shamesse & to presumptuous boldnesse: yet we se that it hath ben attempted: but with what successe, it is euidente. For it could not otherwise come to passe, but that forsaking their owne office they shold remoue into other mens charge.

10 And it is no dout but that of smal beginnyng they haue by litle & litle growe to so great encrease. For it was not possible that they shold at y first step clyme by so hie. But somtime with suttletie and crooked crafty meanes they priuily auanced them selues, so as no man coulde foresee that it would come to passe tyll it was done: somtime when occasion serued they did by terroz and thzetenings wyng from princes some augmentation of theyz power: sometime when they sawe Princes not hard laced to geue, they abused theyz sonde and vnadvised gentlenesse. In olde tyme if any conttouerlie happened, the godly, to escape the necessitie of goyng to lawe, committed the arbitrement to the Bishop, because they doubted not his vprightnesse. With such arbitrementes the olde Bishops were oftentimes encobred, which in dede greatly displeasid the (as Augustine in one place testifieth) but lest the parties shold runne to

Mat. xx.  
xxv.  
Lu. xxi.  
xxv.

Lu. xii.  
xlii.

Act. vi. ii.



contentious lawyng, they did though against their willes take that encumbrance vpon them. These men haue of voluntarie arbitrementes, whiche were altogether differyng from the noyse of iudiciall courtes, made an ordinarie iurisdiction. In a litle whyle after when cities and contrees were troubled with diuerse harde distrelles, they resoꝝted to the protection of Bishops, to be sauegarded by their faithful succour: the Bishoppes by inarueilous sutteltie, of protectoꝝ made them selues Loꝝdes: Yea and it can not be denyed that they haue gotten the possession of a greate parte by violente seditious partakinges. As foꝝ the Princes, that willingly gaue iurisdiction to Bishops, they were by diuerse affections moued thereunto. But, admitting that their gentlenesse had some shew of godlinesse: yet with this their wozongfull liberalitie they dyd not very well pꝝouide foꝝ the pꝝofite of the Chirch, whoes aũcient and true discipline they haue so cozrupted, yea (to say truthe) haue vtterly abolished. But, those Bishops that haue abused suche goodnesse of princes to their owne cõmoditie, haue by shewyng of this one exãple enough and to much testified that they are not Bishops. Foꝝ if they had had any sparckle of an Apostolike spirite, they wold without doute haue answered out of the mouthe of Paule: The weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but spirituall. But they beyng rauished with blynd greedinesse, haue destroyed bothe them selues, their successoures, and the Chirche.

At length the Bishop of Rome not contented with meane lordships, fyrst layde hande vpon kingdomes, and afterwarde vpon the very empire. And that he may with some coloz whatsoener it be reteine the possession gotten by mere robberie, he sometime boasteth that he hath it by the lawe of God, he sometime pretendeth the gift of Constantine, sometime some other title. Fyrst I answer with Bernarde: Admitte that he do by any other reason whatsoener, claime this vnto hym, yet he hath it not by Apostolike right. Foꝝ Peter coulde not geue that whiche he had not: but he gaue to his successoꝝ that whiche he had, the care of Chirches. But when the Loꝝde and maister saieth, that he is not appointed iudge betweene two, a seruant and scholat ought not to thinke scoꝝne if he be not iudge of all men. But Bernarde speaketh of ciuile iugementes: Foꝝ he addeth: Therfoꝝe your power is in crimes, not in possessions: because foꝝ those and not foꝝ these ye haue receiued the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. Foꝝ whiche seemeth to thee the greater dignitie to forgeue sinnes, oꝝ to diuide landes? There is no comparison. These base and earthly thynges haue kynges and princes of the earthe their iudges. Why do ye inuade the boundes of other? Algaine. Thou arte made a superioꝝ: (he speaketh to Pope Eugenius) but wherunto? Not to beate lordship, I thinke. Therfoꝝe howe muche soeuer we thinke of our selues, let vs remembꝝe that there is a ministerie laid vpon vs, not a lordship geuen vs. Learne that thou hast nede of a wedeholde, not of a scepter, that thou mayste doo the woꝝke of a Pꝝophete. Algaine, it is playne: Lordship is foꝝbidden to the Apostles. Goe thou therfoꝝe, and pꝝesunte to vsurpe to thy selfe either beeyng a loꝝde, an Apostleshippe: oꝝ beeyng an Apostle, a lordship. And by and by after: the forme of an Apostleship is this, Lordshippe is foꝝbidden them, ministerie is bidden them. Wheras these thynges are so spoken of a man, that it is euidentē

to all



to all men, that the very truthe speaketh them, yea where as the very thyng it selfe is manifest without all woozdes: yet the bishop of Rome was not ashamed in the Councell at Orleans to decree, that the supreme power of bothe the swerdes belong to hym by the lawe of God.

As for the gift of Constantine, they that be but meanly practised in the histories of those tymes nede not to be taught howe muche this is not only fabulous, but also to be laughed at. But to passe over histories, Gregorie himselfe is bothe a sufficient and most full witnesse hereof. For so oft as he speaketh of the emperoz, he calleth him most noble Lord, and himselfe his unworthy servant. Againe in an other place: But lette not our Lord by the earthly power be the soner angry with the prestes: but with excellent consideration, for his sake whoes seruantes they be, let him so rule over them, that he also geue them due reuerence. We see howe in common subiection he wold be accompted as one of the people. For he there pleadeth not any other mans cause, but his owne. In an other place, I trust in the almighty God, that he wyll geue a long lyfe to our godly lordes, and will dispose vs vnder your hande accordyng to his mercie. Neither haue I therfore alleged these thynges, for that it is my purpose throughly to discusse his question concernyng the gift of Constantine: but only that the Reders should see by the way howe chydishly the Romanistes do lye, when they go about to chalenge an earthly empire to their Bishop. And so muche the more fowle is the shamelesnesse of Augustine Steuchus, which in suche a despeired cause hath been so bolde to selle his trauayle and tong to the Bishop of Rome. Walla (as it was not hard for a man learned and of a sharp witt) had strongly confuted that fable. And yet (as a man litle exercised in ecclesiasticall maters) he had not sayde all that mighte haue made for that purpose. Steuchus burst in, and scattred stinkyng trifles to oppresse the clere light. And truely he doeth no lesse coldly handle the cause of his master, that if some mery conceited felow faynyng himselfe to do the same, wold in dede take Wallaes part. But verily it is a woorthy cause, for whiche the Pope should hyze such patrones for money: and no lesse woorthy are those hyzed losells to be deceyued of theyr hope of gayne, as it hapened to Eugubinus.

But if any man require to knowe the tyme, sins this fained empire began to ryle bp, there are not yet passed fiue hundred yeares, sins the Bishoppes yet remained in subiection of the princes, neither was the Pope created without the authozitie of the Emperoz. The Emperoz Henry the sowerth of that name, a light and rashe man, and of no forcast, of great boldnesse and dissolute life, gaue first occasion to Gregorie the. vii. to alter this order. For when he had in his court the Bishoppes of all Germanie partly to be sold, and partly laid open for spoile: Hildebrand, whiche had receyued displeasure at his hande, caught hold of a goodly coloz to reuenge himselfe. But because he seemed to pursue an honeste and a godly cause, he was furthered with the fauoz of many. And Henry was otherwise, by reason of his insolent maner of gouernyng, hated of the most part of princes. At the length Hildebrand, whiche called hymselfe Gregorie the. vii. as he was a filthy and naughty man, betrayed the malice of his harte: which was the cause that he was forsaken of many that had conspired with hym. But he thus much

preuai-

Cōciliū  
Arelatē.

12

Epist. v  
lib. ii.  
Epi. 20,  
lib. iii.  
Epi. 61,  
lib. 2.  
Epist. 31,  
lib. 4.  
Episto.  
xxxiii,  
lib. iii.

13



preuailed, that his successozs might freely without punishment not on-ly shake of the yoke, but also byng Emperors in subiection to them. Hereunto was added that from thense fourth there were many Empe-rosz liker to Henrie than to Julius Cesar: whō it was no hard thing to subdue, while they sate at home carelesse of all thinges and slouthful, when they had most nede with vertue and lawfull meanes to repressse, the gredinesse of the Bishops. Thus we see with what color that same goodly gift of Constantine is shadowed, wherby the Pope sayneth that the Empire of the West was deliuered vnto him.

In the meane time the Popes celled not, sometime with fraude, some-  
 14  
 time w<sup>th</sup> treason, and sometime with force, to invade other mens domini-  
 ons: and the very citie it selfe, which befoze was free, within a hundzed  
 and thirty yeres, or there about they broughte into their subiection: till  
 they grewe to the same power which they haue at this day: and for the  
 obtaining or encreasing wherof, they haue so troubled Ch�istendome  
 by y<sup>e</sup> space of twoo hundzed yeres (for they began befoze y<sup>e</sup> they toke to  
 them the dominion of the citie) that they haue almost destroyed it. In y<sup>e</sup>  
 olde tyme whē vnder Gregozie y<sup>e</sup> keepers of the goods of the Chirch, did  
 take possessiō of the landes which they reckened to belong to y<sup>e</sup> Chirch,  
 and after the maner of seising to y<sup>e</sup> vse of the Prince did sett titles vpon  
 them for token of claime, Gregozie assembling a Councell of Bishops,  
 inueying soze against that p̄phane maner, asked whether they did not  
 iudge y<sup>e</sup> Clerke accursed which did of his own will by wryting of any ti-  
 tle attempt to entre vpon any possession. They al pronouced, accursed.  
 If to claime a pece of groude by wryting of a title be in a Clerke an of-  
 fense woorthy of accursing: when whole twoo hundzed yeres together  
 Popes do p̄actise nothing ellis but battells, shedding of blood, destructi-  
 ons of armies, sackinges of some citie, racing of other, ouerthrowes of  
 natiōs, wastinges of kingdomes, only they y<sup>e</sup> might catch hold of other  
 mens possessions: what cursinges can be enough to punish such exam-  
 ples. Truly it is very plaine that they seke nothing lesse than y<sup>e</sup> glozy of  
 Ch�ist. For if they of their own wil do wholly resigne al the secular po-  
 wer y<sup>e</sup> theyhaue, therein is no danger to the glozy of God, no danger to  
 sounde doctrine, no danger to the safetie of the Chirch: but they are car-  
 ryed blinde and hedlong with only gredinesse of dominion: because they  
 thinke nothing safe, vnlesse they may beare rule with rigorousnesse (as  
 the Prophete sayth) and with power.

To iurisdiction is annexed immunitie, which y<sup>e</sup> Romisch Clergie toke to  
 themselues. For they thinke it against their dignitie, if they answer in  
 personal causes befoze a tēporal iudge: & therein they think both y<sup>e</sup> liber-  
 tie & dignitie of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch to consist, if they be exēpt frō cōmō iugemētes  
 and lawes. But y<sup>e</sup> old Bishops, which otherwisse were most rigorous in  
 defēding y<sup>e</sup> right of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, iudged themselues & their order to be no-  
 thing hurt, if they were subiect to them. And y<sup>e</sup> godly Emperours, wout  
 gaine saying of any man, did alway call Clerkes to their iugemēt seates  
 so oft as nede required. For thus saith Constantine in hys Epistle to y<sup>e</sup>  
 Nicomedians: If any of the Bishops shall vndiscretly disorder hym-  
 selfe, his boldnesse shalbe restrained by the execution of the minister of  
 God, that is by my execution. And Valentinian saith: good Bishops do  
 not speake againste the power of the Emperoz, but doe sincerely boily  
 kepe the cōmaudemētes of God the great king, & also obey our lawes,



At that tyme all men were perswaded of thys without controuersy. But ecclesiasticall causes were referred to the iugement of the Bishop. As if any Clerke had offended nothing against the lawes: but onely was accused by the Canons: he was not cited to the commō iugement seate, but in that cause had the Bishop for hys iudge. Lyke wyse if there were a question of Fayth in controuersie, or such a mater as pꝛopetly perteyned to the Chirch, the iugement therof was committed to the Chirch.

Epi. 31.  
 So is that to be vnderstanded, which Ambrose wyrteth to Valentini-  
 an: Your father of honorablen memoꝝy, not only answered in woꝛde, but  
 also decreed by lawes, that in a cause of Fayth he ought to be iudge that  
 is neither vnfit in office noꝛ vnlike in ryght. Agayne: If we haue re-  
 garde to the Scriptures or olde examples, who is there that can denye  
 that in a cause of Faith, in a cause (I say) of Fayth, Bishops are wonte  
 to iudge of Christian Emperours, and not Emperours of Bishops:  
 Agayne: I would haue come, O Emperoz, to your consistorie, if either  
 the Bishops or the people would haue suffred me to goe: saying, that the  
 cause of Fayth ought to be debated in the Chirch befoꝛe the people. He  
 affirmeth verily that a spiritual cause, that is to say the cause of religio,  
 ought not to be drawen into the tempoꝛal court where prophane causes  
 are pleaded. Woꝛthily do all men prayse hys constance in thys behalfe.  
 And yet in a good cause he pꝛocedeth but thus farr, that if it come to vi-  
 olence and strong hande, he sayeth that he wyll geue place. Willingly  
 (sayth he) I will not forsake the place committed vnto me: but when  
 I am enforced, I knowe not howe to resist: for our armure are prayers  
 and teares. Let vs note the singular modestie and wisdoine of the ho-  
 ly man, ioyned with stoutenesse of courage and boldnesse. Iustina the  
 Emperours mocher, because she could not drawe hym to the Arrians  
 side, pꝛactised to dꝛyue hym from the gouernement of the Chirche. And  
 so should it haue come to passe, if he had come when he was called to the  
 palace to pleade hys cause. Therefore he denyeth the Emperoz to be a  
 competent iudge of so great a controuersie. Which maner of doing both  
 the necessitie of that tyme, and the continual nature of the mater requi-  
 red. For he iudged that he ought rather to dye, than that suche an ex-  
 ample should by his consent be geuen to posteritie: and yet if violence be  
 offered, he thynketh not of resistance. For he denyeth it to be Bishp-  
 like, to defende the Fayth and ryght of the Chirch with armes. But in other  
 causes he sheweth hymselfe redy to do whatsoeuer the Emperoz shall  
 commaunde hym. If he demaunde tribute, (sayth he) we denye it not:  
 the landes of the Chirch do pay tribute. If he aske landes, he hath po-  
 wer to claime them, none of vs resisteth. After the same maner also  
 speaketh Gregozie. I am not ignorant (sayeth he) of the mynde of our  
 most noble soueraigne Loꝛde, that he vseth not to entermeddle in cau-  
 ses pꝛetyning to pꝛestres, least he should in any thyng be burdened with  
 our synnes. He doth not generally exclude the Emperoz from iudgyng  
 of Pꝛestres: but he sayth that there be certayne causes, which he oughte  
 to leaue to the iugement of the Chirch.

16  
 And by thys very exception the holy men soughte nothing ells, but  
 that Pꝛynces lesse zelous of religion should not wyth tyꝛannous vio-  
 lence and wilfulnesse interrupte the Chirch in doyng her offyce. For  
 neither did they disallowe if Pꝛynces somtyme dyd vse their authoritie  
 in

Homel.  
 de basili-  
 lic. trad.

Lib. 3.  
 Epi. 20.



in ecclesiastical maters, so that it were done to preserve the order of the Church, not to trouble it, to stablish discipline, not to dissolve it. For sith the Church hath not the power of compelling, nor oughte to require it I speake of civile constraining: it is the office of Godly kynges and Princes to mainteine religion with lawes, proclamations, and iudicial procedinges. After thys maner, when the Emperour Maurice had commaunded certaine Bishops y they should receive their fellowe Bishops that were their neighbors and driven oute by the barbarous nations: Gregorie confirmeth that commaundemente, and exhorteth them to obeye it. And when he himselve is admonished by the same Emperour to come to atonement with John the Bishop of Constantinople, he doth in dede render a reason why he ought not to be blamed: yet he doth not boast of immunitie from the secular court, but rather promisseth that he wil be obedient, so farr as his conscience wil geue hym leaue: and therewithal he saith this, that Maurice did as became a Godly Prince, when he gaue such commaundementes to the Prestes.

Lib. 1.  
Epi. 43.

Lib. 4.  
Episto.  
xxxii. &  
xxxiii.  
Lib. vii.  
Episto.  
xxxix.

## The. xii. Chapter.

Of the discipline of the Church, wherof the chiefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.



The discipline of y Church, y entreating wherof we haue differred vnto this place, is brefely to be declared, that we may at length passe ouer to the rest. But that same for y most part hangeth vpon the power of the keyes and spirital iurisdiction. That this may be the more easily vnderstode, let vs diuide the Church into twoo principal degrees, that is to say the Clergie, and the people. Clerkes I call by the vsual name those y execute publike ministerie in the Church. Firste we wil speake of common discipline, to which al ought to be subiect: then we will come to the Clergie, which beside that common discipline, haue a seuerall discipline by themselues. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhorre the very name therof, let them heare this: If no fellowship, yea no house though it haue but a small household, can be kept in righte state without discipline, the same is muche more necessarie in the Church, whoes state ought to be most orderly of al. Therfore as the doctrine of Christ which bringeth saluation is the soule of the Church, so discipline is in stede of sinewes therein: wherby it is broughte to passe, that the members of the body hang together euery one in hys fyt place. Wherfore whosoever do either desire to haue discipline taken awaye, or hinder the restorzyng therof, whether they do it of set purpose or by vnadvisednesse, verily they seke the extreme dissipation of the Church. For what shall betide, if what is lustfull to be lawfull to euery man? But so would it be, if there were not with the preaching of doctrine adioyned private admonishmentes, corrections, and suche other helpes whiche susteyne doctrine and suffer it not to bee idle. Discipline



Of the outward meanes

therfore is as it were a bridle, wherwith they may be holden backe and tamed which coltishly resist against Christ: or as it were a pricke, wherwith they that are not willing enough may be stirred by: and somtyme, as a fatherly rod, wherwith they which haue moze greuouly fallē may be chastised mercifully and according to the mildenesse of the Spirit of Christ. Sith therfore we do now se at hande certaine beginnings of a horrible wastenesse in the Chirch, because there is no care nor order to kepe the people in awe, very necessitie cryeth out y<sup>t</sup> there is nede of remedy. But thys is the onely remedy, which both Christ hath commaunded, and hath alway ben v<sup>s</sup>ed among the godly.

The first foundation of discipline is, that priuate monitions shoulde haue place: that is to say, that if any man of hys own accorde doe not hys duty, if he behaue himselfe licentious, or liue not honestly, or haue committed any thyng worthy of blame, he should suffer himselfe to be admonished: and that euery man should study to admonish his brother when occasion shall require. But specially let the Pastors and Prestes be watchfull to doe thys, whoes office is not only to preach to the people, but in euery house to admonish and exhort if at any tyme they doe not sufficiently preuaile by generall doctrine: as Paule teacheth, when he reherseth that he taughte priuately and in houses, and protesteth that he is cleane from the blood of all men, because he hath not cessed with teares day and night to admonish euery one. For doctrine doeth then obteyne force and authoritie when the minister not onely doth declare to altogether what their duty is to Christ, but also hath power and order to require the keeping therof of them whom he marketh to be either not obediēte to doctrine, or slouthfull. If any man doe either stubboznelly refuse, or in going forwarde in hys faultes, do despise such admonishments: when he hath ben the seconde tyme admonished with witness called to it, Christe commaundeth them to be called to the iugement of the Chirch, which is y<sup>t</sup> assemblie of Elders: and that there they should be moze greuouly admonished as it were by publike authoritie, that if he reuerence the Chirch, he may submitt himselfe and obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but do continue in hys wickednesse, then he commaundeth hym, as a despiser of the Chirch, to be putt away from the felowship of the faythfull.

But because he speaketh here onely of secreete faultes, we must make this diuision: that some synnes be priuate, and some publike or openly manifest. Of the first sort Christ sayth to euery priuate man, Reproue hym betwene thee and hym alohe. Of manifest synnes Paule sayth to Timothee, Reproue hym before all men, that the rest may haue feare. For Christ had sayd before, If thy brother haue offended agaynst thee. Which wordes, (against thee) vnlesse thou wilt be contentious, thou cannest not othertwys vnderstande than vnder thyne owne secret knowlege, so that there be no moe priuie to it. But the same thyng whiche the Apostle teacheth Timothee concernyng the rebuking of them openly that sinne openly, he hymselfe folowed in Peter. For whē Peter synned euen to publyke offence, he did not admonysh hym apart by hymself, but brought him fourth into y<sup>t</sup> sight of the Chirch. Therfore this shalbe the right order of doing, if in secret faultes we goe forward according to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faultes,

we

Act. xxi. ff  
c. xxi.

Paule.  
rbiii. rb. 7  
rb. i.

3  
Paule.  
rbiii. rb.  
i. Tim. b.  
ff.

Gala. ii.  
viii.



we immediatly procede to the Churches solempne rebuking, if the offense be publike.

Let this also be an other distinctiō: that of sinnes some be defaultes, other some be wicked doinges, or haynous offences. To the correcting of thys later sort, not only admonishment or rebuking is to be bled, but also a seuerer remedie: as Daule sheweth which not only chastised wyth wordes the Cozynthian that had committed incest, but also punished him with excommunication, so sone as he was certified of his wicked dede. Now therfore we beginne better to se how the spiritual iurisdiction of the Church, which punisheth sinnes according to the word of the Lorde, is the best maintenance of health, and fundation of order, and bonde of vnitie. Therfore when the Church doth banish out of her company manifest adulterers, whozemongers, theues, robbers, seditious persons, periured men, false witnesses, and such other, againe obstinate men, which being orderly admonished even of small faultes doe scozne God and his iugement: she taketh nothing vpon her selfe without reason, but executeth the iurisdiction geuen her of the Lorde. Moreouer, that none should despise such iugement of the Church, or lightly regarde that he is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithful: the Lorde hath testified, that the same is nothing ells but a pronouncing of hys own sentence, and that whatsoever they do in erth is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the worde of the Lorde, wherby they may condemne the frowarde: they haue the worde, wherby they may receiue the repentant into fauor. They I say that trust that without thys bonde of discipline Churches may long stande, are deceiued in opinion: vnlesse perchappes we may want that helpe which the Lorde foresaw that it should be necessarie for vs. And truely how great is the necessitie therof, shalbe better perceiued by the manifolde bfe of it.

There be thre endes whiche the Church hath respect vnto in suche corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they should not, to the dishonor of God, be named among Christians, that leade a filthy and sinfull lyfe, as though his holy Church were a cōspiracie of noughtie and wicked men. For sith the Church is the body of Christ, it can not be defiled with suche filthy and rotten members, but that some shame muste come to the hed. Therfore that there should not be any suche thyng in the Church, wherby hys holy name may be spotted wyth any reproche, they are to be drinen out of her householde, by whoes dishonestie any sleaūder myght redounde to the name of Christians. And herein also is consideration to be had of the Supper of the Lorde, that it be not profaned with geuing it to alwithout choise. For it is most true, that he to whom the distribution of it is committed, if he wittingly and willingly admitt an vnworthy man whom he might lawfully put back, is as giltye of Sacrilege, as if he did geue abrode the Lordes body to dogges. Wherfore Chrysostome greuously inuepeth against y Prestes, whiche while they feare the power of great men, dare debarre no man. The blood (sayth he) shalbe required at your handes. If ye feare man, he shall laugh you to scozne: but if ye feare God, ye shalbe reuerenced also among men. Let vs not feare inaces, nor purple, nor crownes: we haue here a greater power. I berily will rather deliuer mine own body to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I will be made



partaker of this defiling. Therfore least this most holy myſtery be ſpotted with ſclander, in the diſtributing thereof choiſe is greatly requiſite: which yet can not be had but by the iuriſdiction of the Chirch. The ſecōd ende is, leaſt (as it is wont to come to paſſe) with the continuall company of the euill, the good ſhold be corrupted. For (ſuch is our redy inclination to go out of the way) there is nothing eaſier than for vs to be ledde by euill examples frō the right courſe of lyfe. This vſe the Apoſtle touched, when he commaūded the Cozinthians to put the inceſtuouſ man out of their company. A litle leuen (ſayth he) corrupteth the whole lump of doae. And he foresaw herein ſo great danger, that he forbade hym euen from all felowſhip. If any brother (ſayth he) among you be named either a whozemonger, or a couetous man, or a worſhipper of Idoles, or a dzonkarde, or an euill ſpeaker, with ſuche a one I graunte you not leaue ſo much as to eate. The thirde ende is, that they themſelues confounded with ſhame may beginne to repente of their filthineſſe. So it is profitable for them alſo, to haue their owne wickedneſſe chaſtiſed, that with feling of the rod they may be awaked, which otherwyſe by tender bearing with them would haue become moze obſtinate. The ſame thing doth the Apoſtle meane when he ſayth thus: If any do not obey our doctrine, marke hym, and kepe no companye wyth hym, that he may be aſhamed. Againe in an other place, when he wyrteth that he hath deliuered the Cozinthian to Satan, that hys Spirite might be ſaued in the day of the Lord: that is (as I expounde it) that he went into a damnation for a tyme, that he might be ſaued for ever. But he therfore ſayth that he deliuereth hym to Satan, becauſe the deuil is out of the Chirch, as Chriſt is in the Chirch. For wheras ſome do refer it to a certaine vexing of the ſeethe, I thynke that to be very vncertaine.

When theſe endes be ſet fourth, nowe it remaineth to ſe howe the Chirch executeth this part of diſcipline which conſiſteth in iuriſdiction. Firſt let vs kepe the diuiſion aboue ſet, that of ſynnes ſome be publike, and other ſome be priuate or moze ſecrete. Publike are thoſe that haue not onely one or twoo witneſſes, but are committed openly and wyth the offense of the whole Chirch. Secrete I call thoſe, not which are altogether hidden from men, as are y ſynnes of Hipocrites, for thoſe come not into the iugement of y Chirch, but thoſe of the meane kynde which are not without witneſſes, & yet are not publike. The firſte kynd requirereth not thoſe degrees which Chriſt rehearſeth: but whē any ſuch thing appeareth, y Chirch ought to do her dutie in calling the ſinner and correcting him according to the propoztion of the offense. In y ſecond kind according to y rule of Chriſt, they come not to y Chirch til there be alſo obſtinacie added. Whē it is ons come to knowlege, then is y other diuiſion to be noted betwene wycked doinges & defaultes. For in lighter ſynnes there is not to be vſed ſo great ſeueritie, but chaſtiſemēt of wordes ſufficeth, & the ſame gentle and fatherly, which may not hardē nor confounde the ſynner, but byyng hym home to hymſelfe, y he may moze reioyſe than be ſory y he was corrected. But it is mete that haynous offenses be chaſtiſed with ſharper remedie. For it is not enough, if he that by doing wycked dede of euill example hath greuouſly offended the Chirch, ſhoulde be chaſtiſed onely with wordes, but he oughte for a  
time

1. Coz. b.  
bl. 2. r. i.

11. Ther.  
iii. r. iii.

1. Coz. b. b  
Aug. de.  
verb.  
aposto.  
hem.  
lviii.  
6



time to be depriued of the communion of the Supper, til he haue geuen assurance of his repentance. For against the Cozinthian Paule vseth not only rebuking of woordes, but driueth him out of the Chirche, and blameth the Cozinthians that it had so long bozne him. The olde and better Chirch kepte this order, when rightfull gouernement flozished. For if any man had done any wicked dede wherupon was growen offense, first he was commaunded to abstaine from partaking of the holy Supper, then both to humble himselfe befoze God, and to testifie hys repentance befoze the Chirch. There were also certaine solemne vsages, which were enioyned to them that had fallē, to be tokens of their repentance. When they had so done, that the Chirch was satisfiēd, thē by laying of handes he was receiued into fauor. Which receiuing is oftentimes called of Cipriane peace, who also brievely describeth this vsage. They do penance (saith he) in a certaine ful time: then they come to confession, and by the laying on of handes of the Bishop and the Clergie they receiue power to come to the communion. Howbeit the Bishop and his Clergie had so the ruling of reconciliation, that they did therewithall require the consent of the people: as he sheweth in an other place.

From this discipline there was no man exempted, that euen the Princes together with the common people did submit themselves to beare it. And rightfully, si the it was euident that it was the discipline of Chzist, to whom it is mete that all scepters and crownes of kinges be submitted. So when Theodosius was depriued by Ambrose of power to come to the communion because of the slaughter committed at Chessalonica, he thzewe down all the royall ornaments wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the Chirch bewayled his sinne, whiche had crept vpon him by fraude of other men: he craued pardon with groning and teares. For great kinges ought not to thinke this to be any dishonor to them, if they humbly thzowe down themselves befoze Chzist the king of kinges, neither ought it to displease them that they be iudged by the Chirch. For si the in their court they heare nothing els but mere flatteries, it is more than necessarie for them to be rebuked of the Lord by the mouth of the Prestes. But rather they ought to wishe, that the Prestes should not spare them, that the Lord may spare them. In this place I omit to speake, by whom this iurisdiction is to be exercised, because it is spoken of in an other place. This onely I adde that that is lawfull maner of proceeding in excommunicating a man, whiche Paule sheweth: if the Elders doe it not alone by themselves, but with the Chirch knowing and allowing it: that is, in such sort that the multitude of the people may not gouerne y doing, but may marke it as a witnesse and a keper that nothing should be done of a fewe by wilfull affection. But the whole maner of doing, beside the calling vpon y name of God, ought to haue such grauitie, as may resemble the presence of Chzist: that it maye be vndouted that he there sitteth for ruler of his owne iugement.

But this ought not to be passed ouer, that such seueritie becometh the Chirch as is ioined with the Sprite of mildenesse. For we must alway diligently beware (as Paule teacheth) y he whiche is punished be not swallowed by of sorow: for so should of a remedy be made a destructio.

But out of the ende may better be gathered a rule of moderation. For

t. Coz. v. 9

Epl. ii.

Lib. i.

Lib. iii.

Ep. xiiii.

&amp; xxvi.

7

Ambro.

in lib. i.

Epi. iii.

in. orat.

habita

in fune.

Theo-

dosi.

8

ii. Coz. iii.

ii. vii.



wheras this is required in excommunication that the sinner should be brought to repentance, and euill examples taken away, least either the name of Christ should be euill spoken of, or other mē be prouoked to followe them: if we shal haue an eye to these thinges, we shalbe able easily to iudge how farr seueritie ought to procede and where it ought to end. Therfore when the sinner geueth a testimonie of his repentance, and doth by this testimonie, as much as in him lyeth, blott out the offense: he is not to be enforced any further: but if he be enforced, rigorousnesse doth then excede measure. In which behalfe the immesurable seueritie of the olde fathers can not be excused, which both disagreed from y<sup>e</sup> prescribed order of the Lord, and also was maruelously dangerous. For when they charged a sinner with solemne penance, and deprivation fro<sup>m</sup> the holy communion somtime for seuen yeres, sometime fower yeres, somtime thzee yeres, somtime for their whole life: what other thyng could followe therof but either great hipocrisie or most great desperatio<sup>n</sup>. Likewise wheras no man that had fallen the seconde time was admitted to seconde penance but was cast out of the Church euen to the ende of his life: that was neyther profitable nor agreing to reason. Therefore whosoever shal wey the mater with sound iugemēt, shal herein perceiue want of their discretion. Howbeit I do here rather disallow the publike maner, thā accuse al them y<sup>e</sup> bled it, wheras it is certaine y<sup>e</sup> many of them miliked it: but they did therfore suffer it, because they could not amende it. Cruely Cipriane declareth, how much beside his owne wil he was so rigorous. Our pacience (saith he) and easinesse & gentlenesse is redy to them that come. I wish al to returne into the Church: I wish al our fellowe soldiars to be enclosed within the tentes of Christ and in y<sup>e</sup> houses of God the father. I forgeue al thinges, I dissemble many thinges: for zeale & desire to gather brotherhode together, I examine not with full iugement euen those thinges y<sup>e</sup> are comitted against God: in pardoning defaultes moze than I ought, I am my selfe almoste in defaulte: I doe with redy and full loue embrace them that returne with repentance, confessing their sinnes with humble and plaine satisfaction. Chrysostome is somewhat harder, and yet he sayth thus: If God be so kinde, why will his Priest seme so rigorous? Mozeouer we knowe what gentlenesse Augustine bled towarde the Donatistes, in so much y<sup>e</sup> he sticket not to receiue into Bishoprike those that had returned from schisme, euen immediately after their repētance. But because a contrary order had groben in force, they were compelled to leaue their owne iugement to folow it.

2 But as this mildenesse is required in the whole body of the Church, that it should punish them y<sup>e</sup> are fallen, mercifully and not to the extremitie of rigor, but rather according to the precepte of Paule, shoulde confirme charitie towarde them: so every priuate mā for himselfe ought to temper himselfe to this mercifulnesse and gentlenesse. Therfore it is not our part to wypp out of the number of the elect suche as are dyuert oute of the Church, or to despeire of them as though they were already loste. We maye in dede iudge them strangers from the Church, and therefore strangers from C H R I S T: but that is onely durynge the tyme that they abide in diuorce. But if then also they shewe a greater resemblance of stubboznesse than of gentlenesse, yet lette vs committ them to the iugemente of the Lorde, hoping better



better of them in time to come than we see in time present, and let vs not therfore cesse to pray to God for them, & (to comprehend al in one word) let vs not condemne to death the person it selfe, whiche is in the hande and iudgement of God alone, but let vs rather wepe by the law of the Lorde of what sozt euery mans woꝝks be. Which rule while we folow, we rather stande to the iudgement of God than pronounce our owne. Let vs not take to our selues moze libertie in iudgyng, vnlesse we will bynde the power of God within boudes, and appoint a law to his mercie, at whoes pleasure when he thinketh it good, very euell men are turned into very good, strangers are grafted and fozeins are chosen into the Chirch. And this the Lorde doeth, therby to mocke out the opinion of men, and rebate theyꝝ rashnesse: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to it selfe power of iudgyng moze than it ought.

For where as Christ promiseth that that shalbe bounde in heauen, whiche they that be his shal bynde in earthe, he limitteth the power of byndyng, to the Censure of the Chirch: by whiche they that are excommunicate are not thzowen into euerlastyng ruine and damnation: but hearyng their lyues and maners to be condemned, they are also certified of their owne euerlastyng condemnation, vnlesse they repente. For excommunication hearyng differeth from accursyng, that accursyng takyng away all pardon doeth condemne a man and adiudge him to eternal destruction: excommunication rather reuengeth and punisheth maners. And though thesame do also punish the man, yet it doeth so punish hym, that in fozewarnyng hym of his damnation to come, it doth call hym backe to saluation. If that be obtained, reconciliation and restoring to the comunion is ready. But accursyng is either very seldome or neuer in vse. Therfore although ecclesiasticall discipline, permitteth not to liue familiarly, or to haue frendly conuersation with them that be excommunicate: yet we ought to endeuor by such meanes as we may, that returnyng to amendment, they may returne to the felowshyp and vnitie of the Chirch: as the Apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) think them as enemies, but correct them as byethzen. Vnlesse this getlenesse be kept as well priuately as in common, there is danger least from discipline we forthwith fall to butcherie.

This also is principally required to the moderation of discipline, whiche Augustine entreateth of in disputyng against the Donatistes: that neither priuate men, if they see faultes not diligently enough corrected by the Councell of Elders; should therfore by and by depart from the Chirch: nor the Pastoꝝr themselues, if they can not accoꝝdyng to theyꝝ hertes desyre purge all thynges that nede amendment, should therfore thzowe awaye the ministerie, or with vnwonted rigoꝝousnesse trouble the whole Chirch. For it is most true which he wꝝiteth: that he is free and discharged from curse, whosoouer he be that eyther by rebukyng amendeth what he can: or what he can not amende, excludeth, sauyng the bonde of peace: or what he can not exclude, sauyng the bond of peace, he doeth disalowe with equitie, and beare with stedfastnesse. He rendzeth a reason therof in an other place: because all godly order and maner of ecclesiasticall discipline ought alway to haue respecte vnto the vnitie of the Spirite in the bond of peace: which the Apostle commaundeth to be kept by our bearing one with an other: and when it is not kept, the me-

10  
Pache.  
rbii.  
Fbiii.

ii. Theſſ.  
iii. xv.

ii

Lib. ii.  
contra  
parr.  
capi. i.

Lib. iii.  
cap. i.

dicine



Cap. 2. dicine of punishment begynneth to be not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, & therfoze cesseth to be a medicine. He y<sup>e</sup> (saith he) doth diligētly thinke vpon these thinges doth neither in preseruyng of vnitie neglecte the seueritie of discipline, noz doeth with immeasurableness of correction bzeake the bonde of felowship. He graunteth in dede that not only the Pastors ought to trauail to this point, that there may remaine no fault in the Church, but also y<sup>e</sup> euery man ought to his power to endeuoze therunto: and he plainly declareth y<sup>e</sup> he which neglecteth to monish, rebuke, & correct the euell, although he do not fauor them, noz syn with them, yet is gilty befoze the Lorde. But if he be in suche degree, that he may also seuer them from the partaking of sacraments, and doth it not, now he sinneth not by an others euell, but by his owne. Only he wil-  
 Cap. 1. leth it to be done, with vsing of discretion, which y<sup>e</sup> Lorde also requireth, least while the tares be in rootyng out, the cozne be hurte. Hereupon he gathereth out of Cyprian, Let a man therfoze mercifully correct what he can: and what he can not, lette hym patiently suffer, and with loue grone and lament it.

12 This he saith because of the precisenesse of the Donatistes, who when they saw faultes in the Churches which the Bishops did in dede rebuke with woords, but not punish with excomunicatiō, (because thei thought that they could this way nothing preuaile) did sharply inuey against the Bishops as betrayers of discipline, and did with an vngodly schisme deuide themselues fro the flock of Christ. As the Anabaptists do at this day, which when they acknowlege no congregation to be of Christ, vnlesse it do in euery point shine with angelike perfectiō, do vnder pretēce of their zeale ouerthrow al edificatiō. Such (saith Augustine) not for hatred of other mens wickednesse, but for desire to mainteyne their owne contentions, do couet either wholly to draw away, or at least to diuide the weake people snared with the bostyng of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with stubboznesse, traiterous with sclaunders, troublesome with seditions, least it shold openly appere that they want the light of truth, do pretend a shadow of rigoros seueritie: and those thinges which in scripture are comaunded to be done with moderate healing for correctyng of the faultes of bzethren, preseruyng the sincerenesse of loue, and keping the vnitie of peace, they abuse to sacrilege of schisme and occasion of cutting of. So doeth Satan transforme hymselfe into an angel of light, when by occasion as it were of iuste seueritie he persuadeth vnmmercifull crueltie, coueting nothyng els but to corrupt & bzeake the bond of peace and vnitie: which bond remainyng fast, among Christiāns all his foes are made weake to hurt, his trappes of treasons are broken, and his counceles of ouerthrowing do banishe away.

13 This one thing he chesely commendeth, that if the infection of sinne haue entred into the whole multitude, then y<sup>e</sup> seuerer mercie of liuely discipline is necessarie. For (saith he) the diuises of separation are vaine, & hurtful & ful of sacrilege, because they are vngodly & proude, & do more trouble the weake good ones, than they amende the stoute euell ones. And y<sup>e</sup> which he there teacheth other, he himself also faithfully folowed. For wryting to Aurelius bishop of Carthage he cōplaineth y<sup>e</sup> drunkennesse which is so soze cōdēned in scripturs, doth range vnpunished in Africa: & he aduise th him, y<sup>e</sup> assebling a Councel of Bishops he shold provide  
 remedy



remedy for it. He addeth by and by after: These things (as I thinke) are taken away not roughly, not hardly, not after an imperious manner, but moze by teaching than by commaūdyng, moze by admonishing than by thretenyng. For so must we deale with a multitude of synners, but seueritie is to be exercised vpon the sinnes of fewe. Yet he doth not meane that Bishops should therefore winke or holde their peace at publicke faultes, because they can not seuerely punish them: as he himselfe <sup>2. ib. iii.</sup> afterwarde expoundeth it. But he willeth that the measure of correcti- <sup>contra</sup> on be so tempered, that so farre as may be, it may rather byng health- <sup>parm. ca.</sup> than destruction to the body. And therfoze at length he concludeth thus: <sup>Pi. ii.</sup> Wherefoze bothe this commaundement of the Apostle is in no wyse to <sup>i. Cor. v.</sup> be neglected, to seuer the euell, when it may be doone without peryll of <sup>vit.</sup> breakyng of peace: and this is also to be kept, that bearyng one with an <sup>Eph. iiii.</sup> other, we shoulde endeuoze to preserue vnitie of the Spirite, in the <sup>ii.</sup> boude of peate.

The parte that remaineth of discipline, whiche properly is not con- <sup>14</sup> tained in the power of keyes, standeth in this, that accozdyng to the necessity of tymes the Pastors should exhort the people either to fasting, or to comon supplications, or to other exercises of humilitie, repentance, and faith, of which things there is neither tyme, noz measure, noz forme prescribed by the word of God, but is left in the iugement of the Chirch. The obseruyng of this part also, as it is profitable, so hath alwaye ben bled of the olde Chirch euen from the very Apostles. Howbeit the Apostles themselves were not the fyrst authozs of them, but they toke example out of the lawe and the Prophetes. For we see that there so ofte as any weightie busynesse happened, the people was called together, comon praers entoynd, and fastyng comaunded. Therfoze the Apostles folowed that which bothe was not new to the people of God, and they foresawe that it should be profitable. Lykewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred by to their duetie, or be kept in awe and obedience. There are examples eche where in holy histories, which we nede not to gather together. In summe this is to be holden, that so oft as there happeneth any controuersie of religion, which must be determined either by a Synode or by ecclesiasticall iudgement, so oft as they be about choosyng of a minister, finally so oft as any harde matter or of great importance is in doynge: agayne when there appere tokens of the wraath of God, as pestilence, and warre, and famine: this is a holy ozdinance and profitable for al ages, that the Pastors should exhort the people to comon fasting, and to extraozdinarie praers. If any man do not allow the testimonies which may be alleged out of the old testament, as though they were not mete for the Christian Chirch, it is certaine that the Apostles also did thesame. Howbeit of praers I thinke there will scarcely any be founde that will moue any question. Therfoze let vs say somewhat of fastyng: because many when they vnderstande not what profite it hath, do iudge it not so necessarie: some also do vtterly refuse it as superfluous: and when the vse of it is not well knowen, it is easie to slide into superstition.

Holy and true fastyng hath three endes. For we vse it, either to make <sup>5</sup> leane and subdue the flethe, that it should not ware wanton, or that we may be better disposed to praers and holy meditations, or that it should <sup>be</sup>



be a testimonie of our humblyng befoze God, when we be wyllyng to confesse our gyltynesse befoze hym. The fyrst end hath not so often place in common fastyng, because all men haue not like state of body, nor like health: therfoze it rather agreeth with priuate fastyng. The second end is common to bothe: for as well the whole Chirch as euery one of the faithfull hath nede of suche preparation to prayer. The thirde also is likewise common. For it shal somtyme befall that God shall strike some nation with warre, or pestilence, or with some calamitie. In suche a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselves, and openly confesse their own gyltynesse. But if the hand of the Lord do strike any priuate man, he ought to do the same, either alone, or with his owne familie. That standeth chiefly in the affliction of the mynde. But when the mynde is affected as it ought to bee, it is scarcely possible, but that it will breake out into outward testifyng: and then chesely if it turne to comon edifyng, that alltogether in openly confessyng their sinne shold yelde praise of righteousnesse to God, and euery one mutually exhorte other with theyr example.

16  
 Wherfoze fastyng, as it is a signe of humblyng, hath moze often vse publikely, than among priuate men, howsoeuer it be comon, as is alredy said. Therfoze as touching the discipline wherof we nowe entreate: so oft as we must make supplication to God for any greate mater, it were expedient to commaunde fastyng together with prayer. So when the Antiochians laide handes vpon Paule and Barnabas, that thei might the better comende to God their ministerie which was of so greate importance, they ioynd fastyng with prayer. So bothe they afterward, when they made ministers ouer Chirches, were wont to pray with fastyng. In this kynd of fastyng they had regarde to none other thyng, but that they myght be made frether and moze vncombred to pray. Verily this we fynde by experience, that when the belly is full, the mynde is not so lifted vp to God, that it can bothe with hartye and feruent affection be caried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to be vnderstood which Luke reherseth of Anne, that she serued the Lorde in fastynges and prayers. For he dothe not set the worshyping of God in fastyng: but signifieth that the holy womā dyd after that maner exercise her selfe to continuance of prayer. Such was y fastyng of Nehemias whē he did with earnestly bent zeale praie to God for the deliuerance of his people. For this cause Paule sayth that the faithfull doo well, if they absteyne for a tyme from their wedding bed, that they may the moze freely apply prayer and fastyng. Where ioynyng fastyng to prayer in stede of a help, he putteth vs in mynde that it is of no value but so farre as it is referred to this ende. Agayn when in the same place he geueth a rule to married folkes, that they shold mutually render good will one to an other, it is playne that he doth not speake of dayly prayers, but of suche prayers as require a moze earnest intentiuenesse.

17  
 Agayne, if either pestilence, or famine, or warre begynne to range abroad, or if any calamitie otherwise seme to hang ouer any contree and people: then also it is the duetie of Pastors to exhorte the Chirche to fastyng, that they may humbly beseeche the Lord to turne away his wrath. For he geueth warnyng that he is prepared and in a maner armed to reuenge, when he maketh any danger to appere. Therefore as accused men



men in tyme past with long hanging beard, with vncombed heare, with black aray, were wont humbly to abace them selues, to procure the mercie of the iudge: so when we are accused befoze the iudgement seate of God, it behoueth both for his glozie, & for comon edification, & also is profitable and healthfull for vs, that we shold in piteous aray craue to escape his seueritie. And that this was vsed among the people of Israell, it is easy to gather by the wordes of Joel. For when he commaundeth a trompet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, and the rest that folow: he speaketh of thynges receiued in common custome. He had a litle befoze said, that examination is appointed of the wicked dedes of the people, and had declared that the day of iudgement was now at hand, and had summoned them beyng accused to pleade their cause: then he crieth out that they shold haste to sacke cloth and ashes, to wepyng and fasting: that is, that they shold also with outwarde testifiengs thzowe themselues downe befoze the Lorde. Sacke cloth and ashes paraduenture did moze agree with those tymes: but there is no dout that the calling together, and weping and fasting and suche lyke do likewise perteyne also to our age, so off as the state of our thynges doeth so require. For sicke it is a holy exercise, bothe to humble men, and to confesse humilitie, why shold we lesse vse it than the olde people dyd in like necessitie? We reade that not only the people of Israell, which were informed and instructed by the word of God, but also the Ninuities which had no doctrine but the preaching of Jonas, fasted in token of sorowe. What cause is there therfoze why we shold not do the same? But it is an outward ceremonie, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather even at this daye it is, as it alway hath ben, a very good helpe to the faithfull, and a profitable admonition, to stirre bp them selues, that they shold not with to great carelesnesse and sluggishnesse moze and moze prouoke God when they are chastised with his scourges. Therfoze Christ when he excuseth his apostles for that they fast not, doth not say that fasting is abzogate: but he appointeth it to times of calamitie, and ioyneith it with mournyng. The tyme shall come (sayth he) when the bridegrome shall be taken awaye from them.

But that there shold be no erroz in the name, let vs define what fasting is. For we do not here vnderstand by it only abstinence and sparyng in meate & dzinke, but a certaine other thing. The life of the godly ought in dede to be tempered with honest sparyng and sobrietie, that so nere as is possible it may in the whole course therof beare a certaine resemblance of fasting. But beside this there is an other fasting for a time, when we withdraue any thing of our wonted diet, either for one daye or for a certaine time, and do charge our selues with a streigher & seuerer abstinence in diet than ordinarie. This consisteth in thze thyngs, in tyme, in qualitie of meates, and in smallnesse of quantitie. I meane by tyme, that we shold vse those doyngs fasting, for which fasting is ordeined. As for example, if a man fast for comon praier: that he come emptie vnto it. Qualitie standeth in this, that all deyntinesse shold be absent, and beyng content with common and baser meates, we shoulde not stirre bp appetite with delicates. The rule of quantitie is in this, that we eate moze sparingly and lesse than we be wont, onely for neces-

Joel. ii.  
vrb.1. Samu.  
vii. vi. et  
viii. r. ff.  
ii. Kin. i.  
xii.  
Jon. iii.  
v.Math. ix.  
vb.  
Luce. v.  
xxviii.



titie, and not also for pleasure.

19

But we must alway principally beware, that no superstition crepe vpon vs, as it hath heretofore happened to the great hurt of the Church. For it were muche better that there were no vse at all of fastyng, than that it should be diligently kepte, and in the meane tyme bee corrupted with false and hurtfull opinions, wherunto the worlde sometyme falleth, vnlesse the Pastors do with great faithfulness and wisdom preuent it. The fyrst point therfore is, that they should alway enforce that which Joel teacheth, that they should cutt their hartes and not theyr garmentes: that is, that they should admonish the people, that God doth not greatly esteeme fastyng of it selfe, vnlesse there be an inwarde affection of the harte, a true myslykynge of sinne and of hymselfe, true humblyng, and true sorowe throught the feare of God: yea that fastyng is profitable for no other cause, but for that it is ioyned to these as an inferior helpe. For God abhorreth nothing more than when men in setting signes and an outward shew in stede of innocence of hart, do labour with false color to deceiue themselues. Therfore Esaië most sharply inueryeth against this hypocritie, that the Jewes thought that they had satisfiied God, when they had only fasted, howsoeuer they did nozish vngodlynesse and vncleane thoughts in their hart. As it (saith he) such a fastyng which the Lord requireth: and so fourth as foloweth. Therfore the hypocriticall fastyng is not only an vnprofitable and superfluous weryng, but also a great abomination. An other euell nere vnto this is chiefly to be taken hede of, that it be not taken for a meritorious worke, or a forme of worshyppynge God. For sith it is a thyng of it selfe indifferent, and hath no value but by reson of those ends which it ought to haue respect vnto, it is a moste hurtfull superstition, to confounde it with the works comaunded of God and necessarie of themselues without other respect. Such was in old tyme the dotage of the Pharisees: whom when Augustine confuteth, he dothe plainly enough teache, that fastyng is to be iudged by no other endes than those which I haue spoken of, and is no otherwysse allowed of God, vnlesse it be referred to the same. The thirde erroz is in dede not so vngodly, yet it is perillous: to require the keepynge of it more precisely and rigorously as it were one of the chiefe dueties, and so to aduaunce it with immeasurable praises, that men should thinke they haue done some excellent thyng when they haue fasted. In which behalfe I dare not altogether excuse the olde fathers, but that they haue sowed some seedes of superstition, and given occasion to the tyzanny whiche hath risen since. There are founde in dede sometymes in them sounde and wise sentences of fastyng, but afterwarde we now and then mete with immeasurable praises of fastyng which aduaunce it among the chief vertues.

20

And at that tyme the superstitious obseruyng of lent was eche where growen in vse: because both the common people thought that they did therein some notable seruice to God, and the pastors dyd commend it for a holy folowynge of Christ: wheras it is plaine, that Christ dyd not fast to prescribe an example to other, but that in so beginnyng the preaching of the Gospel, he myght in very dede proue that it was not a doctrine of men, but descended from heaue. And it is meruailous, that so grosse an erroz, which is confuted with so many & so euident reasons, could crepe into men

Joel. ii. l.ii.

Esaië. lvi. v.

Lib. ii. de mor. Manich. cap. xiii. &amp; lib. rr. cōtra Faust.

Mathe. iiii. ii.



men of so sharpe iudgement. For Christ did not fast oft (which he must nedes haue done if he wold haue set foorth a law of yerely fastyng) but only ones when he prepared himselfe to the publishyng of the Gospell. And he fasted not after the manner of menne; as it was mete that he should haue done if he would haue prouoked men to folow him: but rather he sheweth an example, wheteby he may rather draw men to wonder at him than stirre them by to folow him. Finally there is none other cause of this fasting, than of that which Moses fasted when he receiued the law at y hand of the Lord. For sth y miracle was shewed in Moses to stablishe the authozitie of the law, it ought not to haue ben omitted in Christ, least the Gospell should seme to geue place to the lawe. But sing that tyme it neuer came in any mans mynde vnder color of folowyng of Moses to require such a foyme of fasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy Prophetes and fathers folow it, when yet they had mynde and zeale enough to godly exercises. For, that which is sayd of Helias, that he passed forty dayes without meate and drinke, tended to no other ende but that the people should know that he was stirred by to be a restozet of the law from which almost all Israel had departed. Therfore it was a mere wrongfull zeale and ful of superstition, that they did set foorthe fasting with the title and color of folowyng of Christe. Howbeit in the manner of fasting there was then greate diuersitie, as Cassiodorus rehearseth out of Socrates in the nyynth booke of hys historie. For the Romaines (sayth he) had but thzee weekes, but in these there was a continuall fasting, except on the Sunday and Saturdaye. The Slauonians and Greclans had six wekes: other had seuen: but their fasting was by deuided times. And they disagreed no lesse in difference of meates. Some did eate nothing but bread & water: some added herbes: some did not fozeare fishe and fowles: somme had no difference in meates. Of this diuersitie Augustine also maketh mention in the latter Epistle to Januarie.

Then folowed worse tymes, and to the preposterous zeale of the people was added bothe ignozance and rudenesse of the Bishoppes, and a luste to beare rule, and a tyzannous rigor. There were made wicked lawes, which strayne consciences with pernicious bondes. The eatyng of fleshe was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacrilege one bypon an other, till they came to the botome of all errozs. And y no peruetseitelle shold be omitted, they began with a mozte fonde pretence of abstinence to mocke with God. For in the most exquisite deyntinesse of fare is sought the praise of fasting: no delicates do then suffice, there is neuer greater plentie, oz diuersitie, oz sweetenesse of meates. In such and so gozgius preparatiõ they thinke that they serue God rightly. I speake not how they neuer moze foloye glutte them selues, than when they would bee compted most holy men. Brefely, they comipt it the greatest worshipping of God to absteine from fleshe, & (these excepted) to flowe full of all kynde of deynties. On the other syde they think this the extremest vngodlinesse, and such as scarce lye may be recompensed with deathe, if a man tast neuer so little a piece of bacon oz vnsauerie fleshe with browne breade. Hierome telleth, that euèn in his tyme were some that with such follies did mocke with God: which because they would not eate oile, caused most deyntie meates fro

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Exod.  
cxxxiii.  
cxxxiii.  
cxxxiii.  
cxxxiii.

1. Kings.  
xix. vi.



every place to bee brought them: yea to oppresse nature wyth violence, they abstained from drinking of water, but caused swete and costly suppinges to be made for them, which they did not drinke out of a cup, but out of a shell. Which faulte was then in a fewe, at this day it is a cemon fault among all riche menne, that they fast to no other ende but that they may banket moze sumptuously and depntly. But I will not waste many wordes in a mater not doutefull. Only this I say, that bothe in fasting and in al other partes of discipline, the papistes so haue nothing right, nothing pure, nothing well framed and orderlye, whereby they maye haue any occasion to bee proude, as though there were any thynge remaining among them woorthy of praise.

22

There foloweth another parte of discipline, which peculiarly belongeth to the clergie. That is conteyned in the canons which the old Bishops haue made ouer them selues and their order. As these be: that no clerke should geue himself to hunting, to dycing, nor to banketting: that none should occupye vsurie, or merchandise: that none should be present at wanton dauncings: & such other ordinaunces. There were also added penalties: wherby the authozitie of the canons was stablished, that none should breake them unpunished. For this ende to every Bishop was committed the gouernement of his owne clergie, that they should rule their clerkes according to the canons, and holde them in their duetie. For this ende were ordeined yerey ouerseinges and synodes, that if any were negligent in hys duetie, he should bee admonished: if any had offended, he should be punished according to the measure of his offence. The Bishops also them selues had yerey their prouinciall Synodes, and in the olde tyme yerey two Synodes, by whiche they were iudged if they had done any thynge beside their duetie. For if any Bishop were to harde or violent against his clergie, they might appelle to those Synodes, although there were but one that complained. The seuerest punishment was that he which had offended should be remoued from hys office, & for a time be depriued of the Comunion. And because that same was a cotinuall order, they neuer bled to dismisse any Synode, but that they appointed a place and tyme for the next Synode. For, to gather a generall Councell pertained to the Emperour onely, as all the old summoninges of Councels do testifie. So long as this seueritie flourished, the clerkes did require in woꝝd no moze of the people, than themselves did perfoꝝme in example and dede. Yea they were much moze rigorous to themselves than to the people. And verily so it is mete, that the people should be ruled with a getler and looser discipline, as I may so terme it: but the clerkes should be sharper iudgementes among themselves, and should lesse beare with themselves, than with other men. How all this is growen out of vse, it is no nede to rehearse, when at this day nothynge can be imagined moze vnbridled and dissolute than the clergie, & they are brokē foꝝrth to so great licentiousnesse, that the whole woꝝlde crieth out of it. That all antiquitie should not seeme to be bitterly burped among them, I graunt in dede that they do with certaine shadows deceiue the eies of the simple: but those are suche as come no nerer to the auncient maners, than the counterfaytyng of an ape approcheth to that whiche men do by reason and aduise. There is a notable place in Xenophon, where he teacheth how sowlly the Persians had swarued from the ordinaun-



ordinances of their Elders, and were fallen from the rigorous kinde of life, to softnesse and deyntinesse, that yet they couered this shame, sayeng that they diligently kept the auncient vsages. For when in y tyme of Cirus sobrietie and temperance so farr flozished that men neded not to wipe, yea and it was accompted a shame: with posteritie this continued a religious obseruation, that no man should drabw snott oute at hys nosethilles, but it was lawfull to sucke it by, and fede within euen till they wer rotten the stinking humoꝝ which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the olde order it is vnlawfull to byrꝝ winepots to the boꝝde: but to swill in wine that they nede to be caried away drunken, is tolerable. It was ordeined to eate but ones in a day: thys these good successoꝝ haue not abrogate, but they gaue leaue to continue their surfettings from inidde day to midde nighte. The custome was that men should make an ende of their dayes iourney fasting. But it was at libertie and bledly the custome, for auoyding of werinesse, to shorten their iourney to twoo houres. Whensoeuer the Papistes shall pretende their bastarde rules, to shewe themselues to be like to the holy fathers: this example shall sufficiently repꝝoue their sonde counterfasting, that no painter can moze liuely expresse it.

In one thing they be to rigorous and vnentreatable, that they geue not leaue to Prestes to mary. But howe greate libertie there is among them to vse whoꝝdome vnpunished, is not nedefull to be spoken: and bearing them bolde vpon their stinking vnmariied life, they haue hardened themselues to all wicked doinges. But this forbidding doeth plainly shewe, howe pestilente all their traditions are, forasmuch as it hath not onely spoiled the Chirch of good and fit Pastoꝝ, but also hath broughte in a horrible sinke of mischeues, and thꝝowen many soules into the gulfe of desperation. Cruely whereas mariage hath ben forbidden to Prestes, that same hath been done by wicked tyrannie, not onely againtste the woꝝde of God, but also againtste all equitie. Firste to forbidde that whiche the Lorde had lefte at libertie, was by no meanes lawfull for men. Againie, that God hath expressely pꝝouided by hys woꝝde that this libertie should not be bꝝoken, is so euidente that it nedeth no long demionstration. I speake not how Paule in many places willetth a Bishop to be the husbände of one wyfe. But what coulde be moze vehemently spoken, than where he pronounceth by the Holy ghost, that there shall be in the last tymes wicked men that shall forbidde mariage: and he calleth them not onely deceiuers, but deuells: This therefore is a Pꝝophecie, thys is a holy Oracle of the Holy ghost, wherewith he willed to arme the Chirche afoꝝehande againtste dangers, that the forbidding of mariage is the doctrine of deuells. But they thinke that they haue gaily escaped when they wrest thys sentence to Montanus, the Catrans, Eucratites and other olde heretikes. They onely (saye they) condemned mariage: but we dooe not condemne it, but debarre the Clergie from it, for whom we thynke it not to be conuenient. As though albeit this pꝝophecy was first fulfilled in those afoꝝesaid mē, it might not also be applied to these: or as though this childish fond suteltie were woꝝth the hearing, that they saye that they forbidde it not,  
L. i. because



because they forbid it not to all. For it is al one as if a tyrant would affirme that it is not an vniust law, with vniustice wherof one part alone of the citie is oppressed.

24 They object, that the Priest doth by some marke differ from the people. As though the Lorde did not also foresee this, with what ornaments Priestes oughte to excell. So they accuse the Apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comlinesse of the Chirch, which when he portrayed out the absolute forme of a good Bishop, durste set mariage among the other giftes which he required in hym. I knowe howe they expounde this, namely that none is to be chosen that hath had a seconde wife. And I graunt that this is not a new exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the texte it selfe, because he by and by after setteth out of what qualities the wiues of Bishops and Deacons ought to be. Paule reckeneth mariage among the vertues of a Bishop: these men teache that it is an intollerable faulte in the order of the Clergie. And, on Gods name, not contented with this generall disprayse they call it in their canons vncleennesse and defiling of the flethe. Let euery man thynke w<sup>th</sup> himselfe out of what woorkshop these things be come: Christ bouchesaue<sup>n</sup>eth so to honoz mariage that he willeth it to be an image of his holy conioyning with the Chirch. What coulde be spoken moze honozably to set out the dignitie of mariage. With what face therefore shall that be called vncleane oz defiled wherein shi<sup>n</sup>eth a lykenesse of the spirituall grace of Christ:

Sirituis  
ad episc  
cop. his-  
paniarū.

25 But nowe when their forbidding so evidently fighteth with y<sup>e</sup> word of God, yet they fynde in the Scriptures wherewith to defende it. The Leuiticall Priestes were bounde to lie a sonder from their wiues, so oft as it came to their turnes to minister, that they might handle the holpe thinges pure and vndefiled. Therefore it were very vncomly, that our holy thinges, si<sup>n</sup>che they be bothe much moze noble and daily, shoulde be handled of marped men. As though there were all one person of the minister of the Gospell, as was of the Leuiticall Priesthode. For they, as figures, represented Christ, which being the mediator of God and men shoulde with most absolute purenesse reconcile the father vnto vs. But when sinners could not in euery behalfe expresse the figure of his holinesse, yet that they might with certaine grosse draughtes yeld a shadowe of hym, they were commaunded to purifie themselues beyond the maner of men, whē they came to the Sanctuarie: namely because they then properly figured Christ, for that as pacifiers to recōcile the people to God they appeared at the tabernacle the image of the heauēly iugement seate. Forasmuch as the Pastors of the Chirch do not beare this persons at thys day, therfore they are vainly cōpared with them. Wherfore the Apostle doth without exception boldly pronouce, that mariage is honozable among all men, but that for whoremongers & adulterers abideth the iugement of God. And the Apostles theselues did with their own example approue y<sup>e</sup> mariage is not vnmete for the holinesse of any office be it neuer so excellent. For Paule witnesseth that they did not on-ly kepe wyues, but also carryed them about with them.

Heb. xiii.  
i. iiii.

1. Cor. vii.  
i. b.

26

Againe it was a maruelous Chamelesnesse that they durst set out this comlinesse of chastitie for a necessarie thing, to y<sup>e</sup> great reproche of y<sup>e</sup> old Chirch: which when it abouided with singular learning of God, yet excelled



celled moze in holinesse. For if they passe not bpō the Apostles, (as they are wont somtime stoutely to despise them) what I beseeche you wil they do to all the old fathers, whome it is certaine to haue not only suffered; but also allowed mariage in the order of Bishops? They forsooth did nourish a filthy profaning of holy things, forasmuch as so the mysteries of the Lord were not rightly reuerenced among them. It was moued in dede in the Nicene Synode to haue vnmariēd life commaunded: as there alway want not some superstitious men, whiche doe euer inuente some new thing, to bring themselues in admiration. But what was decreed? The sentence of Paphuntius was assented to, which pronounred that a mans lyeng with his owne wife is chastitie. Therefore mariage remained holy among them: neither did it turne them to any chaine, nor was thought to spott the ministerie.

Then folowed tymes, in which to superstitious obseruation of single life grew in force. Hereupon came those oftē and vnomeasurably aduanced praises of virginite, so that scarcely any other vertue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And although mariage was not condemned for vnclane, yet the dignitie therof was so diminished, and the holinesse of it obscured, that he seemed not to aspire to a courage strong enough to perfection, that did not refraine himselfe from it. Hereupon came those canons wherby it was first forbiddē that they which were come to the degree of Presthode should not contracte mariage: then, that none should be taken into that order but vnmariēd mē, or such as did forsake mariage together with their wiues. These thinges, because they seemed to procure reuerence to Presthode, were grauntēuen from antiquitie receiued with great well liking. But if the aduerfaries object antiquitie against me, first I answer that this libertie remained both vnder the Apostles & in certaine ages after them, that Bishops might be mariēd: y the Apostles theselues, and other Pastors of great auctoritie which succeeded in their places, vsed the same without sticking at it. The exāple of y aūcienſter Chirch ought worthily to be of greater weight with vs, than y we should think y to be either vnlawful or vncomly for vs which was thē to praise receiued and vsed. Secondly I say that y age which for immeasurable affection to virginite began to be partial against mariage, did not so lay vpon Prestes the law of vnmariēd life, as though it were a thing necessarie of it selfe, but because they preferred vnmariēd men aboue the mariēd. Finally I answer y they did not so require it y they did to force & necessitie constrain them to cōtinence which were not fit to kepe it. For when they punished whoredomes to most seuerē labors, of thē y cōtracted mariage they decreed no moze but y they should geue ouer y execution of their office.

Therefore whēsoeuer y defēders of this new tyrannie shal seke the pretense of antiquitie to defende their vnmariēd life: so oft we shal answer them to requiring them, y they restore y old chastnesse in their Prestes: y they remoue adulterers & whoremōgers: that they suffer not those in whō they suffer not honest & chast vse of mariage bed, to run vnpunished into al kind of lust: y they cal again y discontinued discipline, wherby all wantonneses may be restrained: y they deliuer the Chirch from this so wicked filthines, wher to it hath bē long deformed. Whē they haue graunted this, thē they must againe be put in mind y they best not y thing for



necessarie, which being of it selfe at libertie hangeth vpon the profit of the Church. Yet I say not this for that I thinke that in any condition place is to be geuen to those canons which lay the bonde of vnmarr'd life vpon the order of Priestes: but that the wiser sort may vnderstande with what face our enemies do sleaudeer holy mariage in Priestes, by obiecting the name of antiquitie. As touching the fathers, whoes writings remaine, when they whē they speake of their owne iugemēt, except Hierome, did not with so great spitefulnesse deface the honestye of mariage. We shalbe content with one commendation of Chrysostome: because he lithe he was a principall esteemer of virginite, can not be thought to haue ben moze lauish than other in commendation of mariage. Thus he sayth: The first degree of chastitie is pure virginite: the seconde is faithfull mariage. Therfoze the seconde kinde of virginite is the chaste loue of matrimonie.

Homel.  
de inuēt.  
crucis.

### The. xiii. Chapter.

Of bowes, by rash promissing wherof eche man hath miserably entangled himselfe.



It is verily a thing to be lamented, that the Church, for whom libertie was purchased with the inestimable price of the blood of Christ, hath ben so oppressed with cruel tyranny, and almost ouerwhelmed with a huge heape of traditions: but in the meane time euery mans priuate madnesse sheweth, that not without most iust cause there hath ben so much permitted of God to Satan and his ministers. For they thoughte it not enough, neglecting the commaundement of Christe, to beare any burdens whatsoeuer were layed vpon them by false teachers, vnlesse they did also eche man procure to himselfe seuerall burdens of hys own, and so with digging pittes for themselves should drown themselves deper. This was done while they strued in deuising of bowes, by which there might be added to the commō bondes a greater and streighter byndig. Sith therfoze we haue taughte, that by their boldnesse whiche haue bozne rule vnder the title of Pastors in the Church, the worshipping of God hath ben corrupted, whē they snared silly consciences with their vniust lawes: here it shal not be out of season to adioyne an other euell which is nere vnto it, that it may appeare that the world according to þe perversnesse of his owne disposition, hath alway, with such stoppes as it could, put away the helpes wherby it should haue ben brought to God. Now, that it may the better appeare that very greuous hurt hath ben brought in by bowes, let the reders kepe in minde the principles aboue set. For first we haue taughte, that whatsoeuer may be required to the framing of life godly and holly, is comprehended in the law. Againe we haue taught, that the Lorde, that he might therby the better call vs away from deuising of new workes, hath enclosed the whole praise of righteousnesse in the simple obedience of his will. If these thynges be true, it is easy to iudge y al fayned worshippinges, which we inuēt to our selues



selues to deserue the fauor of God, are not acceptable to him how much soeuer they please vs. And truly the Lord himselte in many places doth not only openly refuse them, but also greuously abhorre them. Hereupon ariseth a doubt of those bowes which are made beside the expresse worde of God, what accompt is to be made of them, whether they may rightly be bowed of Christian me, and how farr they bynde them. For the same which among men is called a promise, in respect of God is called a bowe. But to men we promise those thinges either whiche we thinke will be pleasant vnto them, or which we owe of dutie. Therefore there ought to be a much greater hede full obseruation in bowes which are directed to God himselte, with whome we ought to deale most earnestly. In this pointe superstition hath in all ages maruelously ranged, so that menne without iudgement, without choise, did by and by bowe vnto God what soeuer came in their minde, or into their mouth. Hereupon came those follies, yea monstrous absurdities of bowes among heathen, wherewith they did to insolently morke with their Gods. And I would to God y<sup>e</sup> Christians also had not folowed this their boldnesse. It oughte not in dede to haue ben so: but w<sup>e</sup> se that in certaine ages paste nothing hath ben moze vsuall than this wickednesse, that the people eche where despising the lawe of God did wholly burne with mad gredinesse to bowe whatsoeuer had pleased them in their dreame. I wil not hatefully enforce, nor particularly rehearse how hainously & how many waies herein men haue offended: but I thoughte good to say this by the way, that it may the better appeare, that we do not moue question of a neede lesse mater, when we entreate of bowes.

Nowe if we will not erre in iudging which bowes be lawfull, and which be wzongfull, it behoueth to weye three thinges: that is to saye, who it is to whom the bowe is made: who we be that make the bowe: last of all, with what minde we bowe. The first pointe hath respect to this, that we shoulde thynke that we haue to doe with God, whome our obedience so muche deliteth, that he pronounceth all willworshippes to be accursed, howe gay and glozious soeuer they be in the eyes of me. If all voluntarie worshippes, which we our selues deuise without commaundement, be abhominable to God, it foloweth that no worshop can be acceptable to hym but that which is allowed by his worde. Therefore let vs not take so great libertie to our selues that we dare bowe to God that which hath no testimonie bowe it is esteemed of him. For whereas that which Paule teacheth, that it is sinne whatsoeuer is done without faith, extendeth to all doinges, then verily it chesely hath place when thou directest thy thoughte the streighte waye to God. But if we fall and erre euen in the smallest thinges, (as Paule there disputeth of the difference of meates) where certaintie of faith shineth not before vs: howe muche moze modestie is to be vled, when we attempte a thynge of greatest weyghte: For nothynge oughte to be moze earnest vnto vs than the duties of religion. Lett thys therefore be the firste consideration in bowes, that we neuer come to the bowing of any thing, but that conscience haue firste certainly determined that it attempteth nothing rashly. But it shall then be free from danger of



rashnesse, when it shall haue God going befoze it, and as it were enfor-  
ming it by hys woꝛde what is good oꝛ vnprofitable to be done.

3

In the other thing which we haue sayd to be here to be considered, this  
is conteyned, that we measure our owne strengthes, that we haue an eye  
to our vocation, that we neglect not the benefite of libertie which God  
hath geuen vs. For he that boweth that which eether is not in his po-  
wer, oꝛ disagreeth with hys vocation, is rash: and he y<sup>e</sup> despiseth y<sup>e</sup> bou-  
tifulnesse of God, wherby he is appoynted Lord of all thynges, is vn-  
thankfull. When I say thus, I do not meane that any thyng is so sett  
in our owne hande, that standing vpon confidence of our owne strength  
we may promise the same to God. For it was most truly decreed in the  
Councell at Arausium, that nothyng is ryghtly bowed to God but that  
which we haue receiued of hys hande, forasmuch as all thynges that  
are offred hym are hys mere gyftes. But sith some thynges are by gods  
goodnesse geuen vs, and other some thynges by his equitie denyed vs:  
let euery man (as Paule commaundeth) haue respect to the measure of  
grace geuen vnto hym. Therefore I do here meane nothyng els, but  
that bowes must be tempered to y<sup>e</sup> measure which the Lord prescribeth  
ther in his geuing: lest if y<sup>e</sup> attēpt further thā he permitteth, thou thy  
thy selfe downhedlong with takyng to much vpon thee. As for exam-  
ple. When those murtherers, of whom mentio is made in Luke, bowed  
that they would tast of no meate tyll Paule were slayen: although the  
deuise had not ben wicked, yet the rashnesse it selfe was not to be suffe-  
red, that they made the lyfe and death of a man subiect to their power.  
So Iephthe suffred punishment for hys folly, whē with hedlong heate  
he conceiued an vnadvised bow. In which kynde vnmarried life hath y<sup>e</sup>  
chefe place of mad boldnesse. For sacrificing prestes, mōkes, & nonnes,  
forgettyng their owne weakenesse, thinke themselues able to kepe vn-  
married lyfe. But by what Oracle are they taught that they shall haue  
chastitie thzoughout al their lyfe, to y<sup>e</sup> very ende wherof they bowe it.  
They heare the woꝛde of God concernyng y<sup>e</sup> vniuersal state of men, It  
is not good for man to be alone. They vnderstande, and I would to  
God y<sup>e</sup> they did not fele, y<sup>e</sup> synne remainyng in vs is not without mooste  
charpe prickes. Wyth what confidence dare they shake of y<sup>e</sup> general cal-  
lyng for al their life long: wheras y<sup>e</sup> gift of continence is oftener graū-  
ted for a certayne tyme as oppoztunitie requireth. In such stubboꝛnesse  
let them not loke for God to be their helper: but let them rather remem-  
ber that which is sayd. Thou shalt not tēpt the Lord thy God. And thys  
is to tempt God, to endeuoz agaynst the nature put in vs by hym, and  
to despise his presēt giftes as though they nothyng belonged vnto vs.  
Which they not only do: but also marriage it selfe, which God thought it  
not agaynst his maiestie to institute, which he hath pronouced honora-  
ble in al men, which Christ our Lord hath sanctified with hys presence,  
which he vouchsafed to honoz with his fyrst miracle, they dare call de-  
fying, only to aduance with maruelous commendations a certayne  
vnmarrped lyfe of what sorte soeuer it be. As though they themselues  
dyd not thewe a clere example in their life, that vnmarrped state is oñe  
thyng, and birginitie an other: which their lyfe yet they most shameles-  
ly call Angelyke, doyng herein verily to great iniurie to the Angels of  
God,

Concil.  
Arausi.  
cap. xi.  
Rom. xii.  
ii.  
i. Cor. xii.  
xi.

Act. xviii.  
xi.

Jud. xi.  
xv.

Gene. ii.  
xviii.

Heb. xiii.  
iii.  
Job. ii. ii.



God to whom they compare whozemongers, adulterers, and somwhat  
ells muche worse and filthier. And truely here nede no argumētes,  
when they are openly confuted by the thing it selfe. For we playnly se,  
with howe horrible peines the Lord doth commonly take vengeance  
of suche arrogance, and contempt of his giftes by to muche truste in  
themselues. I spare for shame to speake of the moze secreete faultes, of  
which euen this that is already perceined is to much. It is out of con-  
trouerſie that we oughte to bowe nothing, that may hinder vs from  
seruing of our vocation. As if a householder should bowe, that he will  
leauē his wife and his childzen and take other charges in hande: or if he  
that is fitt to beare office, when he is chosen doe bowe that he will be a  
private man. But what is meant by this, that our libertie should not  
be despised, hath some difficultie if it be not declared. Therefore thus in  
fewe wordes I expounde it. Sith God hath made vs Lordes of all  
things, and hath so made them subiect vnto vs that we should vse them  
all for our commoditie: there is no cause why we should hope that it  
shalbe an acceptable worke to God if we yelde our selues into bondage  
to the outwarde thinges which ought to be a helpe vnto vs. I say thys  
for this purpose, because many doe hereby seke praise of humilitie, if  
they snare themselues with many obseruations, from which God not  
without cause willed vs to be free and discharged. Therefore if we will  
escape this danger, let vs alway remember that we ought not to depart  
from that order which the Lord hath ordeined in the Christian Church.

Now I come to that whiche I did set in the thirde place: that it is  
muchē materiall with what minde thou makest a bowe; if thou wilt  
haue it allowed of God. For sith the Lord regardeth the hart, not the  
outwarde shewe, it cometh to passe that the selfe same thyng, by chāging  
the purpose of the mind, doth sometime please him and is acceptable vn-  
to hym, and sometime hvely displeaseth him. If thou so bowe the abstey-  
ning from wyne, as though there were any holinesse in it, thou art su-  
perstitious: if thou haue respect to any other ende which is not euell, no  
man can disallowe it. But in my iudgemente there be fower endes, to  
which our bowes shalbe rightly directed: of which for teachinges sake  
I referre twoo to the time past, and the other twoo to the tyme to  
come. To the time past belong those bowes, wherby we doe either  
testifie our thankfulness to God for benefites receined: or to craue  
the turning away of his wrath, we our selues doe punishe our selues  
for the offenses that we haue committed. Let vs call the firste sort,  
if you will, the exercises of thankesgeuing, the other of repen-  
tance. Of the first kinde we haue an example in the tithes whiche  
Jacob bowed, if the Lord did bring hym home safe out of banish-  
ment into his contree. Again in y<sup>e</sup> old Sacrifices of the peaceoffringes,  
which godly kinges and capitaines, when they toke in hande righteous  
warre, did bowe that they would pay if they had obteyned the victorie:  
or at least when they were oppzessed with any great distresse, if y<sup>e</sup> Lord  
had deliuered them. So are all those places in the Psalmes to be  
vnderstode whiche speake of bowes. Suche bowes may at thys  
day also be in vse among vs, so oft as the Lord hath deliuered vs either  
out of any calamitie, or from a hard sicknesse, or from any other  
danger. For it is then not agaynste the dutie of a godly manne,



to consecrate to God his bowed oblation, as a solemne token of his re-  
knowleging, least he shoulde seme unthankful towarde his goodnesse.  
Of what sort the seconde kinde is, it shal suffice to shewe with one onely  
familiar example. If any by the vice of gluttonie be faile into any offense,  
nothing withstandeth but that to chastise his intemperance he may for  
a tyme forsake al deinty meates, and may do the same with a vow adoi-  
ned, that he may binde himselfe with the streighter bonde. Yet I do not  
so make a perpetuall lawe to them that haue likewise offended: but I  
shewe what is lawfull for them to do, which shal thinke such a vow pro-  
fitable for themselves. I do therfore so make such a vow lawfull, that in  
the meane tyme I leaue it at libertie.

5 The vowes that are applyed to the time to come, partly (as we haue  
alredy sayd) do tend to this ende that we may be made the warer: and  
partly that as it were by certaine spurres we may be pricked forwarde  
to our dutie. Some man seeth hym selfe to be so inclined to some cer-  
taine vice, that in a thing which otherwise is not euill he can not tem-  
per himselfe from falling fourthwith into an euill: he shal doe nothing  
inconueniently if he do for a tyme by bowe cutt of from himselfe the vse  
of that thing. As if a man knowe that thys or that apparell of body is  
perilous vnto hym, & yet entised with desire he earnestly couet it, what  
can he do better, than if in putting a bzidle vpon himselfe, that is in char-  
ging himselfe with necessitis of absteyning from it, he deliuer hymselfe  
from all doutyng: Likewise if a man be forgetfull or slow to necessarie  
duties of godlynesse, why may he not by takyng a vow vpon hym both  
awake his memorie and shake of hys slouthfulnesse? In both I graunt  
that there is a foyme of childishe schooling: but euen in this that they are  
helpes of weakenesse, they are not without profit vled of the rawe and  
vnprefect. Therfore we shal say that those vowes are lawfull whiche  
haue respect to one of these endes, specially in outwarde thinges, if they  
both be vpholde with the allowance of God, and do agree with our vo-  
cation, and be measured by the power of grace geuen vs of God.

6 Now also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of  
all vowes. There is one common bowe of all the faythfull, which being  
made in Baptisme we do confirme and as it were stablish by Catechil-  
me and receiuyng of the Supper. For the Sacramentes are as char-  
ters, by which the Lorde deliuereth to vs hys mercy and thereby euerla-  
styng lyfe, and we agayne on our behalves do promise him obedience.  
But this is the foyme or verily the summe of the bowe, that forsakyng  
Satan we yelde our selues into seruice to God, to obey hys holy com-  
maundementes, and not to followe the peruerse desires of our flesh.  
It ought not to be douted but that thys bowe, sicke it hath testimonie  
of the Scripture, yea and is required of all the chylzen of God, is  
both holy and profitable to saluation. And it maketh not to the contra-  
rie, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience of the law  
which God requireth of vs. For sith thys foyme of couenāting is com-  
prised within the couenante of grace, vnder whiche is conteyned  
bothe forgeuenesse of synnes and the Spirite of Sanctification:  
the promise whiche we there make is ioyned bothe with beseechyng  
of pardon and wyth craynyng of helpe. In iudging of particular  
vowes, it is necessarie to kepe in mynde the three former rules,  
whereby



wherby we may safely wepe of what sorte euery bowe is. Neither yet thinke that I so commende the very same bowes whiche I affirme to be holy, that I wold haue them to be daily. For though I dare teache no certaine rule of the number or tyme: yet if any man obey my counsell, he shall take vpon him none but sobze and for a tyme. For if thou oftentimes breake forth into making of many bowes, all religiousnesse will with very continuance growe out of estimation with thee, and thou shalt come to a bendyng readinesse to fall into superstition. If thou bynde thy selfe with a perpetuall bowe, either for great peyne and tediousnesse thou shalt vndoe it, or beyng weryed with long continuance thou shalt at one tyme or other be bolde to breake it.

Now also it is playne with how great superstition in this behalf the worlde hath in certaine ages paste ben possessed. One man bowed that he woulde absteyne from wyne: as though absteynyng from wyne were of it self a worship acceptable to God. An other bound himself to fasting, an other to absteynyng from fleshe for certaine daies, in which he hadde with vaine opinion fained to be a singular holinesse aboue the rest. And some thynges also were bowed muche moze childyshe, although not of chylzen. For this was holden for a greate wisdom, to take vpon them bowed pilgremages to holper places, and somtyme either to go all their iourney on foote, or with their body halfe naked, that by their tocrinesse the moze merite might be gotten. These and suche other, with incredible zeale wherof the worlde hath a while swelled, if they be examined by those rules, whiche we haue aboue sett, shall be founde not onely vayne and triflyng, but ful of manifest vngodlinesse. For howsoeuer the fleshe iudge, God abhorreth nothyng moze than fained worshippings. There are beside this those pernicious and damned opinions, that hypocrites when they haue such trifles thinke that they haue gotten no small rightuousnesse: they repose the summe of godlinesse in outwarde obseruations: they despise all other that are lesse carefull of suche thynges.

To reckon by all the particular formes, is nothyng to purpose. But forasmuche as the monkishe bowes are had in greater reuerence, because they seme alowed by the common iugement of the Chirch: of those it is good to speake bresely. First least any hold by prescription of long tyme defende monkerie, such as it is at this day, it is to be noted that in olde tyme there was in monasteries a farre other order of liuing. Such as were disposed to exercise themselues to greatest seueritie and patiece, went thether. For what maner of discipline they saye that the Lacedaemonians had vnder the lawes of Lyrurgus, suche was at that tyme among the monkes, yea and muche moze rigorous. They slept vpon the ground: their drinke was water: their meate was breade, herbes and rootes: theyr chiefe depnties were in oyle and riches. They absteyned from all delicate diet and trimmyng of bodye. These thynges myght seme aboue truthe, if they were not wrytten by witnesse that sawe and proued them, as Gregorie Nazianzene, Basile, and Chrylostome. But with suche introductions they prepared themselues to greater offices. For, that the colleges of monkes were then as it were the sedeploottes of the order of ministers of the Chirche, bothe these whome we haue nowe named are a profe playne enough, (for they were all brought by in monasteries and from thense called to the office of Bishops) and also  
many



many other singular and excellent men in their tyme. And Augustine sheweth that this was also bled in his tyme, that monasteries yelded clerkes to the Chirch. For he speaketh thus to the monkes of the Isle of Caprea: **Epi. 81.** But you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that ye kepe your purpose and continue to the ende: and if at any tyme our mother the Chirche shall require your trauaile, do ye neither with greedy pride take it vpon you, noz with flaterpng slouthfulnesse refuse it: but with a meke hart obeye to God. Neither preferre ye y<sup>r</sup> owne quiet leasure aboue the necessitites of the Chirch: to whom if no good men wold haue ministered in her trauaile, you should not haue founde how you should haue ben bozne. He speaketh there of the ministerie, by whiche the faithfull are spiritually bozne agayne. Also to Aurelius: **Epi. 76.** There is both occasion of falling geuen to themselves, and most haynous wrong done to the order of the clergie, if forsakers of monasteries be chosen to the soldiourship of the clergie: when euen of those that remaine in the monasterie, we vse to take into the clergie none but the most aproued and best. Unlesse parhappes as the comon people say, he is an euell pyper but a good fiddler: so it shall also be iustlyngly said of vs, he is an euell monke, but a good clerke. It is to muche to bee lamented, if we lifte vp monkes into suche a ruinous pride, and thinke clerkes worthy of so great reproche, wheras somtyme eue a good monke maketh not a good clerk, if he haue sufficient continence, and yet want necessary learning. By these places it appeareth, that godly men were wonte with the discipline of monkes to prepare themselves to the gouernement of the Chirche, that they might the fitter and better instructed take so great an office vpon them. Not that they all atteyned to this ende, oz yet tended towarde it, when for the most part they were vnlearned men: but suche were chosen oute as were mete for it.

But chiefly in two places he paynteth out vnto vs the forme of the olde monkie. **9** In the boke Of the maners of the Catholike Chirche, where he setteth the holynesse of that profession agaynst the scanders of the Manichees: and in an other booke, whyche he entituled Of the woozke of monkes, where he inueyeth agaynst certaine degendred monkes, whiche beganne to corrupte that order. I wyll here so gather a summe of those thynges whyche he sayeth, that so nere as I maye I wyll vse his owne woozdes. Despylsng (sayeth he) the enticementes of this worlde, gatheted into one mozte chaste and holy lyfe, they spend theyz tyme together, luyng in prayers, readynges, and disputations, not swellpng with pride, not troublesome with stubboznesse, not wane with enuiousnesse. None possesseth any thyng of his owne, none is burdenous to any man. They gett by woozkyng with their handes those thinges wherewith both their bodie may be fed, and theyz mynde may not be hindered fro God. Theyz work they deliuer to them, whom they call deanes. Those Deanes despylsng all things with great carefulnesse make accompt therof to one whom they call father. These fathers not only most holy in maners, but also most excellent in godly doctrine, hve in all thynges, doo with no pride prouide for them whome they cal children, with great authozitie of them in comanding, & great willyngnesse of the other in obeyng: They come together at the verve last tyme of y<sup>r</sup> day, euery one fro his dwelling, while they be yet fasting

De mor.  
ecclief. ca=  
thol. cap.  
xxxi.



to heare that father: and there mete together to euery one of these fathers at the least thzee thousand men, (he speaketh chesely of Egypt, and of the East) then they refreche their body, so muche as suffiseth for life and healthfulnesse, euery man restrainyng his desire, not to take largely euen of those thinges that they haue present very spare and vile. So they do not onely absteyne from fleche and wyne, so much that they may be able to tame their lustes, but from suche thynges which do so muche moze gredily prouoke appetite of the belly and throse, howe muche they seme to other, to be as it were cleaner, by color whereof the filthy desire of exquisite meates, which is not in fleche, is wont to be fondly & fowly defended. Whatsoever remaineth aboue necessarie foode (as there remaineth oftentimes muche of the woorkes of their hands and pinching of their fare) is with greater care distributed to the poore, than it was gotten by them that do distribute it. For they do in no wise trauail that they may haue abundance of these thynges, but they by all meanes endeuor that that whiche they haue aboundyng maye not remayne with them. Afterward when he hath reherced the hardnesse, wherof he himselfe had sene examples both at Millain and ells where: among these thynges (sayth he) no man is enforced to harde thynges which he can not beare: no man is charged with that whiche he refuseth: neither is he therfore condemned of the rest, because he confesseth himself to want strength in colowynge of them: for they remembre howe muche charitie is commended: they reinembre that all thynges are cleane to the clean. Therfore all their diligence watcheth, not to the refusyng of kyndes of meate as vnclerane, but to tame lust, and to reteine the loue of bzyethren. They remembre, meate for the belly, and the belly for meates. &c. Pet ma-  
ny strong do absteyne for the weakes sake. Many of them haue no nede  
to do thus: but because it pleaseth them to susteine themselves with bas-  
ser diet and nothyng sumptuous. Therfore they themselves, which be-  
yng in health do forbear, if consideration of their helth compell, when  
they are sicke do take without any feare. Many drinke no wyne, and  
yet they thynk not themselves defiled with it: for they most gently cause  
it to be geuen to the fainter, and to them that can not get the health of  
their body without it: and som which foolishly refuse it, they do brotherly  
admonish that they be not with vaine superstition sooner made weaker  
than holier. So they diligently exercise godlinesse: but they know that  
the exercisyng of the body pertaineth but to a short tyme. Charitie is  
chesely kepte: to charitie the diet, to charitie the speche, to charitie the  
apparell, to charitie the countenance is fitted. They mete and conspire  
into one charitie. To offende it is accompted as haynous as to offend  
God. If any resiste charitie, he is caste oute and Gunned. If any  
offend charitie, he is not suffred to abide one daye. Forasmuche as in  
these wordes, as in a painted table, that holy man semeth to haue set out  
what maner of lyfe monkerie was in olde tyme, although they were  
somewhat long, yet I was content to enterlace them here: because I  
saw that I shold haue ben somewhat longer if I had gathered the same  
thynges out of diuers, howe muche soeuer I studied for bzyfenesse.

But my purpose here is not to go thzough this whole mater, but on-  
ly by the way to poynt out, not onely what maner of monkes the Olde  
Chirche had, but what maner of thyng the profession of monkes was  
at that time: so as the soundwitted reders may iudge by the comparison,  
what

Ibidē. ca.  
xxiii.  
Tit. i. rb.

1. Cor. vi.  
xiii.



De opere  
monach.

what face they haue whiche alleage antiquitie to maynteyne the present monkrie. Augustine when he depaynteth vnto vs a hoire and true monkrie, would haue to be absent all rigoros exactyng of those thynges which by the worde of the Lorde are left vs at libertie. But there is nothyng that is at this day moze severely required. For they compt it a mischief that can neuer be purged, if any do neuer so litle swarue from the prescribed rule in color or fashion of garment, in kynde of meate, or in other triflyng and colde ceremonies. Augustine stoutly mainte ineth, that it is not lawfull for monkes to liue idle vpon other mennes. He denieth that there was euer in his tyme any such example of a well ordered monasterie. Our men set the chiefe parte of their holinesse in idlenesse. For if you take idlenesse from them, where shalbe that contemplatiue life wherby they boast that they excell all other men, and appoche nere vnto Angels: finally Augustine requireth suche a monkrie, as should be nothyng but an exercise and helpe to the dueties of godlinesse whiche are commended to all Christians. What: when he maketh charitie the chiefe, yea and almost only rule therof, do we think that he praiseth a conspiryng, wherby a fewe men beyng bounde together, are seuered from the whole bodye of the Chitche: But rather he willeth them with their example to geue light to other to kepe the vnitie of the Chitche. In bothe these pointes, there is so much difference of the monkrie at this present, that a man can scarcely fynde any thyng moze vnylike, I will not say contrary. For our monkes not contented with that godlynnesse, to the studie of which alone Christ commaundeth them that are his continually to applie, do imagine I wote not what new godlinesse, by meditation wherof they may be perfecter than other.

11

If they denie this, I would knowe of them why they vouchsaue to geue to their owne order alone the title of perfection, and take away the same from al the callings of God. Neither am I ignorant of that sophisticall solution, that it is not therfore so called because it dothe conteyne perfection in it, but because it is the best of all other to attempne perfection. When they are disposed to boaste themselves before the people, when to snare vnskillfull and vnware yong men, when to mainteine their priuileges, when to aduaunce their owne dignitie to the reproche of other, then they boast that they are in the state of perfection. When they are so nye driuen that they can not defend this vaine arrogance, then they flee to this startyng hole, that they haue not yet attained perfection, but that they are in the same state wherein they aspire vnto it aboue other. In the meane tyme that admiration among the people remayneth, as though the only monklike life were angelike, perfecte, and censed from all fault. By this pretence they make mozte gainefull markets, but that same moderation lieth buried in a fewe bookes. Who doth not see that this is an intollerable mockerie: But let vs so reason with them, as though they gaue no moze to their profession than to call it a state of attempnyng perfection. Verily in geuyng it this name, they do as by a speciall marke make it differyng from other kyndes of lyfe. And who can abyde this, that so great honoz should be geuen awaye to an ordinance that is no where by any one syllable allowed: and that by the same all other callynges of God, whiche are by his owne holy mouth not onely commaunded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by the same



the same accounted vnwoorthy: And how great wrong (I beseeche you) is done to God, when I wote not what new founde thyng is preferred aboue all the kyndes of lyfe ordeyned by hymselfe, and praysed by his owne testimonie?

But goe to, let them say that it is a sclaüder which I haue before said, that they are not contented with the rule prescribed of God. Yet though I holde my peace, they themselues doo moze than enough accuse themselves. For they openly teache, that they take vpon them moze burden than Christ laide vpon his: because forsoothe they promyse to keepe the counsels of the Gospel concernyng louyng their enemies, not couetyng of reuenge, not swearyng, &c. to whiche thyngs Christians are not generally bounde. Herin what antiquitie will they shewe forth agaynst vs: This neuer came in any of the olde fathers myndes. They all crye out with one voice that there was no one little woorde at all vttered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And without any doubtyng they do echewhere teache, that these very same thinges by name were commaundementes, whyche these good expositors trisyngly say, that Christ did but counsell. But forasmuche as we haue before taught that this is a mozte pestilent erroz, let it suffice here to haue brefely noted that the monkrie which is at this day, is grounded vppon the saime opinion, whiche all the godly ought woorthily to abhorre: whiche is, that there should be imagined some perfecter rule of life, than this common rule which is geuen of God to the whole Chirch. Whatsoever is builded vpon this foundation, can not be but abhominable.

But they byyng an other profe of their perfection, which they thinke to be mozte strong for them. For the Lorde sayed to the yong man that asked hym of the perfection of righteoulnesse, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and geue it to the pooze. Whether they do so or no, I do not yet dispute: but graunt them y<sup>e</sup> for this present. Therefore they voste that they be made perfect by forsakyng all theirs. If the summe of perfection stande in this, what meaneth Paule when he teacheth, that he whiche hath distributed all his goodes to the pooze, vnlesse he haue charitie, is nothyng: What maner of perfection is this, which if charitie be absent, is brought with man to nothyng: Here they must needes answer, that this is the chiefest in dede, but not the only wozke of perfection. But here also Paule crieth against them, which sticketh not to make charitie the bonde of perfection, without any suche forsakyng. It be certayne that betwene the maister and the disciple is no disagreement, and the one of them clerely denieth the perfection of man to consist in this that he should forsake all his goodes, and agayne affirmeth, that perfection is without it: we must see howe that sayeng of Christe is to be taken, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Nowe, it shalbe no darke sense, if we wey (whiche we oughte alway to marke in all the preachynges of Christ) to whom these woordes bee directed. A yong man asketh, by what wozkes he shall enter into euerlastyng lyfe. Christ, because he was asked of wozkes, sendeth hym to the lawe, and rightfully: for it is the way of eternall life, if it be considered in it selfe, and is no otherwise vnable to byyng saluation vnto vs but by oure owne peruersnesse. By this answer Christ declared, that he teacheth no other rule to frame life by, than the same that had in olde tyme ben taught



taught in the lawe of the Lorde. So did he bothe geue witness to the lawe of God, that it was the doctrine of perfecte righteousnesse: and therewithall dyd mete wyth sclaunders, that he shoulde not seme by any newe rule of life to stirre the people to forsakynge of the law. The yong man beyng in dede not of an euell mynde, but swelling with bayne confidence, answered that he had from his childhode kept al the commaundementes of the law. It is most certaine that he was an infinite space distant from that to which he boasted that he had attained. And if his boasting had ben true, he had wanted nothyng to the hest perfection. For we haue befoze shewed, that the lawe containeth in it self perfect righteousnesse: and the same appereth hereby, that the keepynge of it is called the way of eternall saluation. That he myght be taught to knowe how little he had profited in that righteousnesse, which he had to boldly answered that he had fulfilled, it was profitable to shake out a familiar fault of his. When he abounded in riches, he had his hart fastened vpon them. Therefore because he felte not this secrete wounde, Christe launced him. Goe (sayth he) sell all that thou haste. If he hadde ben so good a keeper of the lawe as he thought he was, he wold not haue gone away sorowfull when he heard this word. For who so loueth God with all his hart, whatsoeuer disagreeeth with the loue of hym, he not onely taketh it for dong, but abhorreth as bringynge destruction. Therefore wheras Christe commaundeth the couetous richeman to leaue all that he hath, it is all one, as if he should commaunde the ambitious man to forsake all honours, the voluptuous man all delites, and the vnchast mā all the instrumentes of luste. So consciences that are touched with no felyng of generall admonition, must be called back to the particular felyng of their owne euell. Therefore they doo in bayne drawe this speciall case to generall exposition, as though Christe did set the perfection of man in forsaking of goodes: whereas he mente nothyng els by this sayeng, than to dzyue the yong man that stode to muche in his owne conceite, to feele his owne soze, that he mighte vnderstand that he was yet a great way distant from perfect obedience of the law, which otherwise he did fallly take vpon him. I graunt that this place hath ben euell vnderstaded of some of the fathers, and that therupon grew this couetyng of wilfull pouertie, wherby they only were thought to be blessed, which forsakynge all earthly thynges, did dedicate themselves naked to Christ. But I trust that all the good and not contentious men will be satisfied with this my exposition, so that they shall no moze doute of the meanyng of Christ. Howbeit the fathers thought nothyng lesse, than to stablishe suche a perfection, as hath sins ben framed by the cowed Sophisters, thereby to rayse vp a double Christianitie. For that doctrine full of sacrilege was not yet bozne, whych compareth the profession of monkrie to Baptisme, yea and openly affirmeth, that it is a forme of seconde Baptisme. Who can doute that the fathers with all theyr harte abhorred this blasphemie: Nowe as touchynge that laste thyng, whyche Augustine sayeth to haue been among the olde Monkes, that is, that they applyed themselves whollye to Charitie: what neede I to shewe in woordes that it is moste farre from thys newe profession: The thyng it selfe speaketh, that all they that goe into Monasteries, departe from the Chirche. For why? Doo not



not they seuer themselves from the lawfull felowshyppe of the faithfull, in takyng to themselves a peculiar ministerie and priuate ministracion of Sacramentes: What is it to dissolue the Communion of the Chirche, if this bee not it: And (that I may folowe the comparison which I beganne to make, and may ones conclude it) what haue they in this behalfe lyke to the olde monkes: They although they dwelt seuerally from other men, yet had not a seuerall Chirch: they dyd partake of the sacramentes together with other: they appered at solemne assemblies: there they were a parte of the people. These men, in erectyng to themselves a priuate altar, what haue they els doone but broken the bonde of vnitie: For they haue bothe excommunicate themselves from the whole body of the Chirch, and haue despised the ordinarie ministerie, wherby the Lord willed to haue peate and charitie kept among his. Therfore howe many ministeries there be at this day, I say that there be so many assemblies of schismatikes, whiche troubleng the order of the Chirch, are cutt of from the lawfull felowshyp of the faithfull. And that this departing should not be secrete, they haue geuen to themselves diuers names of sectes. Neither wer they ashamed to boast of that, which Paule dothe so detest that he can not sufficiently amplifie the haynousnesse of it. Unlesse perchappe we thinke that Christ was diuided of the Cozynthians, when one glozied of one teacher, & an other of an other: and that now it is done without any iniurie to Christe, that in stede of christians we heare some called Benedictines, some Franciscanes, some Dominicanes: & that they are so called, that they themselves when they couete to be seuerally knowne frō the cōmon sort of Christians, do with great pride take these titles to them for the profession of their religion.

These differences which I haue hetherto rehearsed betwene the olde monkes and the monkes of our age, are not differences in maners, but in the profession it selfe. Therfore let the readers remēbre that I haue rather spoken of monkrie than of monkes, and haue touched those faul-  
 15  
 tes, not which sticke in the life of a fewe of them, but which can not be seuered from their very order of lyuyng it selfe. But what difference is in their maners, what nede I particularly to declare: This is certaine, that there is no degree of men moze defiled with all filthinesse of vices: no where moze are factions, hatredes, affections of parties, ambitions whoter than amōg them. In dede in a fewe monasteries they liue chastly, if it be to be called chastitie where lust is so farre kept downe that it be not openly euell spoken of: yet a man shal scarcely fynde euery tenth monasterie which is not rather a stewes than a holy house of chastitie. But what honest sparyng is in their diet: Swine bee none otherwyse fatted in lies. But least they shoulde complaine that I handle them to vngently, I goe no further. Howbeit in those fewe thynges whyche I haue touched, whosoouer knoweth the thyng it selfe will confesse that there is nothyng spoken accuserlike. Augustine, when accordyng to his testimonie monkes excelled in so greate chastitie, yet complaineth that there were many bagabundes, whiche with euell craftes and deceites wyped simple men from their money, which with carryng about the reliques of martyrs dyd vse filthy merchandisynges, yea and in stede of the reliques of martyrs dyd shew forth y bones of any other dead men, and which with many such wicked doynges sclandred the order. As he  
 repoz-



reporseth that he sawe no better men than them whiche haue profited in monasteries, so he lamenteth that he hath sene no woorse menne than those that disprofited in monasteries. What wold he say if at this day he sawe all monasteries to swell, and in a maner to burst with so many and so despeired vices: I speake nothyng but that which is well knowen to all men. Yet doth not this dispraise pertain to all without any excepti- on at all. For as there was neuer rule and discipline of luyng holyly so stablished in monasteries, but that there remained some draues much vnlike the rest: so I do not say that monkes at this day so runne out of kynde from that holy antiquitie, but that they haue yet some good men in their flocke. But they lye hydden a fewe and scattered in that huge multitude of naughty and wicked men: and they are not only des- pised, but also lewdly rayled at, and somtyme cruelly handeled of other, which (as the Philesians prouerbe is) thynke that there ought to be no place for any honest man among them.

16

By this comparison of the olde and presente monkerie, I truste I haue broughte to passe that whiche I purposed, that it maye appeare that our colwed men doo fally pzetende the example of the firste Chir- che for defence of their profession: forasmuche as they no lesse dif- fer from them than apes from menne. In the meane tyme I sticke not to declare, that euen in that olde forme which Augustine commen- deth, there is somewhat whiche little pleaseeth me. I graunte that they were not superstitious in exactyng the outwarde exercises of rougher discipline, but I say that there wanted not to much affectation & wrog- full zeale. It was a goodly thyng, forlakyng their goodes, to be with- out al earthly carefulnesse: but God moze este meth care to rule a house- holde godlily, when a holy householder beeyng loose and free from all couetousnesse, ambition, and other desires of the fleshe, trauaileth to this purpose to serue God in a certayn vocation. It is a goodly thing to play the Philosopher in wildernesse farre from the companie of men: but it agreeth not with Christian gentlenesse as it were for hatrede of man- kynde to flie into desert and solitarinesse, and therewithall to forlake those dueties whiche the Lord hath chesely commaunded. Although we graunt that there was no other euell in that profession, yet this verily was no small euell, that it broughte an vnprofitable and perillous ex- ample into the Chirch.

17

Above therfore let vs see what maner of bowes they be, wherewith monkes at this day are professed into this goodly order. Firste, because their mynde is to institute a new and fayned woorschipping to deserue Gods fauor: I conclude by the thinges afoze spoken that whatsoeuer they bowe is abhominable befoze God. Secondly without any regard of Gods calling, without any his allowance, they inuent for them suche a kynde of liuyng as pleaseeth them selues. I saye that it is a rashe and therfore an vnlawfull enterpryse: because their conscience hath nothing wherupon it may vpholde it selfe befoze God, and whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Moreouer whē they binde thē selues to many peruerse & wicked woorschippings, which y monkry at this day cōteineth in it, I af- firme y they be not cōsecrate to God, but to y deuil. For why was it law- ful for y Prophete to say, y the Israelites offred their childzē to deuils & not to God: only for this y they had corrupted y true woorschipping of God

with



with prophane Ceremonies: and shall it not be lawfull for vs to say the same of monkes, whiche with their cōwle do put vpon themselues a snare of a thousande wicked superstitions: Now what sortes of bowes are there? They promise to God perpetuall virginitie, as though they had bargained with God befoze, that he should deliuer them from neede of marriage. There is no cause why they should allege, that they do not make this bowe but trusting vpon the grace of God. For siſe he pronouideth that he geueth it not to all men, it is not in vs to conceiue a confidence of a speciall gifte. Let them that haue it, vse it. If at any tyme they fele themselues to be troubled of their fleſhe, let them flee to his helpe by whoes onely power they may resist. If they preuaile not, let them not despise the remedie that is offered them. For they by the certayne word of God are called to marriage, to whom power of cōtinence is denyed. Continence I call, not wherby the body is onely kepte cleane from whozedome, but wherby the mynde kepeth chastitie vndeſiled. For Paule commaundeth not onely outwarde wantonnesse, but also the burning of the minde, to be auoided. Thys (say they) hath from furthest tyme of memozie ben obserued, that they whiche woulde dedicate themselues wholly to the Lorde, should binde themselues to the bowe of continence. I graunte in dede that this manner hath also ben of auncient tyme receiued: but I doe not graunt that that age was so free from all faulte, that whatsoeuer was then done must be taken for a rule. And by litle and litle, this vnappeasable seueritie crept in, that after a bowe made there was no roome for repentance. Which is euident by Cypriane. If virgins haue of faith dedicate themselues to God, let them cōtinue shamefastly, and chastly without any faining. So being strong and stedfast let them loke for the rewarde of virginitie. But if they will not or can not continue, it is better that they should marrye than with their delightes fall into the fier. What reproches would they now spare to teare him withall, that would with suche equitie temper the bowe of continence. Therefore they are departed farr from that aunciente manner, which will not onely admitt no moderation or pardon if any be founde vnable to perfozme hys bowe: but they doe without all shame pronouice that he sinneth moze greuouſlye if he remedie the intemperance of the fleſhe with taking a wife, than if he defile bothe his body and soule with whozedome.

But they still enforce the mater, and goe about to shewe that suche a bowe was vſed in the Apostles tyme: because Paule sayth that the widowes which hauing ben ones receiued into the Publike ministerie did matrye, denyed their first sayth. But I doe not denie to them, that the widowes, whiche bounde themselues and their seruices to the Chirch, did therewithall take vpon them the bonde of cōtinuall vnmarried life: not because they reposed any religion therin as it afterward began to be vſed: but because they could not beare that office but beeing at their own libertie and loole from yoke of marriage. But if, whē they had ones geuen their sayth, they looked backe to newe marriages, what was thys ells but to shake of the calling of God: Therefore it is no maruell that with suche desires he saith that they ware wanton against Christe. Afterwarde to amplifie the mater he sayeth, that they do so not

D. i.

perfozme

Pat. r. r.  
r.i. Cor. vii.  
r.

Epi. ii.

18  
i. Tim. v.  
r.



performe that whiche they haue promised to the Church, that they doe also breake and make boide their first faith geuen in Baptisme: in whiche this is comprehended, that euery man should answer his calling. Unlessse perhaps you had rather vnderstande it thus, that hauing as it were losse all shame, they did fro thense fourth caste away all care of honestie, did geue fourth themselues to all wantonnesse and vnchastitie, and did in licentious and dissolute life resemble nothing lesse than Christian women: whiche sense I like very well. Therefore we answer, that those widowes whiche were then receiued to Publike ministere, did lay vpon themselues a bonde to continue vnmarried: if they afterwarde married, we easily perceiue that that happened to them whiche Paule speaketh of, that casting awaye shame they became moze wanton than belesmed Christian women. That so they not onely sinned, in breaking their faith geuen to the Church, but swarued from the common law of godly women. But firste I deny that they did professe vnmarried life for any other reason, but because marriage agreed not with that ministere which they toke in hand: and I deny that they did binde themselues at al to single life, but so farr as the necessitie of their vocatio did beare. Againe I do not graunt that they were so bounde, but that it was then also better for them to mary, than either to be troubled with the prickings of the flesh, or to fall into any vnclennesse. Thirdly I say that that age is appointed of Paule, which is comonly out of danger: specially sicke he comaundeth them only to be chose, which contented w one marriage haue already shewed a token of their continence. And we do for no other reso disallow y bowe of vnmarried life, but because it is both wrongfully taken for a seruice of God, & it is rashly bowed of them to who power of continence is not geuen.

19

But how was it lawfull to draw this place of Paule to Nonnes: For there were created deconesses, not to delite God with singing and wyth mumbling not vnderstanded, & lye the rest of their time idle: but that they should execute publike ministracion towarde the pooze, that they should with all study, earnestnesse, and diligence, endeuor themselues to the duties of charitie. They did not bowe vnmarried life, to yeld therby any worship to God because they abstained from marriage: but only because they were therby the moze vncombzed to execute their office. Finally they did not bowe it, either in the beginning of their youth, or yet in the middest of their flowing age, that they might afterwarde learne to late by experience into how great a hedlong downefal they had throwen themselues: but when they seemed to haue passed all danger, than they bowed a no lesse safe than holy bowe. But (not to enforze the firste twoo pointes) I say it was not lawfull to haue women receiued to bowe continence befoze the age of thzee scoze yeres: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth only women of .lx. yeres olde, and commaundeth the yonger to marry and byng fourth childre. Therefore neither that release made of .xii. yeres, and then .xx. and afterward of thirty yeres, can be any way excused: and much lesse is it tolerable, that silly maides, befoze that they can by age knowe themselues, or haue any experience of themselues, ar not only trained by fraude. but cōstrayned by force & threathenings to put on those cursed snares. I wil not tarry vpo cōfuting the other twoo bowes. Only this I say: beside this that they be entangled w not a few



superstitutions, (as the mater is now a daies) they seme to be made to this purpose, that they which bow them should mock both God and me. But least we should seme to maliciously to shake by euery small parcel, we will be contente with that generall confutation whiche is aboue set.

What manner of bowes be lawfull and acceptable to God, I thynke is sufficiently declared. Yet because somtime vnskillfull and fearefull consciences, euen when they mislike or disallowe any bowe, do neuerthelesse dout of the bynding, and are greuouly tormented, when they bothe drede to breake their faith geuen to God, and on the other side they feare least they should moze sinne in keping it: here they are to be succoured, that they may bynde themselves out of this distresse. But, to take awaye all dout at ones: I say that all bowes being not lawfull, nor rightly made, as they are nothing worth befoze God, so oughte to be boide to vs. For if in contractes of men those promises only doe bynde, in which he with whom we contract would haue vs bounde: it is an absurditie, that we should be driuen to the keping of those things which God doth not require of vs: specially sith our woorks are no otherwise right, but when they please God, and when consciences haue this testimonie that they please hym. For this remaineth certaine, whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Whereby Paule meaneth, that the worke which is taken in hande with douting, is therefore faulty, because faith is the roote of al good woorks, by which we are assured that they be acceptable to God. Therefore if it be lawfull for a Christian man to goe about nothing without this assurednesse: if by faulte of ignozance they haue taken any thing in hande, why should they not afterwarde geue it ouer when they be deliuered from errozs. Sith the bowes vnauidently made are such, they do not onely nothing binde, but are necessarily to be bindone. Yea what if they are not onely nothing esteemed, but also are abhominable in y sight of God, as is aboue shewed. It is nedelesse to discourse any longer of a mater not nedefull. This one argumente semeth to me to be enough to pacifie godly consciences and deliuer them from all dout: that whatsoeuer woorks doe not flowe out of the pure fountaine and be not directed to the lawfull ende, are refused of God: and so refused that he no lesse forbiddeth vs to goe forwarde in them, than to beginne them. For hereupon foloweth, that those bowes which procede of erroz and superstition, are both of no value befoze God, and to be forsaken of vs.

Moreouer he y shall knowe this solution, shall haue wherewith he may defende againste the sclauanders of the wicked, them that departe from monkerie to some honest kynde of lyfe. They are greuouly accused of breache of faith and perinrie, because they haue broken (as it is commonly thoughte) the insoluble bonde wherewith they were bounde to God and to the Chirch. But I say that there was no bonde, where God doth abrogate that whiche man confirmeth. Moreouer, admitting that they were bounde, when they were holdē entangled with not knowing of God and w erroz: nowe sith they are lightened w the knowlege of y truth, I say y they are therewithall free by the grace of

Christe. For if the crosse of Christe haue so greate effectualnesse, that it looseth vs fro the curse of the law of God, wher w we were holdē bonde



how much more shall it deliuer vs frō fozein bondes, which are nothing but the snaring nettes of Satan: To whomsoever therfoze Christ shi-  
neth with the lighte of his Gospell, it is no doute that he looseih them from all snares whiche they had put vpon themselves by superstition. Howbeit they want not yet an other defense, if they were not fitt to liue vnmarried. For if an impossible bowe be a sure destruction of the soule, whom the Lozde would haue saued and not destroyed: it foloweth that we ought not to continue therein. But howe impossible is the bowe of continēce to them that are not endued with a singular gift, we haue al-  
redy taught, and experience speaketh it though I holde my peace. For neither is it vnknouen with how great filthinesse almost all monaste-  
ries do swarme. And if any of them seme honest, and moze shamefast than the rest: yet they are not therfoze chaste because they suppress and kepe in the fault of vnchastitie. So verily God doth with horrible ex-  
amples take vengeance on the boldnesse of men, whiche forgetting their owne weakenesse, do against nature couet that which is denied them, and despising the remedies which the Lozde had geuen them at hande, do trust that they can with stubboznesse and obstinatie ouercome the disease of incontinence. For what els shall we cal it but stubboznesse, when one being warned that he nedeth marriage, and that the same is geuen him of the Lozde for a remedie, doeth not onely despise it, but also bindeth himselfe with an othe to the despising of it:

## ¶ The. xliii. Chapter.

### Of Sacramentes,



**B**eside the preaching of the Gospell, an other helpe of like sort is in the Sacramētes: of which to haue some certaine doctrine taught, is much behouefull for vs, wherby we may learne both to what ende they were ordeined, and what is now the vse of them. First it is mete to consider what is a Sacramente. It semeth to me that this shall be a playne and propeze definition, if we say that it is an outwarde signe, wherewith y<sup>e</sup> Lozde sealeth to our cōsciences the promises of his good wil toward vs, to sus-  
teine the weakenesse of our faith: and we againe on our behalues doe testifie our godlinesse toward him as well befoze him and the Angels as befoze mē. We may also with moze bzeuenesse define it otherwise: as to call it a testimonie of Gods fauoz toward vs confirmed by an out-  
warde signe, with a mutuall testifieng of our godlinesse toward him. Whether soeuer you choose of these definitions, it differeth nothing in sense from that definition of Augustine, which teacheth that a Sacra-  
mēt is a visibie signe of a holy thig, or a visibie forme of inuisibie grace: but it doth better and moze certainly expresse y<sup>e</sup> thing it selfe. For wher-  
as in that bzeuenesse there is some darknesse, wherin many of y<sup>e</sup> vnskil-  
fuller sort are deceiued, I thought good in moe wordes to geue a fuller sentence, that there should remaine no doubt.

For what reason the olde wziters vsed this worde in y<sup>e</sup> sense, it is not hard to see. For so oft as the olde translator would rēder in Latine, this  
Greke



Greke worde *Mysterion* mysterie, specially when diuine maters were entreated of, he translated it *Sacrament*. So to the Ephesians, That he might make knowen vnto vs the Sacrament of his will. Againe, if yet ye haue heard the distribution of the grace of God, which is geuen to me in you, because accordyng to reuelatiō the Sacrament was made knowen to me. To the Colossians, The mysterie which hath ben hidde from ages and generations, but now is manifested to his Saintes, to whom the Lord would make knowen the richesse of this Sacramente: &c. Againe to Timothee, A great Sacrament of godlinesse: God is openly shewed in the flesh. He would not say a secret, least he shoulde seme to say somwhat vnder the greatnesse of the thinges. Therfore he hath put Sacrament in stede of Secret, but of a holy thing. In that significatiō it is somtime founde amōg the ecclesiastical wryters. And it is well enough knowen, that those which in Latine are called *Sacramentes*, in Greke are *Mysteries*: which expressing of one thing in twoo seuerall wordes endeth all the contention. And hereby it came to passe that it was drawn to those signes whiche had a reuerende representation of hie and spiritual thinges. Which Augustine also noteth in one place. It were long (sayth he) to dispute of þ diuersitie of signes, which when they pertaine to diuine thinges, are called *Sacramentes*.

Now of this definitiō which we haue set, we vnderstande that a Sacrament is neuer without a promise going befoze it, but rather is adioyned as a certaine addition hanging to it, to this ende that it should confirme and seale þ promise it selfe, and make it moze approued vnto vs; yea after a certaine maner ratified. Which meane the Lord foreseeeth to be nedefull first for our ignorance and dullnesse, and thē for our weaknesse: and yet (to speake properly) not so much to cōfirme his holy word, as to stablisch vs in the faith therof. For the truth of God is by it selfe sounde and certaine enough, and can not frō any other where receiue better confirmation than from it selfe. But our faith, as it is smal and weake, vnlesse it be stayed on euery side, and be by al meanes vpholden, is by and by shaken, wauereth, staggereth, yea and fainteth. And herein verily the mercifull Lord according to his great tender kindnesse tempereth himselfe to our capacitee: that, whereas we be naturall men, which alway creeping vpon the grounde and sticking fast in þ flesh, dooe not thinke noz so much as cōceiue any spiritual thing, he bouchesaueth euen by these earthly elementes to guide vs vnto himselfe, and in the flesh it selfe to set fourth a mirroz of spirituall good thinges. For if we were vnbodyly (as Chrysostome sayth) he would haue geuen vs þ very same thinges naked and vnbodyly. Now because we haue soules putte

within bodies, he geueth spirituall thinges vnder visibible thinges. Not because there are suche giftes planted in the natures of the thinges which are set fourth to vs in the *Sacramentes*; but because they were signed by God to this significatiō.

And this is it which they cōmonly say, þ a Sacramēt cōsisteth of the word & the outward signe. For we must vnderstande þ worde to be, not that which being whispered wout meaning & faith, is onely noise as it were w a magical enchauntment hath power to cōsecrate þ element: but which being preached maketh vs to vnderstande what the visibible signe meaneth. Therfore þ which was vsually done vnder þ tyrānie of

Eph. i. fr.  
E. iii. iiiColos. i.  
rrvi.  
i. Tim. iii.  
rbi.Epi. v.  
ad. Mar  
cel.

3

Homel.  
60. ad pō  
pulum.

4



the Pope, was not without a great profaning of the mysteries. For they thought it enough, if the Priest, while the people stood amazedly gazing at it without vnderstanding, did mumble by the forme of consecration. Yea they of set purpose prouided this, y<sup>e</sup> no whit of doctrine shoulde thereof come to the people: for they spake all thinges in Latine before vnlearned men. Afterwarde superstition brake out so farr, that they beleued that the consecration was not formally made, vnlesse it were with a hoarse whispering sounde which fewe might heare. But Augustine teacheth farr otherwise of the Sacramental worde. Let the worde (sayth he) be added to the element, and there shalbe made a Sacramēt. For whense cometh this so great strength to the water, to touch the body and washe the soule, but by the worde making it: not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. For in the very worde it selfe the sounde which passeth is one thing, and the power which abideth is an other. This is the worde of faith which we preach, sayth the Apostle. Wherupon in the Actes of the Apostles it is said, by Faith cleansing their hartes. And Peter the Apostle sayth. So Baptisme also saueth vs: not the putting away of the filthinesse of the flesh, but the examination of a good conscience. This is the worde of faith which we preach: by which without dout, that it may be able to cleanse, Baptisme also is halowed. You se how it riquireth preaching, wherupō faith may growe. And we nede not to trauaile much in profe hereof, forasmuch as it is clere what Christ did, what he commaunded vs to do, what the Apostles folowed, what the purer Chirch obserued. Yea euen from the beginning of the world it is knowen, that so oft as God offred any signe to the holy fathers, there was added an vnseparable knot of doctrine, without which our senses shoulde be made amazed with bare beholding. Therfore when we heare mention made of the Sacramental worde, let vs vnderstand the promise, which being with a loude voice preached of the minister may leade the people thether as it were by the hande, whether y<sup>e</sup> signe tendeth and directeth vs.

5 Neither are some to be heard which trauail to fight against this, w<sup>th</sup> a double horned argument rather suttle than sounde. Either (say they) we know, or we knowe not, that the worde of God which goeth before the Sacrament, is the true will of God. If we knowe it, then we learne no new thing of the Sacrament which foloweth after. If we knowe it not, then neither wil the Sacramente teach it, whoes whole force standeth in y<sup>e</sup> worde. Wherunto let this bze felly be for an answer: that the seales which are hanged at patentes and other publike instrumentes, take by themselves are nothing, forasmuche as they shoulde be hanged in vaine if the parchemente had nothing wozitten in it: yet they doe not therfore not confirme and seale that which is wozitten, when they be added to wozitings. Neither can they say that this similitude is lately fayned by vs, which Paule himselfe bled, calling Circumcisiō a seale, where he purposely trauaileth to proue, that Circumcission was not righteousnesse to Abraham, but a sealyng of that couenaunte, by faith whereof he had altedy ben iustified before. And what, I beseeche you, is there that may muche offende any man, if we teache that the promise is sealed with Sacramentes, when of the promises themselves it is euidente that one is confirmed with an other:

For

Hom. in  
Ioh. xiiiRo. r. biff.  
Act. v. b. ir.  
i. Pet. iii.  
vii.

Ro. iii. r.



For as euery one is manifeste, so is it moze fit to vpholde faith. But y Sacramētes do both bring most clere promises, and haue this peculiar more than the woꝛde, that they liuely represent them to vs as it wer painted out in a table. Neither ought y distinction any thing to moue vs, which is wont to be objected, betwene Sacramentes and seales of patentēs: that wheras both consist of carnall elementes of this woꝛld, those can not suffice or be mete to seale the promises of God, which are spirituall and euerlasting, as these are wont to be hāged to, for sealing of the grauntes of Princes concerning fading and fraile thinges. For a faithfull man, when the Sacramentes are presente before his eyes, sticketh not in that fleshly sighte, but by those degrees of propoztion; whiche I haue spoken of, he riseth bp with godly consideration to the hie mysteries which lie hidden in the Sacramentes.

And sith the Loꝛd calleth his promises, couenantes: and his Sacramentes, seales, of couenantes: a similitude may wel be brought frō the couenantes of men. What can a sowe killed woꝛke, if woꝛdes were not bled, yea vnlesse they wente before? For sowes are many times killed withouth any moze inwarde or hier, mysterie. What can the geuing of a mans righte hande doe, sith oftentimes handes are matched with enmitie? But when woꝛdes haue gone before, by suche signes the lawes of leagues are stablished, althoughe they were firste conceiued, made, and decreed in woꝛdes. Therefore Sacramentes are exercises whiche make the credit of the woꝛde of God certayner vnto vs: and because we are carnall, they are deliuered vnder carnall thinges: that so they shoulde instruct vs accordyng to the capacitie of our dullnesse, and guide vs by the hande as scholemasters guide childzen. For thys reason Augustine calleth a Sacrament, a visibill woꝛde: because it representeth the promises of God as it were painted in a table, and setteth them before our sighte conningly expressed and as in an image. Other similitudes also may be broughte, whereby Sacramentes may be moze plainly set out; as if we call them pillers of our fayth. For as a bylding standeth and resteth vpon the fundation: yet by setting vnder of pillers, it is moze surely stablished: so: fayth resteth vpon the woꝛde of God, as vpon a fundation: but when Sacramentes are added, it stayeth yet moze soundly vpon them as vpon pillers. Or if we call them loking glasses, in which we may beholde the richesse of the grace of God, which he geueth vs. For (as we haue alre dy sayd) he doth in them manifestly shewe himselte to vs, so much as is geuen to our dullnesse to knowe, and doth moze expzessly testifie his good will and loue towarde vs thā by hys woꝛde.

Neither doe they reson fittly enough to the purpose, when they laboꝛ to proue hereby that they are not testimonies of the grace of God, because they are also geuen to the wicked, whiche yet doe therby fele God nothing moze fauourable to them, but rather procure to themseltes moze greuous damnation. For by the same argumente neither shoulde the Gospell, whiche is heard and despised of many, be the testimonie of the grace of G O D: noꝛ yet Christ himselte, whiche was seen and knowen of many, of whome very fewe receiued him. The lyke we may also se in patentēs. For a greate parte of the

M. iiii. multitude

6  
Gene. vi.  
xviii. 17.  
ix. 1. xvii.  
xvii.

In Iohn.  
Homel.  
89.  
Libr. 19.  
con. fau.

7



multitude laugheth at and scozeth that authentike seale, howsoeuer they knowe that it proceeded from the Prince to seale his will withal: some regarde it not, as a thing not pertaine to them: some also abhorre it: so that considering this so egal relation of both, that same similitude which I haue aboue vsed, ought moze and moze to be liked. Therfore it is certaine that the Lorde doeth offer vnto vs mercy and a pledge of his grace both in his holy woorde and in the Sacramentes: but the same is not receiued but of them whiche receive the woorde and Sacramentes with sure faith: like as Chziste is offered of the Father vnto saluation, to all, yet his is not acknowledged and receiued of all. Augustine in one place minding to declare the same, sayd that the effectualnesse of the woorde is shewed fourth in the Sacrament: not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. Therfore Paule, when he speaketh to the faithfull, so entreateth of Sacramentes that he includeth the communion of Chziste in them, as when he sayth: all ye that are Baptised, haue put on Chzist. Againe, we are all one body and one Spirite, which are Baptised in Chziste. But when he speaketh of the wrongfull vse of Sacramentes, he geueth no moze to it than to colde and boide figures. Whereby he signifieth, that howsoeuer the wicked and hipocrites with their puerlesse do either oppresse or darken or hinder the effect of the grace of God in the Sacramentes, yet that withstandeth not but that where and so ofte as it pleaseth God, bothe they may byng a true testimonie of the communicating of Chzist, and the Spirite of God himselfe may deliuer and performe that which they promise. We determine therfore that Sacramentes are truely called testimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certaine scales of the good will which he beareth toward vs: which by sealing it vnto vs, doe by this meane susteine, nourishe, confirme, and encrease our faith. As for the reasons which some are wont to obiect against this sentēce, they are to tryling and weake. They say that if our faith be good, it can not be made better: for they say that it is no faith, but which without shaking, stedfastly, and without withdrawing, resteth vpon the mercy of God. It had ben better for suche to pray with the Apostles that the Lorde woulde encrease their faith, than carelesly to pretende suche a perfection of fayth, whiche neuer any of the sonnes of men hath obtained, nor any shall obtaine in thys lyfe. Lett them answer, what manner of faith they thinke that he had which sayd: I beleue Lorde, helpe my vnbeleuingnesse. For euen that fayth, howsoeuer it was but a begone faith, was a good faith, and myghte be made better when vnbeleuingnesse were taken away. But they are confuted by no certainer argument than by their owne conscience. For if they confesse themselues sinners, (whiche whether they will or no, they can not denye) they muste nedes impute the same to the imperfection of their fayth.

But (say they) Philip answered the Eunuche, that he myghte be Baptized, if he beleued with all hys harte. What place here hath the confirmation of Baptisme, where fayth fylleth the whole hart: Againe I aske them whether they doe not fele a good parte of their hart boide of fayth: whether they doe not dayly acknowledge newe encreases. The heathen manne glozped that he waxed olde with

learning

Gala. iii.  
xxvii.  
1. Cor. xii.  
vii.

Luk. xvii.  
b.

Marke. ix.  
xxiii.

8  
Act. viii.  
xxvii.



learnynge. Therfore we Christians be thise miserable, if we ware olde with profityng nothyng, whoes faith oughte to goe forwarde by all degrees of ages, tyll it growe into a perfect man. Therfore in this place to beleue with all the harte, is not perfectly to beleue Christe, but onely from the harte and with a syncere mynde to embrace hym: not to bee full with hym, but with feruent affection to hunger, and thirste, and syghe towarde hym. This is the maner of the Scripture, to saye that that is doone with the whole harte, whiche it meaneth to be done syncerely and hartily. Of this sorte are these sayenges: I haue in all my harte soughte thee: I will confesse to thee in all my harte, and suche other. As on the other syde, where he rebuketh guilefull and deceitfull men, he bseth to reproche them with hart and hart. Then they say further, that if faith be encreased by Sacramentes, the Holy ghost is geuen in vaine, whoes strength and woerke it is to begyn, mainteyn, and make perfect faith. To whom in dede I graunt, that faithe is the propre and whole woerke of the Holy ghost, by whom beyng enlightned we knowe God and the treasures of his goodnesse, and without whoes light our mynde is so blynde, that it can see nothyng, so senselesse, that it can smell nothyng of spirituall thynges. But for one benefite of God which they set forth, we consider thre. For fyrst the Lord teacheth and instructeth vs with his worde: then he strengtheneth vs with sacramentes: last of all he shineeth into our myndes with the lyght of his holye Spirite, and openeth an entrie for the woerde and Sacramentes into our hartes, whiche otherwysse should but strike our eares, and bee present befoze our eies, and nothyng moue the inward partes.

Wherfore as touchyng the confirmation and encrease of faith, I wold haue the reader warned (which I thinke I haue already in plaine wordes expressed) that I do so assigne that ministerie to the sacramentes, not as though I thought that there is perpetually in them I wote not what secrete force, by which they may of themselves be able to further or confirme faith: but because they are ordeined of the Lorde to this ende, that they should serue to the stablisyng and encreasynge of faith. But then onely they do truly performe their office, when that inward schoolemaister the Spirite is come to them, with whoes onely power bothe the hartes are pearced, and affections are moued, and the entrie is sette open for the Sacramentes into oure soules. If he be absente, Sacramentes can do no moze to our myndes, than if either the brightnesse of the sunne should shine vpon blynde eies, or a voice sounde to deafe eares. Therfore I so make diuision betwene the Spirite and sacramentes, that the power of working remaine with the Spirite, and to the Sacramentes be left only the ministracion, yea and the same boide and trifyng without the working of the Spirite: but of muche effectualnesse, when he inwardly woerketh and putteth forth his force. Nowe it is plaine in what sorte accordyng to this sentence, a godly mynde is confirmed in the faith by Sacramentes: that is to say, euen as the eies see by the brightnesse of the sunne, and the eares heare by the sounde of a voice: of whiche neither the eies should any whitte perceiue any light, vnlesse they had a sight in them selues that insight naturally be enlightned: and the eares should in vaine be knocked at with any crieng whatsoeuer it were, vnlesse they wer naturally made



made and fitt to heare. But if it be true, whiche ought at ones to be determined among vs, that what the sight woꝝketh in our eyes to seying of the light, what the hearyng woꝝketh in our eares to the perceiuyng of a voice, the same is the woꝝke of the Holy ghost in our hartes, bothe to the conceiuyng, and susteinynge, and cherishing and stablishing of faith: then bothe these thynges do likewise folowe: that the Sacramentes do nothyng at all pꝛofite without the power of the Holy ghoste: & that nothyng withstandeth but that in hartes already taught of that scholemaster, they may make faith bothe stronger and moze encreased. Only this difference there is, that the power of hearyng and seying is naturally set in our eares and eyes: but Christ beside the measure of nature doth by speciall grace woꝝke the same in our myndes.

10

Wherby those objections also, which comber some men, are dissolved: That if we ascribe to creatures either the encrease oz confirmation of faith, there is woꝝong done to the Spirite of God, whom we ought to acknowlege the onely authoz therof. For neither doo we in the meane tyme take from hym the pꝛaise either of confirming oz encreasynge it: but rather we affirme, y euen this that he encreseth & confirmeth faith, is nothing els but with his inward enlightning to prepare our myndes to receiue that confirming which is set fooꝝth by the Sacraments. But if it be yet to darkly spokē, it shalbe made very clere by a similitude which I will bryng. If thou purpose with woꝝdes to perswade a man to do any thyng, thou wilt search out all the reasons, wherby he may be drawn to thy opinion, and may be in a maner subdued to obey thy counsel. But thou haste hetherto nothyng pꝛeuailed, vnlesse he likewise haue a pearcyng and sharpe iudgement, whereby he may wey what pitth is in thy reasons: vnlesse also he haue a tractable witt & ready to harken to teachyng: finally vnlesse he haue conceiued such an opinion of thy faithfulness and wisdom, as may be to him like a certaine fozeiudgemēt to cause him to subscribe. For both there are many stubboꝝne heads, which a man can neuer bowe with any reasons: and also where credite is suspected, where authozitie is despised, little good is done euen with the willynge to learne. On the other syde lett all those thynges be present, they wyll truely bryng to passe that the hearer, to whome thou guesst counsel, will obey the selfe same counsels which otherwise he wold haue laughed to scoꝝne. The same woꝝke also the Spirite woꝝketh in vs. For least the woꝝde shoulde beate our eares in bayne, least the Sacramentes shoulde stryke oure eyes in bayne, he sheweth vs that it is God which speaketh therein, he softeneth the stubboꝝnesse of oure harte, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the woꝝd of the Lorde. Finally he conueyeth those outward woꝝdes and Sacramentes from the eares into the soule. Therfoꝝe both the woꝝde and the Sacraments do confirme our faith, when they set befoꝝe our eyes the good wil of the heuenly ffather toward vs, by knowlege of whom both the whole steadfastnesse of our faith standeth fast, and the strengthe of it encreaseth: the Spirite confirmeth it, when in engrauing the same confirmation in in our myndes he maketh it effectual. In the meane tyme the ffather of lightes can not be foꝝbidden, but as he enlightneth the bodily eyes with the beames of the sunne, so he may enlighten our myndes with sacramentes, as with a bryghtnesse set meane betwene.

Which



Whicher propertie the Lorde taught that there was in his outwarde worde, when in the parable he called it sede. For as sede, if it fall vpon a desert and vntilled pece of grounde, will do nothyng but die: but if it be throwen vpon arable lande well manured and tyllid, it wyll byng forth her fruite with very good encrease: so the word of God, if it light vpon a stiffe necke, it will growe barreine as that whiche is sowne vpon sande: but if it light vpon a soule manured with the hande of the heavenly Spirite, it will be moste fruitefull. But if there be like reason of sede and of the worde: as we say that out of sede corne bothe springeth and encreaseeth, and groweth vp to ripenesse: why may we not say that faith taketh out of the worde of God bothe begynnynge, encrease, and perfection. Paule very well expresseth both these thyngs in sundry places. For when he goeth about to put the Cozynthians in remembrance howe effectually God bled his trauaile, he glozieth that he hath the ministerie of the Spirite, as though the power of the Holy ghost wer with an vnseperable knot ioynded with his preachynge, to enlighten and thoroughly moue the mynde. But in an other place when he myndeth to admonishe them, of what force the worde of God is of it self being preached by man, he compareth the ministers themselues to husbandemen, which when they haue bestowed their labor and trauaile in tilling the earth, haue no moze to do. But what shold tilling, and sowing, and watering profit, vnlesse that whiche is sowne should receiue liuelynesse by heavenly benefite: Therfore he concludeth, that bothe he that planteth and he that watereth are nothyng: but that all thynges are to be ascribed to God, whiche alone geueth the encrease. Therefore the Apostles do in their preachynge vtter the power of the Spirite, so farre as God bled the instrumentes ordeined by hymselfe to the setting forth of his spirituall grace. Yet we must kepe still that distinction, that we remembre, what man is able to do by hymselfe, and what is propre to God.

Sacramentes are so confirmations of our faith, that many tymes when the Lorde meaneth to take away the confidence of the very thynges that are by hym promysed in the Sacramentes, he taketh away the sacramentes themselues. When he spoyleth and thrusteth away Adam from the gifte of immortallitie, he sayth: Let him not eate of the fruite of lyfe, least he lyue for euer. What sayth he: Coude that fruite restore to Adam his vncorruption, from which he was nowe fallen. No. But this is all one as if he had said: Least he should enioy a vaine confidence if he kepe still the signe of my promise, let that bee taken awaye from hym whiche myght byng hym some hope of immortallitie. After this maner when the Apostle exhorteth the Ephesians to remembre that they were forein gestes of the testamentes, strangers from the felowship of Israell, without God, without Christ, he saith, that they were not partakers of Circumcision. Whereby he doth (by figure of transnominacion) signifie that they were excluded from the promise it self, which had not receiued the signe of the promise. To their other obiection, that the glorie of God is conueyed to creatures, to whome so muche power is ascribed, and that therby it is so farre diminished, we haue in redynesse to answer that we set no power in creatures. Onely this we say, that God bled meanes and instrumentes, whiche he hymselfe seeth to be expedient: that all thynges may serue his glorie, soasmuch as he is

Lorde

11

Mat. xliii.  
liii.  
Luc. lvi.  
rb.i. Coz. ii.  
liii.  
i. Coz. iii.  
vi.i. Coz. iii.  
vi.

12

Genes.  
xxiii.Ephes. ii.  
vii.



Lozde and iudge of all. Therfoze as by bread and other nourishmentes he feedeth our body : as by the sunne he enlightneth the world: as by fire he warmeth: yet neither bread, noz the sunne, noz fyre, are any thing but so farre as by those instrumentes he dothe distribute his blessinges vnto vs : so spiritually he nourisheth faith by the Sacramentes, whose onely office is to sett his promises befoze our eies to be looked vpon, yea to be pledges vnto vs of them. And as it is our duetie to fasten none of our affiance in other creatures, which by the liberalitie and bountifullnesse of God are ordeined to our vses, and by the ministerie wherof he geueth vs his giftes, noz to haue them in admiration & praise them as causes of our good : so neither ought our confidence to sticke fast in the Sacramentes, noz the glozie of God to be remoued vnto them: but leauyng all thynges, both our faith and confession ought to rise vp to him the authoꝝ bothe of the sacramentes and of all thynges.

13

Wheras some bring an argument out of the very name of a Sacrament, it is nothyng strong. A Sacrament (saye they) whereas it hath among allowed authoꝝ many significations, yet it hath but one which agreeth with the signes : that is, wherby it signifieth that solemne othe whych the soldioꝝ maketh to his capitaine when he entreth into profession of a soldioꝝ. For as by that othe of warfare newe soldioꝝ do bynde their faith to the capitain, and professe to be his soldioꝝ: so by our signes we professe Chzist our capitaine, and do testifie that we serue vnder his banner. They adde similitudes to make therby the mater moze playne. As a golone made ꝑ Romains seuerally knowen frō the Grekes which dyd weare cokes: as ꝑ very degrees of men at Rome were discerned by their seueral signes: ꝑ degree of Senatoꝝ from the degree of knightes, by purple cote and piked shoes: againe a knyghte from a comoner, by a ryng: so we beare our signes that may make vs seuerally knowen from prophane men. But by the thynges aboue said it is euident enough that the olde wꝛiters, whyche gaue to the signes the name of Sacramentes, hadde no regarde howe this woꝝde was vled among Latine wꝛiters, but for theyꝝ owne purpose fayned this newe signification, wherby they signified onely holy Signes. But if wee will searche the mater moze depely, it maye seme that they haue with the same relation applied this woꝝde to suche a signification, wherewith they haue remoued the name of faith to that sense wherin it is nowe vled. For wheras faith is a truth in perfoꝝmyng promises: yet they haue called faith an assurednesse, oꝝ sure persuasion whiche is had of the truth it selfe. Likewise wheras a Sacrament is ꝑ soldioꝝs part wherby he boweth hymselfe to his capitayne : they haue made it the capitaynes parte, wherby he receyueth soldioꝝs into roomes of seruice . For by the Sacramente the Lozde doothe promise that he will be oure God, and that we shall bee his people . But we passe ouer suche suttleties : foꝝasmuche as I thynke I haue pꝛoued with argumentes playne enoughe, that they hadde respecte to nothyng ells but to signifie that these are Signes of holye and spirituall thynges . We receyue in deede the similitudes whych they byyng of outwarde tokens : but we allowe not that that whych is the last poynte in the Sacramentes, is by them set for the chiefe yea and onely thyng . But this is the fyrste poynte, that they should serue our faith befoze **G O D** : the later poynt that they should



Should testifie our confession befoze men. Accoꝝdyng to this later consideration those similitudes haue place. But in the meane tyme lette that first point remaine: because otherwise (as we haue already proued) the mysteriēs should be but colde, vnlesse they were helpes to our faith, and additions to doctrine ordeined to the same vse and ende.

Agayne we must be warned, that as these men doo weaken the force, and vtterly ouerthrowe the vse of Sacramentes: so on the contrarie syde there be some, which saine to Sacramentes, I wote not what secrete vertues, whiche are no where red to be putt in them by God. By which erroꝝ the simple and vnskilfull are dangerously deceiued, while they are bothe taught to seke the giftes of God where they can not bee founde, and are by little and little drawn away from God, to embrace mere banitie in stede of his veritie. Foꝝ the Sophisticall schooles haue taught with great consent, that the Sacramentes of the new law, that is to say those which are nowe in vse in the Christian Chirch, do iustifie and geue grace, so that we do not laie a stoppe of deadly sinne. It can not be expꝛessed howe pernicious and pestilent this opinion is, and so muche the moze, because in many ages heretofoze, to the great losse of the Chirch it hath preuailed in a great part of the world: Cruely it is vtterly deuelicke. Foꝝ when it promisseth righteousnesse without faith, it driueth soules hedlong into destruction: then because it fetcheth the cause of righteousnesse from the Sacramentes, it byndeth the miserable myndes of men already of their owne accoꝝde to muche bendyng to the earth, with this superstition that they rather reste in the sighte of a bodily thyng than of God himselfe. Which two thyngs I wold to God we had not so proued in experiance, so little nede they any long proofo. But what is a Sacrament taken without faith, but the moste certaine destruction of the Chirch: Foꝝ wheras nothyng is to be looked foꝝ thereof without the promise, and the promise dothe no lesse thꝛeaten worathe to the vnfaithfull, than it offreth grace to the faithfull: he is deceyued that thinketh that there is any moze geuen to him by the Sacraments, than that which beyng offred by the word of God, he receiueth by faith. Wherupon an other thyng also is gathered, that the affiance of saluation hangeth not vpon the partakyng of the Sacrament, as though Iustification consisted therein: which we knowe to be reposed in Christ onely, and to be cōmunicated vnto vs no lesse by the preachyng of the Gospel, than by the sealyng of the Sacramente: and that withoute that it can not wholly stande. So true is that which Augustine also writeth, that inuisible sanctification may be without a visibile signe; and agayne that a visibile signe may be without true sanctification. Foꝝ (as he also writeth in an other place,) men do put on Christ somtyme vntill the receyuyng of a sacrament, sometyme euen vntill the sanctification of life. And that firste poynt may be cōmon both to good and to euill: but this other is propre to the good and godly.

Wherupon cometh that distinction if it be well vnderstanded, whiche the same Augustine hath often noted, betwene a Sacrament, and the thyng of the Sacrament. Foꝝ it not only signifieth, that the figure and truthe are there contained, but that they doo not so hang together but that they may be seuered: and that euē in the very conioyning the thyng muste alwaye be discerned from the signe, that we geue not to the one that

14

lib. iiii.  
de quest.  
vet testa.  
lib. v. de  
bapt cō-  
tra Dona-  
ca. p. iiii.

15



that which belongeth to the other. He speaketh of the seperation, when he writeth that the Sacramentes do woрке in the only elect that which they figure. Agayne, when he writeth thus of the Jewes: When the sacramentes were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the Sacramentes. So nowe also the washing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace it selfe, whereby the members of Christ are regenerate with their hed, is not common to all. Agayne in an other place of the Supper of the Lord, We also at this daye receyue visible meate. But the Sacrament is one thyng, and the power of the Sacramente an other thyng. What is this, that many receiue of the altar and dye, and in receyuyng do die: For the Lordes morzell was poyson to Judas: not because he receiued an euell thing, but because he beyng euell receiued a good thyng euelly. A little after, The sacramēt of this thyng, that is of the bñitie of the body and blood of Christe, is somewhere prepared on the Lordes table dayly, somewhere by certaine distances of dayes: and therof is receyued vnto life to some, and vnto destruction to some. But the thyng it selfe wherof it is a Sacrament, is receiued vnto life to all mē, but vnto destruction to no mā, whosoever is partaker of it. And a little befoze he had sayd, He shall not dye whych eateth: but he which pertaineth to the power of the sacrament, not to þ visible Sacramēt: whiche eateth within, not without: whiche eateth with hart, not he which presseth with toothe. Thus you heare euery where, that a Sacrament is so seuered from his owne truthe by the vnwozthinesse of the receiuer, that there remaineth nothing but a baine and vnprofitable figure. But that thou mayst haue not a signe boide of truth: but the thyng with the signe, thou muste conceyue by faith the woorde which is there enclosed. So howe muche thou shalt by the Sacraments profite in communicatyng of Christ, so muche profyete shalt thou take of them.

16

If this be somewhat darke because of the shoztenesse, I will sette it out in mo wordes. I say that Christ is the mater, or (if thou wilt) the substance of all sacramentes: forasmuche as in hym they haue all their perfectnesse, and do promise nothyng without hym. So muche lesse tolerable is the erroz of Peter Lombard, which doth expzessly make them causes of righteousnesse and saluation, wherof they be parts. Therfoze bidding all causes farwell whiche mans witt dothe faine to it selfe, we ought to stay in this one cause. Therfoze howe muche we be by their ministerie holpen to the nourishyng, confirmyng, and encreasyng of the true knowlege of Christ in vs, and to the possessyng of hym moze fully, and to the enioyeng of his richesse, so muche effectualnesse they haue with vs. But that is don when we do with true faith receiue that which is there offred. Do the wicked then (wilt thou saye) byyng to passe by their vnthankfulnesse, that the ordinance of God be boide and turne to nothyng: I answer that that which I haue said, is not so to be take, as though the force and truthe of the Sacrament dyd hang vpon the state or will of hym that receiue it. For that whiche God hath ordey- ned remaineth stedfast and kepeth still his nature, howsoever men doo varie. But sith it is one thyng to offre, an other to receiue: nothyng withstandeth but that the signe halowed by the woorde of God may be in dede that which it is called, and kepe his own force: and yet that there come

De bap.  
paruu.  
In psal.  
lxxvii.

In Iohs.  
homel.  
rv.ii.

Lib. i.  
sent. dist.  
i.



come thereby no profite to an euell doer and wicked man. But Augustine dothe in fewe woordes well assoyle this question. If (saythe he) thou receauest carnally, it ceaseth not to be spirituall: but it is not to thee. But as Augustine hath in the aforesayde places shewed that a Sacramēt is a thynge nothyng worth, if it be seuered frō the truth thereof: so in an other place he geueth warnyng that euen in the very conioynyng nedeth a distinction, least we sticke to much in the outward signe. As (sayth he) to folowe the letter, and to take the signes in stede of the thinges, is a point of a seruile weakenesse: so to expounde the signes vnprofitably is a poynte of euell wandryng erroz. He nameth two faultes whyche are here to be auopded: The one when we so take the signes as though they were geuen in bayne, and when with abacyng or diminyshyng they secrete significations by oure enuiousnesse, we byyng to passe that they byyng vs no profite at all. The other, when in not raisyng our myndes beyonde the visibill signe, we geue awaye to the Sacramente the praise of all those good thynge whiche are not geuen vs but of Chryste onely, and that by the Holy ghoste; whyche maketh vs partakers of Chryste hymselfe: and in dede by the helpe of the outward Signes: whiche if they allure vs to Chryste, when they bee wrested an other waye, the whole profyte of them is vnworthlyly ouerthrowen.

Wherfoze let this remaine certaine, that there is no other office of the Sacramentes than of the worde of God: whiche is to offer and set forth Christ vnto vs, and in hym the treasures of heavenly grace: but they auayle or profite nothyng, but beeyng receiued by Faith: euen as wyne, or oyle, or any other liquoz, though you poure it on largely, yet it will runne beside and perithe vnlesse the vessels mouth be open to receiue it, and the vessell though it be werthe rounde about on the outsyde, shall neuerthelesse remayne emptie and boide within. Beside this we must beware, least those thynge whiche haue ben wrytten by the olde wryters somewhat to gloziously to amplifie the dignitie of Sacramentes, shold leade vs away into an erroz nere to this: namely that we shold thinke that there is some secret power knitt and fastened to the Sacramentes, that they maye of themselues geue vs the graces of the Holye ghost, like as wyne is geuen in a cup: wheras only this office is appointed to them by God, to testifie and stablisch to vs the good wil of God toward vs, and do profite no further vnlesse the Holy ghost ioyne hymselfe to them, which may open our myndes and hartes, & make vs partakers of this testimonie, wherin also do clerely appere diuers & seuerall graces of God. For the sacraments, as we haue aboue touched, are that thing to vs of God, which to mē are messengers of ioyfull thynge, or earnestes in stablischyng of bargaines: which do not of themselues geue any grace, but do tell and shewe vs, and (as they be earnestes and tokens,) doo ratifie vnto vs those thynge that are geuen vs by the liberalitie of God. The Holy ghost (whom the Sacramentes do not in comon without difference byyng to al men, but whom the Lord peculiarly geueth to them that be his) is he that byyngeth the graces of God with him, which geueth to the Sacramentes place in vs, whiche maketh them to byyng forth fruite. But although we do not denie that God hymselfe with the most present power of his Spirit is present with his owne institution,

least

Homi. in  
Iohan,  
xxvi.lib. iii.  
de doct.  
Christi.  
cap. ix.

17



least the ministration which he hath ordeined of the Sacraments should be fruitlesse and vaine: yet we affirme that the inward grace of the Spirit, as it is seuered from the outward ministerie, so ought to be seuerally weyed & considered. God therfore truely performeth in dede what soeuer he promiseth and figureth in signes: neither do the signes want their effect, that the authoz of them may be proued true and faithfull. The question here is only whether God worketh by his own and by inward power (as they call it) or do resigne his office to outward signes. But we affirme, that whatsoever instruments he vse, his original working is nothyng hindered thereby. When this is taught concerning the Sacramentes, bothe their dignitie is honorably sett out, and their vse is plainely shewed, and their profitableness is abundantly reported, & the best meane in all these thynges is retained, that neither any thyng be geuen to them which ought not, nor agayn any thyng be taken from them which is not conuenient to be taken from them. In the mean time that fained deuise is taken away, wherby the cause of iustification and power of the Holy ghost is enclosed in elementes as in vessels or waggones: and that principall force whiche hath ben omitted of other is expressly sett out. Here also it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the minister figureth and testifieth by outward doynge: least that be drawn to a mortall man, which God claimeth to himself alone. The same thyng also doth Augustine wisely touche. How (saith he) doth bothe Moses sanctifie, and God? Not Moses for God: but Moses with his holy Spirit: where also is the whole frute of visible Sacraments. For without this sanctification of inuisible grace, what do those visible Sacramentes profite?

18

The name of Sacramente, as we haue hether to entreated of the nature of it, doth generally conteyne all the signes that euer God gaue to men, to certifie and assure them of the truth of his promises. Those he somtime willed to remaine in naturall thyngs, sometyne he deliuered them in miracles. Of the first kynd these be examples, as when he gaue to Adam and Eue, the tree of life for an earnestte of immortallitie, that they myght assure themselues of it, so long as they dyd eate of the frute therof. And when he did set the heauenly boaw for a monument to Noe and his posteritie, that he wold no moze from thenseforth destroye the earth with ouerflowyng of water. These Adam and Noe had for Sacramentes. Not that the tree did geue them immortallitie, which it could not geue to it selfe: nor that the Boaw (which is but a strikyng back of a sunbeame vpon the cloudes against it) was of force to hold in the waters: but because they had a marke grauen in them by the word of God, that they should be examples and seales of his testaments. And the tree was a tree befoze, and the boaw a boawe. When they were wrytten vpon with the word of God, then a newe forme was put into them, that they should begyn to be that which they were not befoze. That no man should thinke these thynges spoken without cause, the boawe it self is at this day also a witnesse of that couenant, which God made with Noe: whiche boaw so ofte as we beholde, we reade this promise of God wrytten in it, that the earth shall neuer be destroyed with ouerflowyng of

Questio.  
vii. ceta.  
lib. iii. ca.  
lxxxiii.

Gen. ii.  
vii. & iii.  
iii.  
Gene. ix.  
xiii.



of waters. Therfoze if any fonde Philosopher, to scozne the simplicitie of our Faith, do affirme that suche varietie of colozs doth naturally arise of reflected beames and a cloude set against them: let vs graunte it in dede, but let vs laugh to scozne his senselesse follie, which doeth not acknowledge God the Lorde and gouernoꝝ of nature: whiche at hys owne will bleth all the elementes to the seruice of his owne glozy. If he had emprinted such tokens in the sunne, & sterres, the earth, stones, and suche like, they should all haue been Sacramentes to vs. Why are not vncoyned and coyned siluer both of one value, sith they are both one metall: euen because the one hath nothing but nature: when it is stryken with a common marke, it is made money, and receiueih a newe valuation. And shall not God be able to marke his creatures with hys woꝝde, that they may be made Sacramentes, whiche befoze were naked elementes: Of the second kynde these were examples, when he shewed to Abraham a lighte in a smoking ouen: when he watered the flece with dew, the earth remainyng dry: againe he watered the earth, the flece being vntouched, to promise victoꝝy to Gedeon: when he drew the shadowe of the diall. ix. hynes backward, to promise safetie to Ezechias. These thinges, when they were done to relieue and stablishe the weakenesse of their Faith, were then also Sacramentes.

But our presente purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those Sacramentes, whiche the Lord willed to be ordinarie in his Chirch; to nourishe his worshippers and seruantes into one Faith and the confession of one Faith. For (to vse the woꝝdes of Augustine) men can be congeled together into no name of religion either true oz false, vnlesse they be bounde together with some felowship of visibill signes and Sacramentes. Sith therfoze the moste good Father foresawe thys necessitie, he did from the beginning ordeine certayne exercises of godlinesse for his seruantes, whiche afterwarde Satan: by turning them to wicked and superstitious worshippinges, hath many wayes depaued and coꝝrupted. Hereupon came those solemne professiōs of the Gentiles into their holy orders, and otheꝝ bastarde vsages: which although they were full of erroꝝ and superstition, yet they also were therewith a profe that men could not in profession of religion be without suche outward signes. But because they neyther were grounded vpon the woꝝde of God, noꝝ were referred to that trueth whereunto all signes oughte to be directed, they are vnwoꝝthy to be rehearsed where mention is made of the holy signes whiche are ordeined of God and haue not swarued from their fundation, that is, that they should be helpes of true godlinesse. They consist not of bare signes, as were the boaw and the tree; but vpon Ceremonies: oz rather the signes that be here geuen are Ceremonies. But as it is aboue sayd, that they be on y<sup>e</sup> Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace and saluatiō: so they be againe on our behalfe markes of profession, by which we openly sweare to the name of God, for our partes bynding our Faith vnto him. Therfoze Chyphostome in one place fittly calleth them couenātinges wherby God byndeth hymselfe in league with vs, and we be bounde to purenesse and holinesse of life, because here is made a mutuall foꝝme of couenāting betwene God and vs. For as the Lorde therein promiseih that he will cancell and blot out whatsoeuer giltinesse & penaltie we haue gathered by of;

Gene. xv.  
xvii.  
Judg. vi.  
xxxvii.  
ii. Kings.  
xv. ix.  
Esay.  
xxxviii. viii

19

Lib. ix,  
contra  
faust.  
Manich;  
cap. ii,



26  
 sending, and doth reconcile vs to himselfe in his only begotten Sonne: so we againe on our behalves do by thys profession bynde oure selues vnto hym to the folowing of Godlinesse and innocence: so that a man may rightly say that such Sacramētes are Ceremonies, by which God wil exercise his people first to the nourishing, stirring vp, and strengthening of faith inwardly, then to the testifieng of religion befoze men.

And euen these Sacramentes also were diuerse, after the diuerse order of tyme, according to the distribution whereby it pleased the Lorde to shewe hymselfe after thys or that manner to men. For to Abraham and his posteritie Circumcision was commaunded: wherunto afterwarde purifiengs, and Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies were added out of the law of Moses. These were the Sacramentes of the Jewes vntil the comming of Christ: at which comming, those being abrogate, twoo Sacramentes were ordeined, whiche now the Christian Church bleseth, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lorde. I speake of those that were ordeined for the ble of the whole Church. For as for the laying on of handes, whereby the ministers of the Church are entred into their office, as I do not vnwillingly suffer it to be called a Sacrament, so I doe not reckon it among the ordinarie Sacramentes. As for the rest which are commonly called Sacramentes, what they are to be accompted, we shall see by and by. Howbeit the olde Sacramentes also had respect to the same marke, wherunto ours doe tende, that is to directe and in a maner leade by the hande to Christ: or rather as images to represent hym, and shewe hym fourth to be knowen. For whereas we haue already taught, that they are certayne seales wherewith the promises of God are sealed: and where it is most certaine, that there was neuer offered any promise of God to men but in Christ: that they may teache vs of some promyse of God, they must nedes shewe Christ. Wherunto pertaineth that heauenly paterne of the tabernacle and of the worshipping in the law, which was geuen to Moses in sy mount. One only differēce there is, that those did shadowe out Christe being promised, when he was yet looked for: these doe testifie him already geuen and deliuered.

21  
 When these thinges shall all be particularly and eche one severally declared, they shall be made much playner. Circumcision was to the Jewes a signe, whereby they were putt in mynde, that whatsoeuer commeth of the sede of man, that is to saye the whole nature of man, is corrupte, and hath nede of proyning. Moreover it was a teaching, and token of remembzance, whereby they should confirme themselves in the promyse geuen to Abraham, concerning that blessed sede in whome all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, from whome they had their owne blessing to be looked for. Nowe that healthfull sede (as we are taughte of Paule) was Christ, in whome alone they hoped that they should recover that whiche they had losse in Adam. Wherefoze Circumcision was to them the same thynge whiche Paule sayth that it was to Abraham, namely the seale of the righteousnesse of fayth: that is to saye, the seale whereby they should be moze certainly assured, that their Fayth, wherewith they looked for that sede, should be accompted to them of God for righteousnesse. But we shall bypon a better occasion in an other place gooe throughe with the comparison of Circumcision

Ge. xlii. r.  
 Leuit.  
 Math.  
 xxvii. r. y.  
 e. xvi.  
 r. vi.

1. Cor. i. r. y

Gen. xxi.  
 r. vi.

Gala. iii.  
 r. vi.  
 Ro. iii. r. vi



cumission and Baptisme. Baptisinges and purifienges did sette be-  
foze their eies their owne vncleannesse; filthynesse and pollution,  
wherwith they were defiled in their owne nature: but they promised  
an other washing, wherby al their filthynesses should be wiped and wa-  
shed away. And this washing was Christ, with whoes blood we beeing  
washed do bryng hys cleannesse into the sight of God, that it maye hyde  
all our defilinges. Their Sacrifices did accuse them of their owne  
wickednesse, and therewithall did teache, that it was necessarie that  
there should be some satisfaction whiche should be payed to the iuge-  
ment of God. That therfore there should be some one chese Bishop, a  
mediator betwene God and men, which should satisfie God by shedding  
of blood, and by offring of a Sacrifice whiche should suffice for the for-  
geuenesse of synnes. This chese Prest was Christ: he himselte shed hys  
owne blood: he himselte was the Sacrifice: for he offred himselte obedi-  
ente to hys Father vnto death: by which obedience he toke awaye the  
disobediente of man, whiche had prouoked the displeasure of God.

As for oure Sacramentes, they doe so muche moze clere-ly pre-  
sente Christe vnto vs, as he was moze nerely shewed to menne,  
sins he hath ben truely deliuered of his Father such as he had ben  
promised. For Baptisme doth testifie vnto vs that we are cleansed  
and washed: the Supper of thankesgeuing testifieth that we be re-  
demed. In water, is figured washing: in blood, satisfaction. These  
twoo thinges are founde in Christ, whiche (as John sayth) came in  
water and blood; that is to say that he mighte cleanse and redeme.  
Of whiche thing the Spirite of God also is a witnesse. Yea there  
are three witnesses in one, Water, Blood, and Spirite. In wa-  
ter and blood we haue a testimonie of cleansing and redeming: but  
the Spirite the principall witnesse bryngeth vnto vs assured credit  
of suche wptnessing. This hie mysterie hath notably well ben shew-  
wed vs in the crosse of Christ, when water and blood flowed oute  
of his holy side: whiche side for that cause Augustine rightfully called  
the fountaine of oure Sacramentes: of which yet we must entreate  
sombwhat moze at large. There is no doute but that moze plenti-  
full grace also of the Spirite doth here shewe fourth it selfe if you  
compare tyme with tyme. For that pertaineth to the glozy of the  
kingdome of Christe, as we gather out of many places, but specia-  
lly out of the .vii. Chapter of John. In whiche sense we must take  
that sayeng of Paule, that vnder the lawe were shadowes, but in  
Christ is the body. Neither is it his meaning to spoyle of their ef-  
fecte the testimonies of grace, in whiche Gods will was in the olde  
tyme to proue hymselfe to the Fathers a true speaker, euen as at  
thys day he doth to vs in Baptisme and in the holy Supper. But  
onely his purpose was by waye of comparison to magnifie that  
whiche was geuen vs, least any should thinke it maruaylous,  
that the Ceremonies of the lawe were abolished by the comming of  
Christ.

But that same schole doctrine (as I may also brefely touche thys by  
the waye) is vtterly to be hilled out, wherby there is noted so greate a  
difference betwene the Sacramentes of the olde and newe lawe,  
as thonghe those did nothing but shadowe out the grace of God, and

Al. these

Heb. ix. 6.

1. Joh. i. vii  
Luc. i. 6

Heb. iii,  
iiii,  
5, 6, 7, 8, 9  
11,  
Phil. ii;  
viii.  
Rom. 6.  
ix.

22

1. Joh. 6  
vi.

Joh. xix.  
xviii.  
Homil.  
in Iohn.  
xx.

Colof. ii:  
viii.

23



these do presently gene it. For the Apostle speaketh no lesse honozably of those than of these, when he teacheth that the fathers did eate the same spirituall meate which we eate, and expoundeth that same meate to be Christ. Who dare make that an empty signe, whiche deliuered to the Jewes a true communion of Christe? And the grounde of the cause which the Apostle there handleth, doth plainly fight on oure side. For, that no man trusting vpon a colde knowlege of Christe, and emptie title of Christianitie, and outwarde tokens, shoulde presume to despise the iugmente of God: he sheweth fourth examples of Gods seueritie to be seen in the Jewes: that we shoulde knowe that the same peynes whiche they haue suffred, hang ouer vs, if we folowe the same faultes. Nowe that the comparison mighte be fitt, it behoued that he shoulde shewe that there is no vnegalnesse betwene vs and them in those good thinges wherof he did forbidde vs to boisie fallaye. Therefore firste he maketh vs egall in the Sacramentes, and lea- ueth to vs not so muche as any smal pece of prerogatiue, that might en- courage vs to hope of escaping vnpunished. Neither verily is it law- full to gene any moze to our Baptisme, thā he in an other place geueth to circumcision, when he calleth it the seale of the righteousnesse of Fayth. Whatsoever therefore is at this day geuen vs in our Sacra- mentes, the same thyng the Jewes in olde tyme received in theirs, that is to say Christ with his spirituall richesse. What power our Sa- cramentes haue, the same they also felte in theirs: that is to saye, that they were to them seales of Gods good will towarde them, in- to the hope of eternall saluation. If they had ben apt expolitours of the Epistle to the Hebzues, they would not haue so ben blynded. But when they red there, that sinnes were not cleansed by the Ceremonies of the law, yea that the olde shadowes had no auayling force to righte- ousnesse: they neglecting the comparison which is there handeled, while they toke holde of this one thing, that the lawe of it selfe nothing profi- ted the folowers of it, thought simply ꝑ the figures were boide of truth. But the Apostles meaning is to bzing the ceremonial law to nothing, vntill it come to Christ, vpon whom alone hangeth al the effectualnesse of it.

But they will objecte those thinges whiche are red in Paul concer- ning the circumcision of the letter, that it is in no estimation w God, that it geueth nothing, that it is vaine. For suche sayenges seme to presse it downe farr benethe Baptisme. Not so. For the very same might rightfully be sayd of Baptisme. Yea and also the same is sayd, firste of Paule hym selfe, where he sheweth that God regardeth not the out- warde washing wherby we enter into profession of religion, vnlesse the minde within be both cleansed and continue in cleannesse to the ende: againe of Peter, when he testifieth that the trueth of Baptisme standeth not in the outwarde washing, but in a good witnessing, of conscience. But he semeth also in an other place vtterly to despise the circumcision made with hande, when he compareth it with the cir- cumcision of Christe. I aunswere that euen in this place nothyng is abated of the dignitie of it. Paule there disputeth against them, whiche required it as necessarie when it was nowe abrogate. Ther- fore he warneth the saythfull, that leauing the olde shadowes they shoulde

1. Cor. v. li

Ro. iiii. xi

He. x. l.

24

1. Cor. v. b

1. Pet. iii. xxi.

Col. ii. xi.

shoulde



Should stande fast in the truth. These maisters (sayth he) instantly call vpon you, that your bodies may be circumcised. But ye are spirituallly circumcised according to y<sup>e</sup> soule and body. Ye haue therefore the deliuerance of the thing in dede, which is much better thā the shadow. A man might take exceptiō to y<sup>e</sup> contrary & say, y<sup>e</sup> the figure is not therfore to be despised because they had y<sup>e</sup> thing in dede: forasmuch as y<sup>e</sup> putting of of the old man of which he there spake, was also amōg y<sup>e</sup> fathers, to whō yet outward Circumcision had not ben superfluous. He p<sup>r</sup>uenteth this obiectiō, whē he by and by addeth, y<sup>e</sup> the Colossians were buried w<sup>th</sup> Christ by Baptisme. Wherby he signifieth y<sup>e</sup> at this day Baptisme is y<sup>e</sup> same to Christians, which circūcisiō was to y<sup>e</sup> olde people: & therfore that circūcisiō can not be enioined to Christians w<sup>th</sup>out wzōg done to Christ.

But that which foloweth and which I eue now alleged, is harder to asseyle, that all the Jewische Ceremonies were shadowes of thinges to come, and that in Christ is the body: but most hard of all is y<sup>e</sup> whiche is entreated in many chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, y<sup>e</sup> the blood of beastes, attained not to consciences: that the law had a shadowe of good thinges to come, not an image of thinges; that the folowers of it obtained no perfection of the Ceremonies of Moses: and such other. I goe backe to that which I haue already touched, y<sup>e</sup> Paule doth not theretoze make the Ceremonies shadowish, because they had no sounde thing in them: but because the fulfilling of them was after a certayne maner hanged in suspense vntil the deliuering of Christ. Agayne I say y<sup>e</sup> thys is to be vnderstanded not of the effectualnesse, but rather of the manner of signifieng. For till Christ was manifestly shewed in the flethe, al the signes did shadow hym out as absent, howsoener he did inwardly utter to the faithfull y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esence of hys power and of hymselfe. But thys we ought chefully to marke, y<sup>e</sup> in al those places Paule doth not speake simply, but by way of cōtention, because he strived with the false Apostles, which woulde haue godlinesse to cōsist in the Ceremonies only w<sup>th</sup>out any respect of Christ: to cōfute them, it sufficed only to entreate, of what value Ceremonies are by theselues. This marke also y<sup>e</sup> authoz of y<sup>e</sup> Epistle to y<sup>e</sup> Hebrewes folowed. Let vs therfore remeber y<sup>e</sup> here is disputed of Ceremonies, not as they be takē in their owne & natural signification, but as they be wrested to a false & wrongfull expositiō: not of the lawfull vse of them, but of the abuse of superstition. What maruel is it therfore if Ceremonies being seuered frō Christe, are vnclouthed of al force: for al sygnes whatsoeuer they be, are brought to nought, when the thyng signified is takē away. So whē Christ had to do w<sup>th</sup> them which thought that Anna was nothing els but meate for the belly, he applieth hys speche to their grosse opinion, and sayth y<sup>e</sup> he ministreth better meate, which may fede soules to hope of immortallitie. But if you require a plainer solution, the summe of all tendeth to this: first, that al that furniture of Ceremonies, which was in the law of Moses, is a vanishing thing and of no value, vnlesse it be directed to Christe. Secondly, that they so had respecte to Christe, that when he at length was manifestly shewed in the flethe, they had theyr fulfilling. Finally, that it behoued that they shoulde be taken away by hys comming, euen as a shadowe vanissheth away in the clere lyght of the sunne. But because I doe yet differre longer discourse of y<sup>e</sup> mater vnto that place



where I haue purposed to compare Baptisme with circumcission; therefore I do now more sparingly touche it: *in religioe*

26 Perhaps also those immeasurable praises of *ſ* Sacramentes, which are red in *ſ* old writers concerning our signes, deceiued those miserable Sophisters. As this of Augustine. That *ſ* Sacramentes of *ſ* old law did only promise *ſ* Sauioz, but ours doe geue saluatio. Whe they marked not *ſ* these and such other formes of speaking were spoken: they also published their excessive doctrines; but in a cleane contrarie sense from the writing of the olde Fathers. For Augustine meant no other thing in that place, than as *ſ* same Augustine writeth in an other place; That the Sacramentes of the law of Moses did fozetell of Christ, but ours do tel of him present. And against Iustus. That those were promises of thinges to be fulfilled; these were tokens of thinges fulfilled: as if he should say, that those figured him when he was looked for, but ours doe as it were shewe hym present which hath ben already deliuered. Howeouer he speaketh of the manner of signifyng, as also he sheweth in an other place. The law sayth he) and the Prophetes had Sacramentes, fozetelling of a thing to come: but the Sacramentes of our tyme doe testifie that that is already come, which those did declare to be to come. But what he thought of the thing and effectuallnesse, he expoundeth in many places: as when he sayeth, that the Sacramentes of the Jewes were in signes, diuerse: but in *ſ* thing signified, egal with ours: diuerse in visible forme, but egall in spiritual power. Againe: In diuerse signes is all one fayth: so in diuerse signes, as in diuerse woordes: because woordes change their soundes by tymes: and truly woordes are nothing but signes. The Fathers did drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they dronke not the same bodily drinke. Se ye therfore, faith remayning one, the signes varied. To them the rocke was Christ: to vs that is Christ which is set vpon the altar. And they dronke for a great Sacrament, the water flowing out of the rocke: what we drynke, the faithfull know. If thou consider the visible forme, they dronke an other thyng: if an vnderstable signification, they dronke the same spirituall drinke. In an other place; in the mysterie the same is their meate and drynke which is ours: but the same in signification, not in forme: because the selfe same Christ was figured to them in the rocke, and shewed to vs in the flesh. Howbeit in this behalfe also we graunt that there is some difference. For both Sacramentes doe testifie that the fatherly good wyl of God and *ſ* graces of the Holy ghost are offered vs in Christ: but our Sacramentes testifie it moze clerely and brightly. In both is a deliue- ring of Christ: but in these moze plenteous and fuller; namely as: that difference of the olde and new Testamēt beareth, of which we haue en- treated befoze. And this is it that the same Augustine meant (whom we moze often allege as the best and faithfullest witness of al the old wri- ters) where he teacheth, that when Christ was reueled, Sacramentes were ordeined both in number fewer, in signification hier, in force moze excellent. Of this thing also it is expediente that the reders be dzefely warned, that whatsoeuer the Sophisters haue triflingly taught concer- ning the worke wrought, is not only false, but disagreeeth w the nature of *ſ* Sacramētes, which God hath ordeined, *ſ* the faithful being boide and nedy of al good thinges should bring nothing thether but beggerie.

Whe.

In pro-  
em enarr  
pl. lxxiii.  
quest. su-  
per nu-  
mer. cap  
xxxiii.  
Libro. 9.  
ca. xiiii.

Lib. cō.  
lit. petil.  
capitu.  
xxvii.  
Homil.  
In Iohn.  
xxvi.

In psal.  
lxxvii.  
Lib. ix.  
con. fau.  
cap. xiiii.

de doct.  
Christ.  
Lib. 3.  
Epi. ad  
Iana.



Whereupon foloweth that in receiuing them, these men do nothing wherby they may deserue praise: or that in this doing (whiche in theyr respecte is merely passiue) no woꝝke can be ascribed vnto them.

## ¶ The .xv. Chapter.

### Of Baptisme.



Baptisme is a signe of the entring wherwith we are receiued into the felowship of y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, that being grafed into Christ we may be reckned among the childꝛe of God. Now, it was geuen vs of God to this ende, (which I haue taught to be common to al the mysteries) first, that it should serue to our fayth with hym, and to our confession befoze men. We wil ozderly declare the maner of both purposes. Baptisme bringeth three thinges to our fayth, which also must be seuerally entreated of. This is the first which the Lord setteth out vnto vs, that it should be a token and profe of our cleansing: or (to expresse my mynde better) it is lyke to a certaine sealed charter, wherby he confirmeth vnto vs, that al our synnes are so defaced, cancelled, and blotted out, that they may neuer come in his sight, not be rehearsed, not be imputed. For he willeth y<sup>e</sup> al they y<sup>e</sup> beleue should be Baptised into foꝛgeuenesse of synnes. Therefore they which thought that Baptisme is nothing ells but a marke and token, wherby we professe our religion befoze men, as soldiars beare the conuance of their capitaine foꝛ a marke of their profession, wey not that which was the chefe thing in Baptisme. That is this, y<sup>e</sup> we shoulde receiue it with this promise, that whosoouer beleue and are Baptised, shall be saued.

In this sense is that to be vnderstode which Paule writeth, that the Chirch is sanctified of Christ her spouse, and cleansed with washing of water in the woꝛde of lyfe. And in an other place, that we are saued accoꝛding to his mercy by the washing of regeneration and of the renewing of the Holy ghost. And that which Peter writeth, that Baptisme saueth vs. For Paules will was not to signifie, that our washing and saluation is perfectly made by water, or that water conteyneth in it self the power to cleanse, regenerate, and renew. Neither did Peter meane the cause of saluation, but only y<sup>e</sup> knowlege & certaintie of such giftes to be receiued in this Sacrament: which is evidently enough expessed in the woꝛdes themselues. For Paul knitteth together the woꝛd of lyfe, & Baptisme of water: as if he had sayd, y<sup>e</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> Gospel the message of washing & sanctifieng is brought vs, y<sup>e</sup> by Baptisme such message is sealed. And Peter immediatly adioyneth, y<sup>e</sup> that Baptisme is not the putting away of y<sup>e</sup> filthinesse of the flesh, but a good conscience befoze God, which is of fayth. Yea Baptisme promisseth vs no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ: which is figured by water, foꝛ y<sup>e</sup> lykenesse of cleansing & washing. Who therefore can say y<sup>e</sup> we be cleansed by thys water, which certainly testifieth that the blood of Christ is oure true & onely washing? So that fro no where ells can be fetched a surer reason to confute their blinde erroꝛ which referr al thinges to y<sup>e</sup> power



of the water, thā from the signification of Baptisme it selfe: which doth withdraw vs as wel from that visibie element which is set befoze oure eyes, as from all other meanes, that it may bynde our mindes to Christ alone.

3 Neither is it to be thought that Baptisme is applied only to the time past, that for new fallinges, into whiche we fall backe after Baptisme, we must seke new remedies of cleansing in I wote not what other Sacramentes, as though the force of Baptisme were worne out of vs: By this erroz it came to passe in old time, that some would not be Baptised but in the vttermoost peril of life, and at their laste gaspinges, that so they might obtaine pardon of their whole life. Against whiche waywarde suttie pzoouision the olde Bishops so oft inuey in their woziringes. But thus we ought to thinke, that at what time soeuer we be Baptised, we are at ones washed and cleansed for al our life. Therfoze so ofte as we fal we must goe backe to the remembrance of Baptisme, and therewith we must arme our minde, that it may be alway certaine and assured of þ forgeuenesse of sinnes. For though when it is ones ministrad, it semeth to be past, yet by later sinnes it is not abolished. For þ cleannesse of Christ is therin offred vs: that alway flozisheth, is oppressed with no spottes, but ouerwhelmeth & woppeth away al our filthinesse: yet oughte we not to take therof a libertie to sinne in tyme to come (as verily we be not hereby armed to such boldnesse) but this doctrine is geuen onely to them, which when they haue sinned, doe grone weryed and oppressed vnder their sinnes, that they may haue wherewith they may raile vp and comfozt themselues, least they should fal into confusion and desperatio. So Paule sayth, that Christ was made to vs a propitiatoz, vnto þ forgeuenesse of faultes going befoze. Wherin he denieth not that therein is obtained perpetual & continual forgeuenesse of sinnes euē vnto death: but he meaneth that it was geuē of the Father, onely to pooze synners, which wounded with the searing iron of conscience, to sighe to the Physician. To these the mercy of God is offred. They whiche by escaping of punishment do hunt for mater and libertie to sinne, dooe nothing but pzoouoke to themselues the wozath and iugement of God.

4 I knowe in dede that it is commonly thought otherwise, that by the benefite of repentance and of the keyes we do after Baptisme obtaine forgeuenesse, which at our first regeneration is geuen vs by only Baptisme. But they which deuise this do erre herin that they do not remember that the power of the keyes, wherof they speake, doth so hang vpon Baptisme that it ought in no wise to be seuered. The sinner receiueth forgeuenesse by the ministerie of the Chirch, namely not without the preaching of the Gospell. But what maner of preaching is that? That we be cleansed from sinnes by the blood of Christ. But what signe and testimonie is there of that washing, but Baptisme? We se therfoze how that absolution is referred to Baptisme. And this erroz hath bredde vs the fayned Sacrament of Penance: of which I haue touched somwhat befoze, and the residue I wil make an ende of in place fit for it. But it is no maruell if men, which according to the grossenesse of their witt were immeasurably fast tyed to outward thynge, haue in this behalfe also betrayed that faulte, that not contented with the pure institution of God, they did thrust in newe helpes fayned of themselues. As though

Baptisme



Baptisme it selfe were not a Sacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to vs for our whole life, the force also of Baptisme ought to be extended to the same boundes. Wherefore it is also no doute but that all the godly throughout all their life long, so oft as they be vexed with knowlege in conscience of their owne sinnes, dare calle backe themselves to the remembrance of Baptisme, & therby they may confirme themselves in the affiance of that onely and continuall washing which we haue in the blood of Christ.

It bringeth also an other fruit, because it sheweth vs our mortification in Christ, and new life in hym. For (as the Apostle saith) we are baptized into his death, being buried together with hym into death, that we may walke in newnesse of life. By whiche wordes he doth not only exhort vs to the following of hym (as though he did saye, that we are by Baptisme put in mynde, that after a certaine example of the death of Christ, we should die to our lustes: and after the example of his resurrection, we should be raised vp to righteousnesse) but he fetcheth the matter muche deeper: that is to say, that by Baptisme Christ hath made vs partakers of his death, that we may be grafted into it. And as the grasse receiueth substance and nourishment of the roote into which it is grafted: so they that receiue Baptisme with such faith as they ought, do truly fele the effectualnesse of the death of Christ in the mortifying of their flesh: and therewithall also they fele the effect of his resurrection in the quickning of the Spirit. Whereupon he gathereth matter of exhortation: that if we be Christians, we ought to be dead to sinne, and to liue to righteousness. This selfe same argument he bleth in an other place: that we be circumcised, and haue put of the olde man, sins that we bee buried in Christ by Baptisme. And in this sense, in the same place which we haue before alleged, he called it the washing of regeneration & of renewing. Therfore first free forgiveness of sinnes and imputation of righteousness is promised vs, and then the grace of the Holy ghost, whiche may reforme vs into newnesse of life.

Last of all our faith receiueth also this profite of Baptisme, that it certainly testifieth vnto vs, that we are not only grafted into the death and life of Christ, but that we are so vnited to Christ hymselfe that we are partakers of all his good thynges. For therfore he hath dedicated and halowed Baptisme in his owne body, that he might haue it comon with vs, as a most strong bonde of the vnitie and felowshyp which he boughsaued to entre into with vs: so that Paul proueth therby that we be the children of God, because we haue put on Christ in Baptisme. So we see that the fulfilling of Baptisme is in Christ, whome also for this reason we call the prope object of Baptisme. Therfore it is no meruaile if it be reported that the Apostles baptized into his name, which yet wer commaunded to baptise into the name of the father also and of the Holy ghost. For whatsoeuer giftes of God are set forth in Baptisme, are founde in Christ alone. And yet it can not be, but that he whiche baptiseth into Christ, do therewithall call vpon the name of the father and of the Holy ghost. For we are therfore cleansed with his blood, because the merciful father, accordyng to his incomparable kyndnesse, willing to receiue vs into fauor, hath set him a mediator in the midst, to procure to vs fauor with him. But regeneration we so only obteyne by his

5  
Rom. vi.  
iii.Coloss. ii.  
rti.

Tit. iii. b.

6

Marth. iii.  
viii.Ga'la. iiii.  
viii.Act. viii.  
viii. rti.  
b.Marth.  
viii. rti.

death



death and resurrection, if beyng sanctified by the Spirite we be endued with a new and spirituall nature. Wherfoze both of our cleansyng & regeneration: we obtaine & after a certaine maner distinctly perceiue the cause in the Father, the mater in the Sonne, and the effect in the Holy ghost. So John first baptised, so afterwarde the Apostles, with the baptisme of repentance into the forgoeuensse of sinnes: meanyng by this worde repentance, suche regeneration: and by forgoeuensse of sinnes washyng.

7 Whereby also it is made moste certaine, that the ministerie of John was altogether the same which was afterwarde committed to the Apostles. For the diuers handes wherewith it is ministred, make not the Baptisme diuers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same Baptisme. John and the Apostles agreed into one doctrine: bothe baptised into repentance, bothe into the forgoeuensse of sinnes, bothe into the name of Christe, from whome was bothe repentance and forgoeuensse of sinnes. John saied that he was the lambe of God, by whome the sinnes of the worlde shoulde be taken away: where he made him the Sacrifice acceptable to the Father, the propitiator of righteoussesse, the authoz of saluation. What coulde the Apostles adde to this confession: Wherfoze let it trouble no man, that the olde wryters laboz to seuer the one from the other, whoes voice we oughte not so muche to esteeme that it may shake the certaintie of the Scripture. For who will rather harkē to Chrysostome denyng that forgoeuensse of sinnes was comprehended in the Baptisme of John, than to Luke contrarywyle affirming that John preached the Baptisme of repentance into the forgoeuensse of sinnes? Neither is that suttletie of Augustine to be receyued, that in the Baptisme of John, sinnes were forgoeuē in hope, but in the Baptisme of Christ they are forgoeuē in dede. For where as the Euangelist plainly testifieth, that John in his Baptisme promised the forgoeuensse of sinnes: what nede we to abate this title of commendation, when no necessitie compelleth vs vnto it: But if any man seke for a difference out of the worde of God, he shall fynd none other but this, that John baptised into hym that was to come, the Apostles into hym that had already presented himselfe.

8 As for this that moze abundant graces of the Spirite were poured out sins the resurrection of Christ, it maketh nothyng to stablishe a diuersitie of Baptismes. For the Baptisme which the Apostles ministred while he was yet conuersant in earth, was called his: yet it had no larger plentifulnesse of the Spirite, than the Baptisme of John. Yea euē after his ascension, the Spirit was not geuen to the Samaritans aboue the common measure of the faithfull befoze the ascension, althoughe they were baptised into the name of Iesus, till Peter & John wer sent vnto them to lay theyz hands vpon them. This only thyng, as I thinke, deceiued the old wryters, that they said that the Baptisme of John was but a preparation to the baptisme of Christ, because they red, that they were baptised againe of Paul, which had ones receiued the baptisme of John. But howe muche they were herein deceiued, shall els where be plainely declared in place fitte for it. What is it therfoze that John said, that he baptised in dede with water, but that Christ shoulde come whiche shoulde baptise with the Holy ghoste, and with fyre: This maye in fewe words



wordes be assoiled: For he meant not to put difference betwene the one Baptisme and the other; but he compared his own person with the person of Christ, saying that himselfe was a minister of water, but that Christ was the geuer of the Holy ghost, and should declare this power by visible miracle the same day that he should sende the Holy ghost to the Apostles vnder fyre tonges. What coulde the Apostles boast of more than this: What more coulde they also that baptise at this day: For they be onely ministers of the outward signe, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the same olde writers theselues do euery where teach, and specially Augustine, whoes principal stay agaynst the Donatistes is this, that what a one soeuer he be, that baptizeth, yet only Christ is ruler of it.

These thynges which we haue spoken bothe of mortification and of washing, are shadowed out in the people of Israell, whom for the same cause the Apostle sayth to haue ben baptised in the cloude and in the sea. Mortifying was figured, when the Lorde deliueryng them oute of the hande of Pharao and from cruell bondage, made for them a way thorough the redde sea, and drowned Pharao hymselfe, and the Egyptiās their enemies, that folowed them hard at their backes, and were euen in their neckes to ouertake them. For after the same maner also he promiserh to vs in Baptisme, and by a signe geuen betweth vs, that we are by his power brought forth and deliuered out of the thraldome of Egypt, y is to say, out of the bondage of sinne: that our Pharao is drowned, that is to saye the deuell, although euen so also he ceasseth not to exercise and weary vs. But as that Egyptian was not thzowen downe into the bottome of the sea, but beyng ouerthzowen on the shoze, did yet with terrible syght make the Israelites afrayde, but coulde not hurte them: so this our enemy yet in dede thzreateneth, betweth his weapons, is felt, but can not ouercome. In the Cloude was a signe of cleansing. For as then the Lorde couered them with a cloude cast ouer them, and gaue them refreshyng colde, least they should faint and pine away with cruell burning of the sunne: so in Baptisme we acknowledge our selues couered and defended with the blood of Christ, least the seueritie of God, which is in dede an intollerable flame, should lie vpon vs. But although this mysterie was then darke and knowen to few: yet because there is none other way to obteyne saluation, but in those two graces, God wold not take away the signe of them both from the old Fathers, whom he had adopted to be heires.

Now it is clere, how false that is which some haue lately taught, and wherin some yet continue, that by Baptisme we be loosed and deliuered from originall sinne, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abrode into his whole posteritie, and that we be restozed into the same righteousnesse and purenesse of nature, which Adam should haue obtained, if he had stand fast in the same byrightnesse where in he was first created. For suche kynde of teachers neuer vnderstode what was originall sinne, nor what was originall righteousnesse, nor what was the grace of Baptisme. But we haue already proued, that original sinne is the peruersenesse and corruption of our nature, whiche firste maketh vs gyltie of the wrath of God, and then also byngeth forth workes in vs, whiche the Scripture calleth the woorkes of the fleshe. Therefore these

Act. ii. iii.

1  
i. Cozi. ii.  
ii.  
Cro. xliii.  
vri.

Num. ix.  
xliii.

10

Galat. iii.

xix.



these two. poyntes are severally to be marked, namely that we being in all partes of our nature defiled and corrupted are already for suche corruption only, holdē worthily condemned and convicted befoze God; to whom nothyng is acceptable but righteousnesse, innocence and cleanness. Yea and herebynances themselves byng their owne damnation with them from their mothers wombe. Who, although they have not yet brought forth the frutes of their iniquitie; yet haue the sede therof enclosed within them. Yea their whole nature is a certaine sede of sinne, therfoze it can not but be hatefull & abhominable to God. The faithfull are certified by Baptisme that this damnation is taken away; and driuen from them: forasmuch (as we haue already said) the Lord doth by this signe promise vs that full and perfect forgiveness is graunted bothe of the fault whiche should haue ben imputed to vs, and of the peine whiche we should haue suffred for the faulte: they take holde also of righteousnesse, but suche as the people of God may obteyne in this life, that is to say by imputation onely: because the Lorde of his owne mercy taketh them for righteous and innocent.

11 The other poynte is, that this perversnesse neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually byngeth forth newe frutes, namely those woorkes of the fleche which we haue befoze described: none otherwise than a burning forname continually bloweth out flame and sparkes, or as a spring infinitely casteth out water. For lust neuer utterly dieth and is quenched in men, untill being by death deliuered out of the body of death, they haue utterly put of themselves. Baptisme in dede promiseth vs that our Pharao is drowned, and the mortification of sinne: yet not so that it is no moze, or may no moze trouble vs, but only that it may not overcome vs. For so long as we lyue enclosed within this pryson of our bodye, the remnantes of synne shall dwell in vs: but if we holde fast by faith the promyse geuen vs of God in Baptisme, they shall not beare rule nor reigne. But let no man deceiue himselfe: Let no man flatter hymselfe in his owne euell, when he heareth that synne alwaye dwelleth in vs. These thynges are not spoken to this ende, that they should carelesly slepe vpon their sinnes, which are otherwise to much enclined to sinne; but onely, that they should not faint and be discouraged, which are tickled and pricked of their fleche. Let them rather thynke that they are yet in the way, and let them beleue that they haue much profited, when they feele that there is dayely somewhat minished of theyr luste; tyll they haue attained thether whether they trauayle, namely to the last deathe of their fleche, which shall be ended in the dyeng of this mortall lyfe. In the meane tyme let them not cesse both to strue valiantly, and to encourage them to goe forwarde, and to stirre them vp to full victorie. For this also oughte moze to whett on their endeuors, that they see that after that they haue long trauailed, they haue yet no small businesse remaining. This we ought to hold: we are baptised into the mortifying of our fleche, which is begon by baptisme in vs, which we daily folowe: but it shall be made perfect whē we shall remoue out of this life to y<sup>e</sup> lord.

12 Here we saye no other thyng, than the Apostle Paule in the seventh Chapter to the Romaines moste clerely setteth oute. For after that he had disputed of free righteousnesse, because some wicked menne dydde thereof gather, that we myght lyue after our owne luste, because we  
 Holde



should not be acceptable to God by the deseruynges of woꝝkes: he ad-  
 deth, that all they that are clothed with the righteousnesse of Christ, are  
 therwith regenerate in Spirite, and that of this regeneration we haue  
 an earnest in baptisime: Hereuppon he exhorteth the faithfull, that they  
 suffer not sinne to haue dominion in their membꝛes. Now because he  
 knewe that there is alway some weakenesse in the faithfull: that they  
 should not therfoze be discouraged, he adioyneth a comfozte, that they  
 are not vnder the lawe. Because againe it might seme, that Christians  
 might growe insolent, because they are not vnder the yoke of the law,  
 he entreateth what maner of abzogating that is, and therwithal what  
 is the ble of the lawe: which question he had now the seconde tyme dif-  
 ferred: The summe is, that we be deliuered from the rigoz of the lawe,  
 that we should cleaue to Christ: but that the office of the lawe is, that  
 we being conuincid of our pueruesnesse, should confesse our owne weak-  
 nesse and miserie. Now forasmuche as that pueruesnesse of nature doth  
 not so easely appeare in a prophane man, which foloweth his owne lu-  
 stes without feare of God: he setteth an example in a man regenerate,  
 namely in him self. He saith therfoze that he hath a continual wꝛastlyng  
 with the remnautes of his fleſhe, and that he is holden bounde with  
 miserable bondage, that he can not consecrate himself wholly to the obe-  
 dience of the lawe of God. Therfoze he is compelled with groynng to  
 crie out: Unhappie am I. Who shall delyuer me out of this body sub-  
 iect to death: If the childꝛen of God be holden captiue in prison so long  
 as they lyue, they must nedde be muche carefully greued with thinkyng  
 vpon their owne perill, vnlesse this feare be mette withall. Therefore  
 he adioyneth to this ble a comfozt, that there is no more damnation to  
 them that are in Christ Iesu. Where he teacheth, that they whome the  
 Lorde hath ones receiued into fauoz, engrafted into the communion of  
 his Christ, hath by Baptisime admitted into the felowſhip of his Chirch,  
 while they continue in the faith of Christ, although they be besieged of  
 sinne, yea and carry sinne about within them, yet are acquitted from gil-  
 tinesse and condemnation. If this be the simple and natural exposition  
 of Paule, there is no cause why we should seme to teache any. new vn-  
 wonted thyng.

Rom. vi

viii

Rom. viii

viii

Rom. viii

13

But baptisime so serueth our confession befoze men. For it is a marke,  
 wherby we openly professe that we wold be accompted among the peo-  
 ple of God: wherby we testifie that we agree with all Christians into  
 the woꝝshippyng of one God and into one religion: finally wherby we  
 openly affirme our faith: that not onely our hartes should breathe out  
 the praise of God, but also our tong, and all the membꝛes of our bodye  
 should sound it out with suche bitterances as they be able. For so, as we  
 ought, all our thyngs are employed to the seruice of the glorie of God,  
 wherof nothyng ought to be boyde, and other may by our example be  
 stirred vp to the same endeuozs. Hereunto Paule had respect, when he  
 asked the Coꝛinthians, whether they had not ben baptized into ꝑ name  
 of Christ: meaning verily, that euen in this ꝑ they wer baptized into his  
 name, they auowed themselues vnto hym, swooze to his name, and bound  
 their faith to him befoze men, that they coulde no moze confesse any o-  
 ther, but Christ alone, vnlesse they would forsake the confession whiche  
 they had made in Baptisime.

i. Coꝛ. ii

Now



Nowe sith it is declared what our Lord had regard vnto in the institution of Baptisme: it is plaine to iudge what is the waye for vs to be receiue it. For so farre as it is geuen to the raising, nourishing and confirming of our faith, it is to be takē as from the hande of the author himselfe: we ought to holde it certaine and fully persuaded, that it is he which speaketh to vs by the signe, that it is he which cleaseth vs, washeth vs, and putteth away the remembrance of our sinnes, that it is he which maketh vs partakers of his death, which taketh away from Satan his kingdome, which febleth the forces of our lust, yea which groweth into one with vs, y being clothed with him we may be reckened the children of God: that these thynges, I say, he doth inwardly so truly and certainly performe to our soule, as we certainly see our body outwardly to be washed, dipped, and clothed. For this either relation, or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacramentes: that in bodily thynges we should beholde spirituall thynges, as if they were presently set before our eyes, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lord to represent them by such figures: not for that suche graces are bounde and enclosed in the Sacramente, that they should be geuen vs by the force therof: but onely because the Lord dothe by this token testifie his will vnto vs, that is, that he will geue vs all these thynges, Neyther dothe he onely fede our eyes with a naked syght, but he byngeth vs to the thyng present, and together fulfilleth that which it figureth.

Hereof let Cornelius the capitayne be an example, which was baptised, hauing before receiued forgiveness of sinnes and visible graces of the Holy ghost: seeking not by baptisme a larger forgiveness, but a more certaine exercising of faith, yea an encrease of confidence by a pledge. Parauenture some man will object: why therfore did Ananias say to Paule, that he should wash away his sinnes by Baptisme, if sinnes be not washed away by the power of Baptisme it selfe? I answer: We are sayd to receiue, to obteyne, to gette that which so farre as concerneth the felyng of our faith, is geuen vs of the Lord, whether he doo then first testifie it, or being testified dothe more and certainlier confirme it. This therfore onely was the meanyng of Ananias: that thou mayest be assured, Paule that thy sinnes are forgiven thee, be baptised. For the Lord dothe in Baptisme promise forgiveness of synnes: receiue this, and be out of care. Howbeit I mean not to diminishe the force of baptisme, but that the thyng and the truthe is present with the signe, so farre as God woorketh by outward meanes. But of this sacrament, as of all other, we obteyne nothyng but so muche as we receiue by faith. If we want faith, it shall be for a witnesse of our vnthankfulnesse, wherby we may be declared gilty before God, because we haue not beleued the promise there geuen. But so farre as it is a sygne of our confession, we ought by it to testifie that our affiance is in the mercy of God, and our cleanness is in the forgiveness of sinnes, which is gotten vs by Iesus Christe: and that by it we entre into the Church of Christe, that we may with one consent of faith and charitie liue of one mynde with all the faithfull. This laste poynte dydde Paule meane, when he sayeth that we are all baptised in one Spirit, that we may be one bodye.

Nowe if this be true which we determine, that a Sacrament is not to be

15  
Act. x.  
xviii.

Act. ix.  
xvii.

1 Cor. xii.  
xiii.



to be weyed accoꝝdyng to his hande of whome it is ministred, but as of the very hande of God, from whome without dout it proceded: herupon we may gather, that nothing is added to it noꝝ take from it by the worthinesse of hym by whoes hande it is deliuered. And euen as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand and the seale be well knowne; it maketh no matter who oꝝ what maner of man be y carrier: so it ought to suffice to acknowe the hande and seale of our Lord in his Sacramentes, by what carrier soeuer they be brought. Hereby the erroꝝ of the Donatistes is very well confuted, whiche measured the foꝝce and value of the Sacrament by the worthinesse of the minister. Such at this day are our Catabaptistes, whiche deny that we be rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men & idolatrs in the popishe kingdome: therfoꝝe they furiously cal vpon vs to be baptised again. Against whoes follies we shalbe armed with a reason strong enough, if we thinke that we were pꝝofessed by baptisme not into the name of any man, but into the name of the ffather, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, and that therfoꝝe it is not the Baptisme of man, but of God, of whomsoever it be ministred. Although they were neuer so muche ignorant oꝝ despisers of God and all godlinesse, whiche baptised vs: yet they dyd not baptise vs into the felowshippe of their owne ignoꝝrance oꝝ sacrilege, but into the faith of Iesus Christe: because they called not vpon their owne name; but the name of God, noꝝ baptised vs into any other name. Nowe if it were the Baptisme of God, it hath verily enclosed in it a promise of the foꝝgeuenesse of sinnes, the mortifying of the fleshe, the spirituall quickning, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindered the Jewes, to haue ben circumcised of vnclane prestes and apostataes: neither was the signe therfoꝝe boide, that it neded to be done of new: but it was sufficient to returne to the naturall beginnyng. Where they obiecte that Baptisme ought to be celebrated in the assemble of the godly, that pꝝoueth not, that that whiche is faultie in parte, should destroy the whole foꝝce therof. Foꝝ when we teache what oughte to bee doone that Baptisme may be pure, and boyde of all defilyng, we do not abolythe the ordinance of God, although idolatrs cozrupt it. Foꝝ when in olde tyme Circumcision was cozrupted with many superstitions, yet it ceased not to be taken foꝝ a signe of grace: neither did Josias and Ezechias, whē they gathered out of all Israel them that had departed from God, calle them to a seconde Circumcision.

Nowe where as they aske vs, what faith of ours hath yet folowed Baptisme in certayne yeares passe; that they myghte thereby pꝝoue that the Baptisme is boyde, whyche is not sanctified vnto vs, but by the woꝝde of pꝝomysse receyued by faith: to this question we answer, that we in dede beyng blynde and vnbeleuyng, dyd in a long tyme not holde faste the pꝝomysse geuen vs in Baptisme: yet the promise it selfe, foꝝ as muche as it was of God, continued alway stayed, stedfast, and true. Although all men be lyers and faithbreakers, yet God ceaseth not to bee true: although all men be losse, yet Christe remaineth saluation. We confesse therfoꝝe that Baptisme, foꝝ that tyme pꝝofited vs nothyng at all: foꝝasmuche as in it the pꝝomysse offered vs, without whiche Baptisme is nothyng, laye nothyng regarded. Nowe sihe by the grace of God, we haue begonne to waꝝe wyser, we



accuse our owne blyndnesse and hardnesse of hart, which haue so long ben vnthankfull to his so great goodnesse. But we beleue that the promise it selfe is not banished away: but rather thus we consider, God by Baptisme promisethe the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and lithe he hath promised it, will vndoubtedly performe it to all that beleue it. That promise was offered vs in Baptisme: by faith therfore lett vs embrace it. It hath in dede long ben buried from vs because of infidelitie: nowe therfore lett vs receiue it by faith. Wherfore where the Lord calleth the Jewische people to repentance, he geueth them no commaundement of a seconde circumcision, whyche beyng (as we haue sayd) circumcised with a wicked and vngodly hande, lyued a certaine tyme entangled with the same wickednesse. But he earnestly calleth vpon the onely turnyng of the harte. Because, howe soeuer the couenant was broken of them, yet the signe of the couenant, by the ordinance of the Lorde, remayned alway stedfast and inuiolable. Therfore with the onely condition of repentance they were restozed into the couenante whyche the Lord had ones made with them in Circumcision: whyche yet beeyng receyued by the hande of a leaguebreaker preste, so muche as in them laye, they had defiled agayne, and the effecte wherof they had quenched.

18  
Act. xij.  
46.

But they thynke that they make a spery darte at vs, when they allege that Paule rebaptised them whiche were ones baptised with the Baptisme of John. For if by our owne confession, the Baptisme of John was altogether the same that oures is nowe: euen as they hauyng been befoze peruersely instructed, when they were taughte the true Faith, they were agayne baptised into it: so that Baptisme, whiche was without true Doctrine, is to be taken for nothyng, and we ought to be newely baptised agayne into the true religion, wherewith we are nowe firste instructed. Some thynke, that there was somine wrongfully affectioned mannie to John, whyche hadde entred them with theyr firste Baptisme rather to a bayne superstition. Of whyche thyng they seeme to gather a coniecture hereupon, because they confessed themselues to be vtterly ignozant of the Holy ghost: wheras John verily woulde neuer haue sente awaie from hymselfe scholars so vntaught. But neither is it lykely that the Jewes, although they had not ben baptised at all, were destitute of all knowlege of the Holy ghost, whiche is famoulye spoken of by so many testimonies of the Scripture. Where as therfore they answer that they knowe not whether there be a Holy ghoste, it is to be vnderstanded as if they had sayde that they haue not yet hearde, whether the graces of the Spirite, of whiche Paule asked them, were geuen to the Disciples of Chziste. But I graunt that that was the true Baptisme of John, and all one and the selfe same with the Baptisme of Chzist: but I deny that they wer baptised agayne. What then meane these woordes, they were baptised in the name of Iesus: Some doo expound it, that they were but instructed of Paule with true Doctrine. But I hadde rather vnderstande it moze simply, to be the Baptisme of the Holy ghoste, that is to saye, that the visibill graces of the Spirite were geuen them by the layeng on of handes: whyche to be expressed by the name of Baptisme, is no newe thyng. As on the daye of Pentecoste it is sayde, that the Apostles remembred the woordes of the Lorde, concernyng the Baptisme of spere  
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Act. i. 5.



and of the Spirit. And Peter sayth that the same came to his remembrance, when he saw those graces poured out vpon Cornelius, and his household and kinred. Neither is that contrary which is after adioyned, When he had layd his handes on them, the Holy ghost came down vpon them. For Luke doth not tell of twoo diuerse thinges; but foloweth the maner of telling commonly vsed among the Hebrewes, which doe fyrste propounde the summe of the mater, and then do set it out more at large. Whiche euery man may perceiue by the very framing together of the wordes. For he sayth, When they had heard these thinges, they were Baptised in the name of Iesus. And when Paul had layd his handes vpon them, the Holy ghoste came down vpon them. In this later sentence is described, what maner of Baptisme that was. If ignorance do so corrupt a former Baptisme, that it must be amended with a seconde Baptisme: the Apostles should haue ben rebaptised first of al, whiche in whole thre yeres after their Baptisme, had scarcely tasted any small parcel of purer doctrine. And now among vs what riuers might suffice to renew so many washinges, as there be ignorances by the mercy of y Lord daily amended in vs?

The force, dignitie, profit, and ende of y mysterie, if I be not deceiued ought by this tyme to be plaine enough. So much as concerneth y outward signe, I would to God the natural institution of Christ had prevailed so much as was mete, to restraine the boldenesse of men. For, as though it were a contemptible thing to be Baptised with water according to the precept of Christ, there is inueted blessing, or rather enchaunting, to defile the true hallowing of the water. Afterwarde was added a taper with chresme: but the blowing seemed to open the gate to Baptisme. But although I am not ignorant, how auncient is the beginning of this added packe: yet it is lawfull bothe for me and al the godly to refuse whatsoeuer thinges men haue presumed to adde to the ordinance of Christ. When Satan saw y by the foolish light credit of the world at the very beginniges of the Gospel his deceites were easily receiued; he brake fourth into grosser mockeries. Here vpon spittle, and like trifles; were openly brought in with vnbridled libertie to the reproche of Baptisme. By which experiences let vs learne y nothing is either holier, or better, or safer, than to be content w the authoritie of Christ alone. How much better therfore was it, leauing stagelike pompes, which dasell the eyes of the simple, and dul their mindes, so oft as any was to be Baptised, that he should be presented to the assemblie of y faithfull, and be offered to God, y whole Church loking on as a witnesse; and praying ouer him: y the confession of Faith should be rehearsed, where with he that is to be catechised should be instructed: that the promises should be declared which are contained in Baptisme: that the instructed should be Baptised in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost: at length that he be sente away with prayers and thankesgeuing. So is nothing omitted that might make to the mater, and that the only Ceremony which proceeded from God the author therof, should most clerely shine, being not ouerwhelmed w any forein filthinesse. But whether he be wholly dipped which is Baptised, and y thise or ones, or whether he be but sprinkled w water onely poured vpon him, it maketh very little mater: but that oughte to be at libertie to Churches according to the



diuersitie of countreies. Howbeit the very woꝛde of Baptizing signifieth to dippe, and it is certaine that the maner of dipping was bled of the old Church.

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This also pertaineth to the purpose, to knowe that it is done amisse if private men take vpon themselves the administration of Baptisme. For as wel the distribution of this as of the Supper is a part of the ecclesiasticall ministerie. For Christ did not commaunde women, nor yet euery sort of men, that they should Baptize: but whom he had ordeined bys Apostles, to them he gaue thys commaundement. And when he commaunded his disciples to doe that in the ministracion of the Supper whiche they had seen him doe, when he executed the office of a ryghte distributor: he would without dout, that they should therein followe bys example. As for thys that in many ages past, yea and in a maner at the very beginning of the Church, it hath ben receiued in vse, that lay men might Baptise in peril of death, if the minister were not present in time, I se not with how strong a reason it may be defended. The very olde Fathers themselves, whiche either helde or suffred thys manner, were not sure whether it were well done. For Augustine semeth to haue this dout, when he sayth: Although a lay man compelled by necessitie doe geue Baptisme, I can not tell whether a man may godlily saye that it ought to be iterate. For if it be done when no necessitie compelleth, it is the vsurping of an other mans office: but if necessitie enforceth, it is eyther none or a veniall sinne. Moreouer of women it was decreed without any exception in the Council at Carthage, that they shoulde not presume to Baptise at all. But there is danger, least if he whiche is sicke shoulde die without Baptisme, he shoulde be depriued of the grace of regeneration. Not so. God pronouceth that he adopteth our infantes to be his owne, befoze they be bozne, when he promiseth that he wil be a God to vs and to our sede after vs. In thys woꝛde is conteyned their saluation. Neither shal any man dare to be so reprocheful against God, to deny that his promise is of it selfe sufficiēt to woꝛke the effect therof. How much harme that doctrine being euill expounded, that Baptisme is of necessitie to saluation, hath brought in, selwe doe marke: & therfoze they take lesse hede to themselves. For where thys opinion is growen in foꝛce, that all are lost to whom it hath not happened to be washed wyth water, our state is woꝛse than the state of the olde people, as though the grace of God were nowe moze narrowly streighened than it was vnder the law. For Christ shalbe thought to be come, not to fulfill the promises, but to abolishe them: forasmuch as the promise whiche then was of it selfe effectual enough to geue health befoze y<sup>e</sup> eighth day, now should not be of foꝛce without helpe of the signe.

But how the custome was befoze that Augustine was bozne, first is gathered of Tertullian, that it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Church, nor to teache, nor to Baptise, nor to offer, that she should not clayme to her selfe the execution of any mans office, muche lesse of y<sup>e</sup> Priestes. Of the same thing Epiphanius is a substantiall witness, where he reprocheth Marcion, that he gaue women libertie to Baptise. Neither am I ignozant of their answers whiche thynke otherwise, that is, that common vse muche differeth from extraoꝛdinarie remedie, when extreme necessitie enforceth: but when he pronouncing y<sup>e</sup> it is a mocke-

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Lib. cō-  
tra. epist  
parr.  
ii. Cap.  
xlii.  
Cap. c

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Lib. cō-  
tra. He-  
rel. i.



rie to geue women libertie to Baptise, excepteth nothing, it sufficiently appeareth that he condemneth thys cozruption, so that it is by no color excusable. Also in the thirde boke, where teaching that it was not permitted euen to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraynte.

The example of Sephora is vnreasonably alleged. For whereas the Angell of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone, circumcised her sonne, thereupon it is wrongfully gathered that her doing was allowed of God. Otherwise it ought to be sayd, y<sup>e</sup> the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of Assyria rayled by, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is proued, that that which a foolish woman dyd, is wrongfully drawen to an example of imitation. If I should say y<sup>e</sup> it was a certaine singular case, which ought not to be made an example, & specially y<sup>e</sup> lithe it is no where red that in olde tyme there was geuen to the Prestes a speciall commaundemente to circumcise, the order of Circumcision and Baptisme is vnlyke: thys should be strong enough to confute them. For the wordes of Christ are plaine: Goe ye, teache all nations, and Baptise. When he ordeined the selfe same men publishers of the Gospell, and ministers of Baptisme: and none (as the Apostle witnesseth) doth take honoz vpon himselfe in the Chirch, but he that is called as Aaron: whosoever without lawfull calling Baptiseth, he rusheth into an other mans office. Euen in the smallest thinges, as in meate and drinke, whatsoeuer we enterpryse with a doutefull confidence, Paule openly cryeth out to be synne. Therefore in womens Baptising is much moze greuously synne, where it is euident y<sup>e</sup> they breake the rule appointed by Christ: for as muche as we know that it is vnlawfull to plucke in sonder those thinges that God conioyneth. But al thys I passe ouer. Only I would haue the reders to note, that Sephoraes purpose was nothing lesse, than to doe any seruice to God. Seing her sonne to be in danger, she grūdged, and myrmured, and not withoute stomachyng thzewe the foreskinne bypon the grounde, she so taunted her husbände, that she was also angrye with God. Finally it is plaine that all this came of a furiousnesse of mynd, because she myrmured against God and her husbände, for that she was compelled to shed the blood of her sonne. Moreouer if she had in all other thinges behaued her selfe well, yet herein is an vnexcusable rashe presumption that she circumcised her sonne, her husbände being presente, not any private manne, but Moses the principall Prophete of God, than whome there neuer rose any greater in Israell: which was no more lawfull for her to doe, than at thys day it is for women in the syghte of the Bishoppe. But this controuersie shal by and by be easily taken away by this principle, that infantes are not debarred from the kingdome of heauen; whome it happeneth to departe out of this present life before that it be graunted them to be dipped in water. But it is already proued, that no small wrong is done to the couenant of God, if we doe not rest in it, as though it were weake of it selfe: whereas y<sup>e</sup> effect therof hangeth neither vpon Baptisme, nor vpon any additiōs. There is afterward added to it a Sacrament like a seale, not y<sup>e</sup> it bringeth effectualnesse to the promise of God as to a thing weake of it self, but only cōfirmeth it to vs. Whereupon foloweth, that the children of the faithfull are not therefore Bap-

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Cro. liii.  
xxv.Matth.  
xxiii. xix.Heb. b.  
liii.  
Ro. xliii.  
xxii.

D.ii. tiled,



tised, that they may then first be made the children of God, which before were strangers from the Church, but rather that they be therfore receiued by a solemne signe into the Church, because by the benefite of the promise they did already belong to the body of Christ. Therefore if in omitting the signe there be neither slouthfulnesse, nor contempte, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. It is therfore much more holy, to geue this reuerence to the ordinance of God, that we seeke Sacramentes from no where ells, than where the Lorde hath left them. When we may not haue them of the Church, the grace of God is not so bounde to them, but that we may obtaine them by Faith out of the worde of the Lorde.

## The.xvi. Chapter.

That the Baptisme of infantēs doth very well agree with the institution of Christ and the nature of the signe.



At forasmuch as in this age, certaine phrentike Spirites haue raised by soze troubles in the Church for the Baptisme of infantēs, and doe not yet cesse to turmoyle: I can not choose but I must ioyne here an addition to restrain their furiousnesse. If peradventure it shall seme to some man to be very much to long, let him (I beseeche him) weye with himselfe, & we oughte so much to esteeme the purenesse of doctrine in a most great mater, together with the peace of the Church, that nothing ought to be lothesomly receiued, which may auaille to procure them bothe. Beside that, I so study to frame thys discourse, that it shall be of no smal importance to the clerer declaration of the mysterie of Baptisme. They assaile the Baptisme of infantēs with an argument in dede sauourable in thewe, sayeng that it is grounde vpon no institution of Christ, but that it was brought in onely by the boldnesse of men, and peruerse curiousnesse, and then afterwarde with sonde easinesse rashly receyued in vble. For a Sacrament, vnlesse it rest vpon a certaine foundation of the worde of God, hangeth but by a thred. But what if, when the mater is well considered, it shall appeare that the Lordes holy ordinance is falsely and vniustly charged with such a sclauder: Lett vs therfore seatche out the first beginning of it. And if it shall appeare, that it was deuised by the only rashnesse of men, then bydding it farewell, lett vs measure the true obseruation of Baptisme by the onely will of God. But if it shall be proued that it is not destitute of his certaine authoritie, we muste beware, least in pinching the holy ordinances of God, we be also sclauderous against the authoz himselfe.

2 First it is a doctrine well enough knowen, and confessed among all the godly, that the right consideration of the signes, consisteth not onely in the outward Ceremonies: but principally hangeth vpon the promise, and vpon the spirituall mysteries, for figuring where of the Lorde ordeineth the Ceremonies themselues. Therefore he that will perfectly learne



learn of what value Baptisme is, to what end it tendeth, finally what it is: let him not stay his thought vpon the elemente and bodily lyghte: but rather let him raise it vp to the promises of God, which are therein offered vs, and to the inward secrete which are therein represented vnto vs. He that knoweth these thinges, hath attained the sound truth of Baptisme, and the whole substance thereof, as I may so call it: and thereby also he shall be taught, what is the reason, and what is the vse of the outward sprinkling. Againe he that contemptuously passing ouer these, shall haue his minde wholly fastened and bounde to the visible Ceremonie, shall vnderstande neither the force nor proprietie of Baptisme: nor yet so much as thys, what the water meaneth, or what vse it hath. Which sentence is proued with so many and so cleare testimonies of Scripture, that we neede not at thys present to tarry long aboute it. Therefore it remaineth now, that we seke out of the promises geuen in Baptisme, what is the force and nature of it. The Scripture sheweth, that the cleansing of synnes, which we obteyne of the blood of Christ, is here first shewed: then the mortifying of the flesh, which standeth vpon the partaking of hys death; by which the faithfull are regenerate into newnesse of life, yea and into the felowship of Christ. To this summe may be referred whatsoeuer is taughte in the Scriptures concernyng Baptisme: sauing that beside thys it is a sygne to testifie religion before men.

But forasmuche as before the institution of Baptisme, the people of God had circumcision in stede thereof: let vs see what these twoo sygnes differ the one from the other, and with what lyknesse they agree together. Whereupon may appeare what is the relation of the one to the other. Where the Lorde gaue circumcision to Abraham to be kept, he telleth hym before, that he would be God to hym and to hys seede: adding, that with hym is the flowyng store and suffisance of all thinges, that Abraham should accompt that hys hande should be to hym a sprayng of all good thinges. In which wordes the promise of eternall life is contained: as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an argumente from hence to proue the immortallitie of the faithfull, and the resurrection. For God (sayth he) is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. Wherefore Paule also shewing to the Ephesiens from what destruction the Lorde had deliuered them, gathereth by thys that they had not ben admitted into the couenante of circumcision, that they were without Christ, without God, without hope, strangers from the testamentes of the promise: all which thinges the couenante it selfe contained. But the firste accesse to God, the firste entrie to immortall life, is the forgiuenesse of synnes. Whereupon is gathered, that this forgiuenesse answereth to the promise of Baptisme concerning our cleansing. Afterwarde the Lorde taketh couenante of Abraham, that he should walke before him in purenesse and innocencie of hart: which belongeth to mortifying or regeneration. And that no man should doubt, that circumcision is a signe of mortifying, Moses in another place doeth moze plainly declare it, when he exhorteth the people of Israell, to circumcise the vncircumcised skynne of the harte, because they were severally chosen to be the people of God oute of all the nations of the earth. As

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Ge. xviii. 1.

Gal. iii.  
 Rom. vii.  
 Luke. xi.  
 Rom. viii.  
 Eph. ii.  
 iii.

Deu. x.  
 xvi.



Deut.  
xv. 10

God, where he adopteth the posteritie of Abraham to his people, commaundeth them to be circumcised: so Moses pronounceth that y<sup>e</sup> hartes ought to be circumcised, declaring verily what is the trueth of this circumcision. Then that no man should endeuor toward it by his owne strength, he teacheth y<sup>e</sup> they nede the grace of God. All these thynges are so often repeted of the Prophetes, y<sup>e</sup> I nede not to heape into this place many testimonies, which do eche wher offer themselves. We haue proued therfoze, that in circumcision a spirituall promise was vttered to the fathers, such as in Baptisme is geuen: for as much as it figured to them the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and the mortifieng of the flesh. Moreouer as we haue taught that Christ is the fundation of Baptisme, in whom bothe these thinges remayne: so it is euident that he is also of circumcision. For he is promised to Abraham, and in hym the blessing of all nations. To the sealing of which grace, the signe of circumcision is added.

4

Ro. xii. iii

Nowe we may easily se, what there is lyke in these twoo signes, or what there is differing. The promises, wherupō we haue declared that the power of the signes consisteth, is al one in bothe, namely of the fatherly fauor of God, of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, of life euerlasting. The thing figured also is al one and the same, namely regeneration. The fundation wherupon the fulfilling of these thinges standeth, is al one in bothe. Wherfoze there is no difference in the inward mysterie, wherby the whole force and proprietie of the Sacramentes is to be veyed. The vnlikenesse that remaineth, lyeth in the outward Ceremonie, which is the smallest portion: wheras the chefest part hangeth vpon the promise and the thing signified. Therfoze we may determine, that whatsoeuer agreeth with circumcision doth also belong to Baptisme, except the difference of the visibill Ceremonie. To this relation and comparison, the Apostles rule leadeth vs by the hande, wherby we are commaunded to examine all exposition of Scripture by the propotion of faith. And truely the trueth doth in this behalfe almost offer it selfe to be felte. For as circumcision, because it was a certaine token to the Jewes, wherby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and householde of God, and they againe on their behalues professed that they yelded theselues to God, was their first entrie into the Church: so now also we by Baptisme enter into profession of God, that we may be reckned among his people, and mutually sweare to his name. Wherby it appeareth out of controuersie, that Baptisme is come into y<sup>e</sup> place of circumcision, that it may haue the same office with vs.

5

Now if we list to search out, whether Baptisme be lawfully communicate to infantes: shall we not say that he doth to much play the foole, yea dote, which will rest onely vpon the element of water, and the outward obseruation, but can not abide to bende his minde to the spiritual mysterie? Wherof if there be any consideratiō had, it shal without dout certainly appeare that Baptisme is rightfully geuen to infantes, as the thing that is due vnto them. For the Lord in olde tyme did not vouchsafe to admit them to circumcision, but that he made them partakers of all those thinges which were then signified by circumcision. Otherwise he should with mere deceites haue mocked his people, if he had fed them with deceitfull signes, which is horrible euen to be heard of. For he pronounceth expressely, that the circumcision of a litle infante shoulde be in

fede



seede of a seale to seale the promise of the covenant. But if the covenant remaine unbroken and stedfast, it doth at this day no lesse belong to the children of Christians, than vnder the olde testament it pertained to the infantes of the Jewes. But if they be partakers of the thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the signe: if they haue the trueth, why shall they be put backe from the figure? Althoughe the outward seale cleaue fast together with the worde in the Sacrament, so that they can not be plucked in sonder: yet if they be severally considered, whether of them, I pray you, shall we esteeme of more value? Cruely lithe we se that the signe serueth the worde, we must say that it is vnder it, and must set it in the inferior place. Sith therefore the worde of Baptisme is extended to infantes: why shall the signe, that is to say the addition hanging to the worde, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no moe, were abundantly enough to confute all them that will speake to the contrary. That which is objected, that there was a day certainly set for circumcision, is altogether but a shift. We graunte that we be not now bounde to certaine dayes, like the Jewes: but when the Lorde, howsoeuer he certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that he is pleased that infantes should with a solemne formal blage be receiued into his covenant: what seke we more?

Howbeit the Scripture openeth vnto vs yet a certainer knowlege of the trueth: for it is most euident, that the covenant which the Lord ones made with Abraham, is at this day no lesse in force to Christians, than it was in olde time to the Jewish people: yea and that this worde hath no lesse respecte to Christians, than it then had respect to the Jewes. Unlesse perchappes we thinke, that Christ hath by his comming diminished, or cut short the grace of his Father. Which sayeng is not without abhominable blasphemie. Wherefore as euen the children of the Jewes wer called a holy seede, because beyng made heires of the same covenant they were made differing from the children of the vngodly: for the same reason euen yet also the children of Christians are accompted holy, yea although they be the issue but of one parent saythfull: and (as the Apostle witnesseth), they differ from the uncleane seede of idolaters. Now when the Lord immediatly after the covenant made with Abraham, commaunded the same to be sealed in infantes with an outward Sacrament: what cause will Christians alledge, why they should not at this day testifie and seale the same in their children? Neither let any man objecte against me, that the Lorde commaunded his covenante to be confirmed with no other signe than of circumcision, which is long agoe taken away. For we haue in redinesse to answer, that for the tyme of the olde testamente he ordeined circumcision to confirme his covenant: but circumcision being taken away, yet alway remaineth the same manner of confirming whiche we haue common with the Jewes. Wherefore we must alway diligently consider what is common to bothe, and what they haue severall from vs. The covenant is common, the cause of confirming it is common; Only the manner of confirming is diuerse, because circumcision was that to them, in place whereof Baptisme hath succeeded among vs. Otherwise if the testimonie, whereby the Jewes were assured of the saluation of their seede, be taken away from vs, it shoulde be broughte to passe by the comming of Christ,



that the grace of God should be darker and lesse approued by testimonies to vs, than it was befoze to the Jewes. If that can not be sayd without extreme sclaunder of Christ, by whom the infinite goodnesse of the Father hath moze cleuely and liberally than euer heretofore ben poured fourth vpon the earth, and declared to men: we must nedes graunt, that it is at the least not moze pinchingly to be suppressed, noz to be sett fourth with lesse testimonie, than it was vnder the darke shadowes of the lawe.

7 Wherefoze the Lorde Jesus, mynding to shewe a token whereby the worlde mighte vnderstande that he was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercy of God, gently embraced children offred vnto hym, rebuking the disciples which went about to forbid them to come to hym: forasmuche as they did leade those, to whome the kingdome of heauen belongeth, away from him by whome alone the entrie is open into heauen. But (will some man say) what like thing hath Baptisme with this embracing of Christ. For neither is it reported that he Baptized them, but that he receiued them, embraced them, and wished them well. Therefore if we list to folowe his example, let vs helpe infantes with prayer, but not Baptise them. But let vs weye the doinges of Christe somewhat moze hedefully, than suche kinde of men doe. For neither is this to be lightly passed ouer, that Christ commaundeth infantes to be brought vnto him, adding a reaso why, because of such is the kingdome of heauen. And afterwarde he witnesseth hys wil with dede, when embracing them he commendeth them to his Father with his praier and blessing. If it be mete that infantes be brought to Christ, why is it not also mete that they be receiued to Baptisme, the signe of our communion and felowship with Christ? If the kingdome of heauen be theirs, why shall the signe be denied them, wherby there is as it were an entrie opened into the Chirch, that being admitted into it they may be adnobzed among the heires of the heauenly kingdome? Howe vniust shall we be, if we dryue away them whome Christ calleth vnto hym: if we spoyle them, whome he garnisheth with his gyftes: if we shutt out them who he willingly receiueth? But if we will examine howe muche that which Christe there did, differeth from Baptisme, yet of howe muche greater pryce shall we haue Baptisme, (wherby we testifie that infantes are contained in the couenant of God) than receiuing, embracing, laying on of handes, and prayer, wherby Christe himselfe being presente declareth that they bothe are hys, and are sanctified of hym: By the other cauillations, wherby they labor to mocke out thys place, they doe nothing but betraye their owne ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Christ sayth. Let little ones come to me, that they were in age good bigg ones whiche were allredy able to goe. But they are called of the Euangelistes, brephe, and paidia, by which wordes the Grekes doe signifie babes yet hanging on the brestes. Therefore thys wooorde (to come) is simply sette for (to haue accesse.) Doe what snares they are compelled to make, which are growen hard againste the truthe. Howe where they saye, that the kingdome of heauen is not geuen to them, but to suche as be lyke them, because it is saied to be of suche, not of them: that is no sounder than the rest. For if that be graunted, what maner of reason shall the reason of



of Christ be, wherby he meaneth to shewe, that infantes in age are not strangers from hym: When he commaundeth that infantes be suffered to haue accesse vnto him, nothyng is plainer than that very fancie in dede is there spoken of. And that this should not seme an absurditie, he by and by addeth: of suche is the kingdome of heauen. But if it muste nedes be that infantes be comprehended herein, it muste be plaine that by this worde (Suche) are meant very infantes themselves, and suche as be like them.

Now there is no man that seeth not, that Baptisme of infantes was not framed by man, which is vpholden by so great approuyng of Scripture. Neither doo they colorably enough play the fooles, which obiect that it is no where found, that any one infant was baptised by the handes of the Apostles. For although it be not expressely by name rehearsed of the Euangelistes: yet because agayne they are not excluded, so ofte as mention happeneth to be made of the baptisyng of any householde: who, vnlesse he be madde, can reason therupon that they were not baptised: If such argumentes were of any force, women should be forbidden to partake of the Lordes supper, whome we reade not to haue ben receiued vnto it in the tyme of the Apostles. But here we bee contente with the rule of faith. For when we consider, what the institution of the Supper requireth, therby also we maye easily iudge to whom the blesther of ought to be communicated. Which we obserue also in Baptisme. For when we marke, to what ende it was ordeined, we evidently espye, that it belongeth no lesse to infants, than to elder folkes. Therfore they can not be depriued of it, but that the will of the authoz muste be manifestly defrauded. But wheras they spred abrode among the simple people, that there passed a long roaue of yeares after the resurrection of Christ, in which the Baptisme of infantes was vnknown: therein they most fowly doo lye. For there is no wryter so olde, that doth not certainly referre the beginnyng therof to the tyme of the Apostles.

Nowe remaineth that we bzeefely shewe, what fruite commeth of this obseruation, bothe to the faithfull whiche present theyr chyldren to the Chirche to be baptised, and also to the infantes themselves that be baptised with the holy water: that no man should despise it as vnprofitable or idle. But if it come in any mans minde, vpon this pretence to mocke at the Baptisme of infantes, he scozeth the commaundemente of Circumcision geuen by the Lorde. For what will they byng forth to impugne the Baptisme of infantes, which may not also be throwen backe against Circumcision: So the Lorde taketh vengeance of their arrogance, whiche do by and by condemne that which they comprehend not with the sense of their owne fleshe. But God furnissheth vs with other armures, wherby their foolishnesse may be beaten flatt. For neither this his holy institution, by whiche we feele our faith to be holpen w singular comfort, deserueth to be called superfluous. For Gods signe communicated to a childe doth as it wer by an empynted seale confirme the promise geuen to the godly parente, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lorde will be God not onely to hym but also to his seede, and will continually shewe his good will and grace, not to hym onely, but also to his posteritie euen to the thousandth generation. Where when the great kindnesse of God vttereth it selfe, firste it yeldeth moste large mater



mater to aduance his glorie, and ouerspreadeth godly hartes with singular gladnesse, because they are therewithall moze earnestly moued to loue agayne so godly a Father, whom they see to haue care of their posteritie for their sakes. Neither do I regarde, if any man take exception, and say that the promise ought to suffice to confirme the saluation of our children: forasmuche as it hath pleased God otherwise, whose as he knoweth our weaknesse, willed in this behalfe so much to beare tenderly with it. Therfore let them that embrace the promise of Gods mercy to be extended to their children, thynke that it is theyr duetie to offer them to the Chirche to be signed with the signe of mercy, and therby to encourage themselves to a moze assured confidence, because they do with present eye beholde the couenant of the Lorde grauen in the bodies of their children. Agayne, the children receyue some commoditie of their Baptisme, that beyng engrafted into the bodye of the Chirche they bee somewhat the moze comended to the other members. Then when they are growen to riper age, they be therby not slenderly stirred by to earnest endeuor to worshyp God, of whom they haue ben receiued into his children by a solemne signe of adoption, befoze that they coulde by age acknowledge hym for their Father. Finally that same condemnation oughte greatly to make vs afrayde, that God will take vengeance of it, if any man despise to marke his sonne with the signe of the couenant, because by suche contempt the grace offered is refused and as it were forsworne.

Now let vs examine the argumentes, wherby certaine furious beasts do not cesse to assaile this holy institution of God. First because they see that they be exceedingly nere driuen and hard strained with the likeness of Baptisme and Circumcision, they labor to pluck in sonder these two signes with great difference, that the one shoulde not seme to haue any thyng common with the other. For they say that both diuers thinges are signified, and that the couenant is altogether diuers, and that the namyng of the children is not all one. But while they go aboute to proue that first point, they allege that circumcision was a figure of mortification and not of Baptisme. Whiche verily we do mozte willyngly graunt them. For it maketh very well for our syde. Neither doo we vse any other profe of our sentence, than that Baptisme and Circumcision are signes of mortification. Hereupon we determine that Baptisme is set in the place of Circumcision, that it shoulde represente vnto vs the same thyng whiche in old tyme it signified to the Jewes. In affirming the difference of the couenant, with howe barbarous boldnesse do they turmoyle and corrupt the Scripture: and that not in one place alone, but so as they leaue nothyng safe or whole: For they depainte vnto vs the Jewes so to be carnal that they be lyker beasts than men: with who forsooth the couenant made procedeth not beyonde the temporall lyfe, to whome the promyses geuen doe reste in presente and bodyly good thynges. If this doctrine take place, what remayneth but that the nation of the Jewes were for a tyme spyled with the benefites of God, none otherwise than as they fatte a hearde of swyne in a sty, that at lengthe they shoulde perishe with eternall damnation. For so soone as we allege Circumcision and the promyses annexed vnto it, they answer that Circumcision was a litterall sygne, and the promyses thereof were carnall,

Cruely



Truely if circumcision was a literall signe, there is no otherwise to be thought of Baptisme. For the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Colossians maketh the one no more spirituall than the other. For he sayth that we are circumcised in Christe, with a circumcision not made with hande, puttyng away the body of sinne that dwelled in our flesh: which he calleth the circumcision of Christ. Afterward for declaration of that sayeng, he adioineth, that we be buried with Christ by Baptisme. What meaneth he by these wordes, but that the fulfillyng and truth of Baptisme, is also the truthe and fulfillyng of circumcision; because they figure bothe one thyng? For he tranalleth to shewe, that Baptisme is the same to Christiā, which circumcision had ben befoze to the Jewes. But forasmuch as we have now evidently declared, that the promises of bothe the signes, and the mysteries that are represented in them, doo agree together, we wil for this present tary no longer vpon them. Only I will put the faithfull in mynde, that though I holde my peace, they should wepe with themselves whether it be taken for an earthly and literall signe, vnder whiche nothyng is conteyned but spirituall and heauenly. But, that they should not sell their smokes to the simple, we will by the way confute one objection wherewith they coloz this most shamelesse lye. It is most certaine that the principall promises, wherin was conteyned the couenant whiche in the Olde testamente God stablished with the Israelites, were spiritual, and tended to eternall life: and then agayne, that they were receiued of the fathers spirituallye, as it was mete, that they myght therof receiue affiance of the life to come, wherunto they lodged with the whole affectio of their hart. But in the meane tyme we denie not, but that he witnessed his good will towards them with earthly and carnall benefites: by which also we say that the same promise of spiritual things was confirmed. As when he promised euerylastyng blessednesse to his seruant Abraham, that he myght sett befoze his eies a manifest token of his fauor, he addeth an other promise concerning the possession of the lande of Chanaan. After this maner we ought to vnderstande al the earthly promises that are geuen to the Jewische nation, that the spirituall promise, as the hed, wherunto they are directed, hold alway haue the chiefe place. But sithe I haue more largely entreated of these thynges in the difference of the newe and olde testament, therfore now I do the more slightly knitte it vp.

In the namyng of the children they finde this diuersitie, that in the olde testament they were called the children of Abraham, whiche issued of his sede: but that now they are called by that name, whiche follow his faith: And that therfore that carnall infantie, which was by circumcision grafted into the felowship of the couenant, figured the infanties of the newe testament, whiche are regenerate by the worde of God to immortall lyfe. In whych wordes we beholde in dede a smalle sparckle of truthe: but herin these lyghte spirites greuouly offende, that when they cathe holde of that whiche sytse cometh to theyr hande, when they should go further and compare many thynges together, they stand styfly vpon one worde. Wherby it can not otherwyle bee but that they must somtyme be deceiued whych rest vpon the sounde knowlege of nothyng. We graunt in dede that the carnall sede of Abraham did for a tyme holde the place of the spirituall sede whiche is by faith grafted into him.

Coloss. ii.

Gen. xv  
i. e. xviii.

12

Gal. iiii.  
xviii.  
Rom. iiii.  
xii.



hym. For we be called his children howsoever there is no naturall kindred betwene hym and vs. But if they meane as they playnly shew that they doo, that there was neuer spirituall blessing promised to the carnal seede of Abraham, herein they are muche deceiued. Wherefore we muste leuell to a better marke, whereunto we are directed by the moste certaine guiding of the Scripture. The Lorde therefore promised to Abraham, that he shoulde haue a seede, wherein all nations of the earth shall be blessed: and therewithall assureth hym, that he would be a God to hym and his seede. Whosoever do by Faith receiue Christe the authoz of blessing, are heires of this promise, and therefore are called the children of Abraham.

13 But althoughe sins the resurrection of Christe the boundes of the kingdome of God haue begonne to be farre and wide enlarged into all nations without difference, that according to the saying of Christ, faithfull ones should be gathered from euery part to sit downe in the heauenly glorie with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: yet he had many ages befoze extended that same so great mercie to the Jewes. And because, passing ouer all other, he had chosen out that only nation, in which he wold restraine his grace for a tyme, called them his peculiar possessio, & his purchased people. For testifying of such liberalitie, Circumcision was geuen by the signe wherof y Jewes might be taught y God is to them the authoz of saluation: by which knowlege their myndes were raised into hope of eternal life. For what shal he want, who God hath ons receiued into his charge? Wherefore the Apostle meaning to proue that the Gentiles were the children of Abraham as well as the Jewes, speaketh in this maner: Abraham (saith he) was iustified by faith in vncircumcision. Afterward he receiued the signe of circumcision, the seale of the righteousness of faith, that he should be the father of all the faithfull, both of vncircumcision and of circumcision, not of them that glorie of only circumcision, but of them that folow the faith which our father Abraham had in vncircumcision. Do not we see that both sortes are made egall in dignitie? For, during the tyme appointed by the decree of God, he was the father of circumcision. When, the wall being plucked downe (as the Apostle writeth in an other place) by which the Jewes wer seuered from the Gentiles, the entrie was made open to them also into the kingdome of God, he was made their father, and that without the signe of circumcision, because they haue Baptisme in stede of circumcision. But wher he expressely by name denpeth, that Abraham is father to them which are of circumcision only, that same was spoken to abate the pride of certaine, which omitting the care of godlynesse, did boast themselues of only Ceremonies. After which maner at this day also their vanitie may be confuted which seke in Baptisme nothing but water.

14 But an other place of the Apostle out of the. ix. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romaines shalbe alledged to the contrary, where he teacheth that they which are of the flesh, are not the children of Abraham: but they onely are compted his seede, which are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signifie, that the carnall kindred of Abraham is nothing, which yet we do see in some degre. But it is moze diligently to be marked, what mater y Apostle there entreateth of. For, meaning to shew to the Jewes how much y goodnesse of god was not bound to y seede of Abraham,



yea howe it nothyng anapleth of it selfe, he bringeth forth Ismael and Esau for example to proue it: whome beeyng refused, as if they were strangers, although they were accordyng to the flesh the naturall offspring of Abraham, the blessing rested in Isaac and Jacob. Wherupon is gathered that which he afterwarde affirmeth, that saluation hangerth of the mercie of God, wobiche he extendeth to whome it pleaseth hym: and that there is no cause why the Jewes should stand in their own conceite, or boast vpon y name of the couenāt, vnlesse they kepe the law of y couenant, that is to say, do obey the worde. Agayne when he hath throughten them downe from vaine confidence of their kindred, yet because on the other side he sawe, that the couenant which was ones made of God with the posteritie of Abraham, coude in no wyse be made boyd, in the xi. chapiter, he argueth that the carnall kindred is not to be spoyled of his due dignitie: by the beneficiall meane wherof he teacheth that the Jewes are the first and naturall heires of the Gospell, but in respecte that by their vnthankfulnesse, they were forsaken as vnwoorthy: yet so that the heuently blessing is not vtterly remoued from their nation. For whiche reason, howe muche soeuer they were stubbozne and couenant breakers, neuertheless he calleth them holye, (so muche honor he genneth to y holy generation, with whom God had bouthsaued to make his holy couenant) but calleth vs, if we be compared with them, as it were after bozne, yea or the vntimely bozne childzen of Abraham, and that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twigg broken of from his naturall tree, should be grafted into a strange stocke. Therefore that they should not be defrauded of their prerogatiue, it behoued that the Gospell should be first preached to them: for they be in the household of God as it were the first begotten childzen. Wherfore this honor was to be geuen them; vntill they refused it beyng offred them, and by their owne vnthankfulnesse brought to passe that it was caried away to the Gentiles. Neither yet, with howe great obstinatie soeuer they continue to make warre against the Gospell, ought they to be despised of vs: if we consider that for the promises sake, the blessing of God doth yet stil remain among them: as verely the Apostle testifieth that it shall neuer vtterly departe from thence: because the giftes and calling of God are without repentance. Rom. vi. xxi.

Beholde of what force is the promise geuen to the posteritie of Abraham, and with what balance it is to be weyed. Wherfore although in discernyng the heires of the kynngdome from bastardes and strangers, we nothyng doute that the only election of God ruleth with free right of governement: yet we also therewithall perceiue, that it pleased hym peculiarly to embrace the sede of Abraham with his mercie, and that the same mercie might be the moze surely witnessed, to seale it with circumcision. Nowe altogether like state is there of the christian Chirche. For as Paule there reasoneth that the Jewes are sanctified of their parentes: so in an other place he teacheth, that the childzen of christians receiue the same sanctification of their parentes. Wherupon is gathered, that they are worthily seitered from the rest, which on the other syde are condemned of vncleannesse. Nowe whoran doute, but that it is mozte false which they do therupon conclude, that say that the infanties which in olde tyme were circumcised, dyd only figure spiritual infantie, which ariseth of the regeneration of the worde of God. For Paule dothe not 1. Cor. vii. xiiii.



Rom. xv. so suttelly play the Philosopher, where he writeth that Christ is y<sup>e</sup> mini-  
 sti. ster of Circumcision, to fulfill the promises which had bene made to the  
 Fathers, as if he saide thus: Forasmuche as the couenant made with Ab-  
 raham hath respecte to his seede; Christe, to performe and discharge the  
 promise ones made by his Father, came to saluatio<sup>n</sup> to the nation of the  
 Jewes. Se you not how also after the resurrectio<sup>n</sup> of Christe, he iudgeth  
 that the promise of the couenant is to be fulfilled, not onely by way of  
 allegorie, but as the very wordes do sounde, to the carnal seede of Abza-  
 ham. To the same entent serueth that which Peter in the second Chap-  
 Actes. ii. ter of the Actes, declareth to the Jewes, that the benefite of the Gospell  
 rrr. is due to them and their seede by right of the couenant, and in the Chap-  
 Actes. iii. ter next folowyng he calleth them the children of the testamente, that is  
 rb. to say heires. From which also not muche disaccozde<sup>t</sup>h the other place of  
 Eph. ii. r1 the Apostle aboue alleged, where he accompteth and setteth Circumcision  
 empzinted in infants, for a testimonie of that comunio<sup>n</sup> which thei haue  
 with Christ. But if we harken to their trifles, what Chalbe wroughte by  
 that promise, wherby the Lozde in the seconde article of his law vnder-  
 taketh to his seruantes, that he wil be fauourable to their seede euen to  
 the thousandth generation: Shall we here flee to allegories: But that  
 were to triflyng a Gift. Or Chal we say that this is abolished: But so the  
 law should be destroyed, which Christ came rather to stablith, so farre as  
 it turneth vs to good vnto lyfe. Lett it therfoze bee out of controuersie,  
 that God is so good and liberall to his, that for their sakes, he wil haue  
 also their children; whome they Chal begett, to be adnumbzed among  
 his people.

16

Howeuer the differences which they go about to put betwene Bap-  
 tisme and circumcision, ar not only worthy to be laughed at, and void of  
 all coloz of reson, but also disagreeyng with them selues. For when they  
 haue affirmed that Baptisme hath relation to the first day of the spiritu-  
 al battell, but circumcision to the eighth when mortification is already  
 ended, by and by forgetting the same, they turne their song, and call cir-  
 cuncisi<sup>n</sup> a figure of the flesh to be mortified, but Baptisme they call bu-  
 riali, into which none ar to be put til they be already dead. What dotages  
 of phzentike men, can with so great lightnesse leape into sondry diuer-  
 sities: For in the fyrst sentence, Baptisme must go befoze circumcisi<sup>n</sup>: by  
 the other, it is thrust backe into the later place. Yet is it no newe exaple,  
 that the wittes of men be so tossed vp and downe, when in stede of the  
 most certain word of God they worship whatsoever they haue dreamed.  
 We therfoze say that that former difference is a mere dreame. If they li-  
 sted to expounde by way of allegorie vpon the eyghth day, yet it agreed  
 not in that maner. It were muche fitter, accozdyng to the opinio<sup>n</sup> of the  
 old woziters, to referre the numbze of eyghth to the resurrection whiche  
 was done on the eyghth day, wherupon we knowe that the newnesse of  
 life hangeth: or to the whole course of this presente lyfe, wherein mortifi-  
 cation oughte alwaye to goe forwarde, till when life is ended, mortifi-  
 cation it selfe may also be ended. Howbeit God may seme to haue myn-  
 ded to prouide for the tendernesse of age, in differyng circumcision the  
 viii. day, because the wound shold haue ben moze dangerous to the chil-  
 dzen newe bozne and yet red from their mother. Howe muche stronger  
 is that, that we beyng deade befoze, are buried by Baptisme: when the



scripture expzessely cryeth to the cōtrarye that we are buried into death to this entente, that we should dye, and from thenseforth should endeuoꝛ to this mortification: Nowe, a likewise handlyng, it is, that they ca- uill that women ought not to be baptised, if Baptisme must bee framed like to Circumcision. For if it be most certaine that the sanctifieng of the se- de of Israel was testified by the signe of Circumcision: thereby also it is vndouted, that it was geuen to sanctifie bothe males & females. But the onely bodyes of male children were marked with it, which myght by nature be marked: yet so that the women were by them after a certaine maner cōpanions and parteners of circumcision. Therefore sending farre away suche follies of theirs, lette vs sticke faste in the lykenesse of Baptisme & circumcision, whiche we most largely see to agree in the in- ward mysterie, in the promises, in vse, in effectualnesse.

They thynke also y they bring forth a most strong reason, why childꝛe are to be debarred from Baptisme, when they allege that they ar not yet for age able to vnderstand the mysterie there signified. That is spiritu- al regeneration, which can not be in the first infātie. Therefore they ga- ther, that they are to be taken for none other than the childꝛe of Adam, till they be growen to age mete for a second birth. But the truth of God echewhere speaketh against all these thynge. For if they be to be lefte among the children of Adam, then they are left in death: forasmuch as in Adam we can do nothyng but dye. But contrarywise Ch�ist cōmaū- deth them to be brought vnto hym. Why so: because he is life: Therefore that he may geue life to them, he maketh them partakers of hymselfe: when in the meane tyme these fellowes dziuing them farre away do ad- iudge them to death. For if they say for a Ch�ist, that infantes do not there- fore perishe if they be accompted the children of Adam, their erroꝛ is a- bundantly confuted by witnesse of the Scripture. For where as it pro- nounceth that all do dye in Adam, it foloweth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Ch�iste. Therefore that we maye be made heires of lyfe, we must communicate with him. Agayne when it is wozitten in an other place, that by nature we are all subiecte to the wꝛath of God, and conceined in sinne, wherunto Damnatō perpetually cleaueth: we must departe oute of oure owne nature, befoze that the entrie be open to vs into the kingdome of God. And what can be moze playnely spoken, than that fleshe and blood can not possesse the kingdome of God: Ther- fore let al be doone away what soeuer is ours (which shall not be done withoute regeneration) then we shall see this possession of the kyng- dome. Finally if Ch�ist say truely, when he repozteth that he is life, it is necessarie that we be graffed into hym, that we may be deliuered out of the bondage of death. But (saye they) how are infantes regenerate, which are not endued w knowledge neither of good noz of euyl: But we answer, that the woꝛke of God is not yet no woꝛke at all, althoughe it be not subiect to our capacitie. Mozeouer it is nothyng doutefull, that the infantes whiche are to be saued (as verily of that age some are sa- ued) are befoze regenerate of the Loꝛde. For if they byng with them from their mothers wombe the coꝛruption naturally planted in them: they must be purged therof, befoze that they be admitted into the kyng- dome of God, whereinto nothyng entreth that is defiled oz spotted. If they be bozne synners, as bothe Dauid and Paule affirme: epyther they

17

1. Coꝛ. xv

vii.

Ep. ii. iii.

Psal. li.

vii.

1. Coꝛ. xv

l.

John. vi.

xv. et

xiii. v.

Gene. xxi.

vii.

Eph. ii.

iii.

remainē Psal. li. viii



John. iiii. 11. remaine out of fauor and hateful to God, or they must nedes be iustified. And what seke we moze, when the iudge himself openly affirmeth that the entrie into heavenly life is open to none but to them that bee bozne agayne? And to put suche carpers to silence, he shewed an example in John the Baptist, whome he sanctified in his mothers wombe, what he was able to doo in the rest. Neither dooe they any thyng preuaile by the thifte wherewith they here mocke, that that was but ones done: wherupon it dothe not by and by folow that the Lorde is wonte commonly to doe so. wth infantes. For neither do we reason after that maner: onely our purpose is to shew, that the power of God is by them vniustly and enuiously limited wthyn those narrowe boundes within which it suffreth not it selfe to be bounde. Their other by thift is even of as great weight. They allege that by the vsuall maner of the Scripture, this worde (from the wombe,) is as muche in effecte, as if it were sayd, from childhode. But we may clerely see, that the Angell when he declared the same to zacharie, meant an other thyng: that is, that it whiche was not yet bozne, shoulde be filled with the Holy ghoste. Lette vs not therfore attempt to appoynt a law to God, but þ he may sanctifie whom it pleased him, as he sanctified this childe, forasmuche as his power is nothyng minyshed.

Luke. i. 20. 18 And truely Christ was therfore sanctified from his first infantie, that he might sanctifie in himself his elect out of euery age without differēce. For as, to do away the fault of disobedience which had ben committed in our flethe, he hath put on the same flethe vpon himselfe, that he might in it for vs and in our stede perfozme perfect obedience: so he was conceiued of þ Holy ghost, þ hauyng the holynesse therof fully poured into hym in the flethe which he had taken vpon hym, he myght poure feozly the same into vs. If we haue in Christ a most perfect paterne of all the graces which God continually sheweth to his children, verily in this behalfe also he shall be a profe vnto vs, that the age of infantie is not so farre vnfit for sanctification. But howsoeuer it be, yet this we holde out of controuersie, that none of the electe is called out of this present life, which is not fyrst made holy and regenerate by the Spirit of God. Wheras they object to the contrary, that in the Scriptures the Spirite acknowlegeth no other regeneration but of intozruptible sede, that is, of the worde of God: they do wrongfully expounde that sayeng of Peter, wherin he comprehendeth onely the faithfull which had ben taught by preaching of the Gospell. To suche in dede we graunt that the word of the Lorde is the onely sede of spirituall regeneration: but we denye that it ought therupon to be gathered, that infantes can not be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as easy and ready as to vs it is incomprehensible and wonderfull. Moreouer it shoulde not bee safe enough for vs to take this away from the Lorde, that he maye not be able to shewe hymselfe to bee knowne to them by whatsoeuer waye he will.

19 But faith, say they, is by hearpyng, wherof they haue not yet gotten the vse. neither can they be able to knowe God, whom Moses teacheth Deute. i. 1. to be destitute of the knowlege bothe of good and euill. But they consider not þ the Apostle, whē he maketh hearpyng the beginnyng of faith, describeth onely the ordinarie distribution of the Lorde and disposition which



whiche he bleth to kepe in calling them that be his: but appointeth not to him a perpetuall rule, that he may not vse any other way. Which way verily he hath vsed in þ calling of many, to whome he hath geuen the true knowlege of himselfe by an inwarde maner, by þ enlightening of the Spirite, wout any preaching vsed for meane thereof. But whereas they thinke it shalbe a great absurditie, if any knowlege of God be geue to infantes, from whom Moses taketh away the vnderstanding of good and euil: I beseeche them to answer me, what danger is there if they be sayd to receiue some part of that grace, wherof a litle after they shal enioye the ful plentifulnesse. For if the fulnesse of lyfe standeth in the perfect knowlege of God, when many of them, whom in their very first infantie death by and by taketh away, doe passe into eternall life, truely they are receiued to beholde the most present face of God. Whō therfore the Lord wil enlightē with the ful bryghtnesse of hys lyghte, why maye he not presently also, if it so please hym, sende out to thynne vppon them some small sparckle therof: specially if he do not first vnclouth them of ignorance, befoze þ he take them out of the prison of the flesh: Not that I meane rashly to affirme that they be endued with the same faith which we fele in our selues, or þ they haue altogether lyke knowlege of faith: (which I had rather leaue in suspense) but somewhat to restraine theyr foolish arrogance, which accordyng as their mouth is puffed by wyth fulnesse, do boldly deny or affirme they care not what.

But that they may yet stande moze strongly in this poynt, they adde: that Baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance & of faith: wherfore sith neither of these can befall in tender infantie, we ought to beware least if they be admittid to the cōmunion of Baptisme, the signification of it be made voyde and bayne. But these dartes are thzowen rather agaynst God than agaynst vs. For it is most euident by many testimones of Scripture, that circumcisio also was a signe of repētance. Mozeouer it is called of Paule þ seale of þ righteousness of faith. Let therfore a reason be required of God hymselfe why he commaunded it to be marked in the bodies of infantes. For sith Baptisme & circumcisio are both in one case, they can geue nothing to the one but that they muste also therewithal graunt the same to the other. If they loke backe to their wonted starting hole, that then by the age of infantie were figured spiritual infates, the way is alredy stopped by agaynst them. We say therfore, sith God hath communicated to infantes circumcisio a Sacrament of repentance and faith, it semeth nō absurditie if they be made partakers of Baptisme: vnlesse they lyst openly to rage agaynst the ordinance of God. But both in all the doings of God, and in thys selfe same doing also shineth wisdomē and righteousness enough, to beate down the backbitinges of the wicked. For though infantes, at the same instante that they were circumcised, dyd not comprehend in vnderstanding what that signe meant: yet they were truely circumcised into the mortification of theyr corrupte and defyled nature, in which mortification they should afterwarde exercise themselues when they wer growē to ryppe age. Finally it is very easy to assoile this obiection, with saying that they be Baptyled into repētance & faith to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by secrete workyng of the Spirite the sede of both lyeth hiddē in them. With thys answer at ones is ouerthzo-

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No. cccc. xl



well whatsoeuer they wrest against vs which they haue fetched out of þ  
 signification of Baptisme. Of which sort is þ title wherewith it is com-  
 mended of Paule, where he calleth it þ washing of regeneration and of  
 renewyng. Wherupō they gather that it is to be geuen to none but to  
 such a one as is able to cōceiue those thinges. But we on þ cōtrary side  
 may answer, þ nether was circūcisiō which betokened regeneratiō, to be  
 geuē to any other thā to them þ were regenerate. And so shal we cōdēne  
 þ ordinaunce of God. Wherfoze (as we haue already touched in diuerse  
 places) whatsoeuer argumētes do tend to þ shaking of circūcision, they  
 haue no foze in þ assaylig of Baptisme. Nether do they so escape away,  
 if they say þ we ought to take þ for determined & certaine, which stādeth  
 bpō þ authozitie of God, although there appeare no resō of it: which re-  
 uerēce is not due to þ Baptisme of infantēs, noz to such other thynges  
 which be not cōmeded vnto vs by þ expresse worde of God: sith they are  
 stil fast holden w̄ thys doble argumēt. For the cōmaundement of God  
 concerning infantēs to be circūcised, was either lawfull & subiecte to  
 no caullatiōs, oz woorthy to be fōūd fault withal. If there wer no incō-  
 uenience noz absurditie in þ cōmaundemēt of circūcision, neither can  
 there any absurdity be noted in obseruing the Baptisme of infantēs.

As for þ spot of absurdity which in this place they go about to lay bpō  
 it, we thus wipe it aboay. Whom þ Lord hath bouchsawed to elect, if ha-  
 uing receiued þ signe of regeneration, they depart out of thys presente  
 lyfe befoze þ they be come to riper age, he reneweth them with þ power  
 of his Spirite incōprehēsible to vs, in such maner as he alone fozeleeth  
 to be expediēt. If they chaunce to grow bp to age, wherby they may be  
 taught þ truth of Baptisme, they shal hereby be the moze enkindled to þ  
 endeuoz of renewing, the tokē wherof they shal learne to haue ben ge-  
 uē thē frō their first infātie, þ they should exercise thēselues in it thzough  
 out the whole course of their lyfe. To thesame entent ought þ to be ap-  
 plied which Paule teacheth in twoo places, þ by Baptisme we ar buried  
 together with Christ. For he doth not meane therby, þ he which is to be  
 baptised, must be already first buried together w̄ Christ: but simply decla-  
 reth what doctrine is cōteined vnder Baptisme, yea & that to them þ be  
 already Baptyled: so þ very mad men would not affirme by this place þ  
 it goeth befoze Baptisme. After this maner Moses & the Prophets did  
 put þ people in minde what circūcision meant, wherwith yet they had  
 ben marked while they were infātes. Of the same effect also is þ which  
 he writeth to þ Galatians, þ they when they were Baptised, did put on  
 Christ. To what end: verily þ they should frō these fourthly liue to Christ,  
 because they had not liued befoze. And although in the older sort the re-  
 ceiuing of the signe ought to folow the vnderstāding of the mysterie: yet  
 it shalbe by & by declared þ infātes ought to be otherwise cōsted & ac-  
 cōpted of. And no other wise ought we to iudge of the place of Peter, in  
 which they thinke þ they haue a strong holde: when he saith þ it is not a  
 washing to woype away the filthineses of the body, but the witnesse of  
 a good conscience befoze God, by the resurrection of Christe. They in-  
 dede doe gather thereby, that nothing is left to þ Baptisme of infantēs,  
 but that it should be a vaine smoke, namely from which this truth is  
 farr distant. But they ofren offende in this erroz, that they will haue  
 the thing in order of tyme to goe alway befoze the signe. For the  
 truth

Lu. xlv.

22

Rom. vi.  
Col. ii. xxi.Gala. iii.  
xvii.1. Pet. iii.  
xvi.



truth of circumcission also consisted of the same witness of good conscience. If it ought of necessity to have gone before, infants should never have been circumcised by the commandment of God. But he shewing that the witness of a good conscience was contained under the truth of circumcission, and yet therewithal also commanding infants to be circumcised, doeth in the point sufficiently declare the circumcission is applied to the time to come. Wherefore there is no more present effectualness to be required in Baptisme of infants, than that it should confirme & stablish the covenant made by the Lord with them. The rest of the signification of the Sacramente shall afterwarde follow at such tyme as God himselfe foreseeth.

Now I thinke there is no man, that doth not clerely see that all suche reasons of theirs are mere misconstringes of Scripture. As for the rest that be of a nere kinde to these, we will lightly runne throughe them by the way. They object that Baptisme is geuen unto the forgiveness of synnes: which when it is graunted, will largely make for defense of our sentence. For sith we be borne sinners, we do euen from our mothers wombe neede forgiveness and pardon. Now seing the Lord doth not cut off, but rather assure to the age the hope of mercy: why should we take from them the signe which is much inferior than the thing it selfe? Wherefore that which they go about to throwe against vs, we thus throwe backe against themselves: infants haue remission of synnes geue them, therefore they ought not to haue the signe taken from them. They allege also this out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: that the Church is cleansed of the Lord, with the washing of water in the worde of life. That which there could nothing be alleged more fit to overthrow their error: for the rypō groweth an easy profe of our syde. If the Lord will haue the washing wherewith he cleanseth his Church, to be testified by Baptisme: it seemeth not rightfull that it should want the testimonie of it in infants: whiche are rightfully accompted part of the Church, forasmuch as they be called heires of the heavenly kingdome. For Paule speaketh of the whole Church, where he sayth that it was cleansed with the Baptisme of water. Likewise of this that in another place he sayth that we be by Baptisme graffed into the body of Christ, we gather that infants, whom he reckoneth among his members, oughte to be Baptised, least they be plucked away from his body. Beholde with what violence with so many engines they assault the fortresses of our fayth.

Then they come down to the practise & custome of the time of the Apostles, wherein none is found to haue ben admitted to Baptisme, but he whiche hath before professed faith & repentance. For where Peter was asked of them the were mynded to repent, what was needful to be done, he counsell'd them first to repent, & then to be Baptised, into the forgiveness of synnes. Likewise Phillip, whē Eunuche required to be Baptised, answered the he might be Baptised if he beleued w<sup>al</sup> his hart. Hereby they thinke that they may winne, the first of these twoo places where is no mention made of faith, will proue the repētāce alone sufficeth: and the other place, wherein repentance is not required, will proue that faith onely is enough. I thinke they will answer that the one place is holpen with the other, and therefore must be ioyned together. I say also likewise, the other



Of the outward meanes

places must be layed together which make somewhat to the vnderstanding of this knot: for as much as there be many sentences in Scripture, the vnderstanding wherof hangeth vpon the circumstance of the place. As this presently is an example. For they to whom Peter and Philip spake these thynges were of age sufficient to haue practise of repentance and to receiue faith. We earnestly deny that such ought to be Baptised, vntil after perceiuing of their conuersion and faith, at least so farr as it maye be searched out by the iugement of men. But, that infantes ought to be accompted in an other number, it is more than euident enough. For in olde tyme if any man did ioyne himselfe into communion of religion with Israel, it behoued that he should first be taught the couenante of the lord, and instructed in the law, befoze that he wer marked with circumcision, because in birth he was a stranger from the people of Israel, with whome the couenante had ben made whiche circumcision stablished.

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Gen. xvi. i. As also the lord, when he adopteth Abraham to himselfe, doth not begin at circumcision, hyding in the meane time what he meaneth by that signe: but first he declareth what couenante he entendeth to make with him, and then after faith geuen to the promise, he maketh hym partaker of the Sacrament. Why doth in Abraham the Sacrament follow faith, and in Isaac his sonne it goeth befoze all vnderstanding? Because it is mete that he, which beyng in full growen age is receiued into fellowship of the couenant, from which he had ben hetherto a stranger, should first learne the conditions therof: but an infante begotten of him neded not so, which by right of inheritance according to y<sup>e</sup> forme of the promise is euen from his mothers wombe contained in the couenant. Or (that the mater may be more clerely and brefely shewed) if the children of the faithful, without the helpe of vnderstanding, are partakers of the couenante, there is no cause why they shoulde be debarred from the signe for this that they can not sweare to the forme of the couenant. This verily is the reason, why in some places God affirmeth y<sup>e</sup> infantes whiche are issued of the Israelites, are begotten & bozne to hym. For without dout he esteemeth as hys children the children of them to whoes seide he promiseeth that he wil be a father. But he which is vnfaithfull, issued of vngodly parentes, till he be by faith vnited to God, is iudged a stranger from the communion of the couenant. Therefore it is no maruall if he be not partaker of the signe, the signification whereof shoulde be deceitfull and bozde in hym. To this effecte Paule also wyrteth, that the Gentiles so long as they were drowned in theyr idolatrie, were oute of the testamente. With this shorthe summe, (as I thynke) the whole mater may be clerely opened: that they whiche in growen age, embrace the faith of Christ, forasmuche as they were hetherto strangers from the couenante, are not to be marked with Baptisme, but wheras faith and repentance come betwene, which onely can open them the entrie into fellowship of the couenant: but the infantes that are issued of Christians, as they are receiued of God into the inheritance of the couenant so sone as they be bozne, so oughre to be receiued to Baptisme. Hereunto muste that be applyed whiche the Evangelist speaketh of, that they were Baptised of Ihon whiche confessed their sinnes. Whiche example at this day also we thinke mete to be kept. For if a Turke offer himselfe to Baptisme, he shoulde not bee  
rashly

24  
Gen. xvi. i.

Gen. xviii. vbi.

Gen. xvi. i. vbi.

Eph. ii. vii.

Mat. iii. vi



rashly Baptised of vs, Namely not til after confession wherby he maye satisfie the Chirch.

Moreouer they bring fourth the wordes of Christ, which are rehearsed in the thirde Chapter of John, wherby they thinke that a pzelente regeneration is required in Baptisme. Unlesse a man be bozne againe of water and the Spirite, he can not enter into the kingdome of God. Doe (say they) howe Baptisme is by the Lordes owne mouth called regeneration. Them therefore whome it is more than enough knowne to be vnable to receiue regeneratiō, by what coloz do we admit to Baptisme which can not be without regeneration: first they are deceiued in thys that they thinke that in thys place mention is made of Baptisme, because they heare the name of water. For after that Christ had declared to Nicodemus the corruption of nature, and taught hym that mett must be bozne of newe, because Nicodemus dreamed of a bodily newe birth, he there shewed the maner how God doth regenerate vs, namely by water and the Spirite: as though he should say, by the Spirite which in cleansing and watering faithfull soules, doth the office of water. Therefore I take water, and the Spirite simply for the Spirite, which is water. Neither is this a newe forme of speche, for it altogether agreeth with the same which is in the thirde Chaptet of Mathewe: he that foloweth me, it is he that Baptiseth in the Holy ghost and fier. Therefore as to Baptise in the Holy ghost and fier, is to geue the Holy ghost, which hath the office and nature of fier: so to be bozne againe of water and the Spirite, is nothing ells but to receiue that power of the holy Spirite which doth the same thing in the soule that water doth in the body. I knowe that other do otherwise expounde it: but I am oute of doute that thys is the naturall meaning: because the purpose of Christ is none other, but to teache that all they must put of their owne nature which aspire to the heauenly kingdome. Howebeit if we list to cauil vnfauorply as they do, it were easy for vs (when we haue graunted as they woulde haue it) to inferre vpon them that Baptisme is before Fayth and repentance: forasmuch as in the wordes of Christe it goeth before the Spirite. It is certaine that this is vnderstanded of spirituall giftes: which if they come after Baptisme, I haue obtained what I require. But leauing cauillations, we must holde fast the playne exposition, which I haue bzought, that no mā til he haue ben reneued with liuing water, that is, with the Spirite, can enter into the kingdome of God.

Nowe hereby also it is euident that their sayned inuention is to be bitted out, which adiudge al the vnbaptised to eternal death. Therefore let vs according to their request imagine Baptisme to be ministred to none but to them that be growen in age: what will they saye shall become of a childe, whiche is rightly and well instructed with the introductions of godlynesse, if wherē the day of Baptising is at hande, he happen to be taken away with soden death, beside all mennes hope? The Lordes promise is cleare, that whosoener hath beleued in the Sonne, shall not see death, nor shall come into iugemente, but is allredy passed from death into life: and it is no where founde that he euer damned him that was not yet Baptised. Whiche I would not haue so taken of me as though I meant that Baptisme



might freely be despised (by which despising I affirme that the Lordes covenant is defiled: so much lesse can I abide to excuse it) onely it is enough for me to proue, that it is not so necessarie, that he should be immediately thought to be lost, from whome power is taken away to obtaine it. But if we agree to their fained deuise, we shall damne all them without exception, whom any chaunce withholdeth from Baptisme, w<sup>h</sup> how great Faith soeuer (by which Christ himself is possessed) otherwise they are endued. Moreouer they make all infantes giltye of eternall death, to whome they deny Baptisme, which by their own confession is necessarie to saluation. Now let them loke how trimly they agree with the wordes of Christ, by which the kingdome of heauen is adiudged to that age. But, to graunte them euery thing so much as pertaineth to the vnderstanding of thys place, yet they shall gather nothing thereof, vnlesse they ouerthrowe the former doctrine which we haue stablished concerning the regeneration of infantes.

But they glozy that they haue the strongest holde of all in the very institutio of Baptisme, which they fetch out of the last Chapter of Mathew: where Christ sending fourth hys Apostles to all nations, geueth them the first commaundement to teache them, and the seconde to Baptise them. Then also out of the last of Marke they adioine this, He y<sup>e</sup> beleueth and is Baptised, shall be saued. What seke we further (saye they) when the Lordes owne wordes doe openly sounde, that we must firste teach ere we Baptise, and do assigne to Baptisme the seconde state after faith: Of which order the Lord also shewed an example in himself, which would be Baptised not tyll the thirtieth yere. But here, O good God, how many wayes doe they both entangle theselues, and bewraye their owne ignorance: For herein they now more than childishly erre, that they fetche the firste institution of Baptisme from thense, whiche Christ had from the beginning of his preaching geuen in charge to hys Apostles to minister. Therfore there is no cause why they shoulde affirme that y<sup>e</sup> law and rule of Baptisme is to be fetched out of these places, as though they contained the first institution therof. But, to beare with them for thys fault, yet how strong is thys manner of reasoning: Truly if I listed to dally with them, there is not a litle lurking hole, but a most wyde felde offereh it selfe open for vs to escape them. For when they sticke so fast to the order of wordes, that they gather that because it is sayd, Goe, preach and Baptise, Againe, he that beleueth and is Baptised, therfore they must preach before that they Baptise, and beleue before that they require Baptisme: why may not we agayn answer them with sayeng that we must Baptise before that we muste teache the keeping of those thinges that Christ hath commaunded: namely lithe it is sayd, Baptise ye, teaching them to kepe whatsoeuer thinges I haue commaunded you: whiche same thing we haue noted in that sayeng of Christ which hath ben euen now alleged concerning the regeneration of water and the Spirite. For if it be so vnderstode as they would haue it, verily in that place Baptisme must be before spiritual regeneration, because it is named in the first place. For Christ doth teach that we must be regenerate, not of the Spirite and water, but of water and the Spirite.

Nowe this inuincible reason whereupon they beare themselves so bolde,



bolde, seemeth to be somewhat shaken: but because truth hath defense enough in simplicitie, I wil not escape away with such light argumentes. Therfore let them take with them a ful answer. Christ in this place genneth the chefe commaundement concerning preaching of the Gospell, whereunto he adioyneth the ministerie of Baptisme as an additio hāging vpon it. Againe he speaketh none otherwise of Baptisme but so farr as the ministracion of it is vnder the office of teaching. For Christ sendeth the Apostles to publishe the Gospell to al the natiōs of y<sup>e</sup> world, that they should from eche where with the doctrine of saluacion gather together into hys kyngdome men that befoze were lost. But whom, or what maner of men? It is certaine that there is no mentio but of them that are able to receiue teaching. Afterwarde he addeth that such, when they are instructed, ought to be Baptised, adioyning a promise, y<sup>e</sup> they which beleue and are baptised shalbe saued. Is there in al that sayeng so much as one syllable of infantes? What forme therefore of reasoning shal thys be wherewith they assaile vs: they which are of grown age, must first be instructed, that they may beleue, ere they be baptised: therefore it is vnlawful to make Baptisme common to infantes. Although they would burst themselues, they shall proue nothing ells by this place but that the Gospell must be preached to them that are of capacitie able to heare it, befoze that they be Baptised, forasmuch as he there speaketh of such only. Let them herof, if they can, make a stopp to debarre infantes from Baptisme.

But, that euen blynde men also may with groping fynde out their deceites, I wil poynt them out with a very cleare similitude. If any mā cauil that infantes ought to haue meate taken from them, vpon thys pretense that the Apostle suffreth none to eate but them that labor, shal he not be worthy that al men should spit at hym? Why so? Because he without differēce drabweth y<sup>e</sup> to al men, which was spoken of one kinde and one certayne age of men. No whit handsomer is their handeling in thys present cause. For, that which euery man seeth to belong to one age alone, they draw to infantes, that thys age also may be subiect to y<sup>e</sup> rule which was made for none but them that were more grown in yeres. As for the example of Christ, it nothing vpholdeth their side. He was not baptised befoze that he was thirty yeres olde. That is in dede true: but there is a reason therof redy to be shewed: because he thē purposed by hys preaching to lay a sounde fundatio of Baptisme, or rather to stablish the fundatio which had ben befoze lated of John. Therfore when he mynded with hys doctrine to institute Baptisme, to procure y<sup>e</sup> greater authozitie to his institution, he Sanctified it with his owne body, and that in such fitnessse of tyme as was most conuenient, namely when he began his preaching. Finally they shall gather nothing ells herof, but that Baptisme toke hys original and beginning at the preaching of the Gospell. If they list to appoint the thirtieth yere, why doe they not kepe it, but doe receiue euery one to Baptisme as he hath in their iugemente sufficiently profited: yea and Seruettus one of their maisters, when he stiffly required thys tyme, yet began at the. xxi. yere of his age to boiste himselfe to be a Prophet. As though he were to bee suffred that taketh vpon himselfe the place of a teacher in the Church, befoze that he be a member of the Church,

29

ii. Thet.  
iii. r.Luke. iii.  
xxiii.



At the last they object, that there is no greater cause why Baptisme should be geuen to infantes, than the Lordes Supper, which yet is not graunted them. As though the Scripture did not euery way expresse a large differēce. The same was in dede vsually done in the olde Church, as it appeareth by Cypriane and Augustine: but that maner is worthily growen out of vse. For if we consider the nature and proprietie of Baptisme, it is truely an entrie into the Church and as it were a forme of admission, wherby we are aduūbzēd into the people of God; a signe of our spirituall regeneration by which we are bozne agayne into the children of God: wheras on the other syde the Supper is geue to them that be moze growen in age, which hauing passed tender infantie, are now able to beare strong meate. Which difference is very evidently shewed in the Scripture. For there the Lord, so muche as pertaineth to Baptisme, maketh no choise of ages. But he doth not likewise geue the Supper to al to take part of it, but only to them which are fit to discern the body and blood of the Lord, to examine their own conscience, to declare the Lordes death, to weye the power therof. Would we haue any thing plainer, than that which the Apostle teacheth when he exhorteeth that euery man should proue and examine hymselfe, and then eate of thys bred and dzyrke of thys cup: Therfore examination must goe before, which should in vaine be loked for of infantes. Agayne, he that eateth vnworthily, eateth and dzyrket damnation to hymselfe; not discerning the Lordes body. If none can partake worthily but they that can well discern the holinesse of the Lordes body, why should we geue to our tender children, poison in stede of liuely foode? What is that commaundement of the Lord, ye shall do it in remembrance of me: what is that other which the Apostle deriueth from the same, So oft as ye shall eate of this bread, ye shall declare the Lordes death til he come: What remembrance? I beseeche you shall we require at our infantes of þy thyng which they neuer attained with vnderstanding: what preaching of the crosse of Christ, the force and benefite whereof they do not yet comprehend in mind: None of these things is prescribed in Baptisme. Therfore betwene these twoo signes is great difference: whiche we note also in like signes in the olde testament. Circumcision, which is knowen to answer to our Baptisme, was appointed for infantes. But the passer ouer into whoes place þy Supper hath now succeded, did not receiue al maner of gestes without difference, but was rightly eaten of them only that myght by age enquire of the signification of it. If these men had remayning one crumme of sounde bzyrne, woulde they be blynde at a thing so clere and offring it selfe to sight?

Although it grieueth me to lode the reder with a heape of trifles: yet it shall be worth the trauall bzevely to wypp away suche gay reasons as Seruettus not the least of the Anabaptistes, yea the great glory of that company, thought hymselfe to bring when he prepared hymselfe to confite. He allegeth, that Christes signes as they be perfect so doe require them that be perfect or able to conceiue perfection. But the solution is easy: that the perfection of Baptisme, which extendeth euen to death, is wrongfully restrayned to one point of time. I say yet further, that perfection is foolysly required in man at the first day, wherunto Baptisme allureth vs al our life long by continuall degrees. He objecteth that Christes



Christes signes wer ordeined for remembrance, that euery man should  
 remember that he was buried together with Christ. I answer that, that  
 which he hath sained of his owne head; nedeth no confutation: yea that  
 which he draweth to Baptisme, Pauls wordes shew to be prope to the  
 holy Supper, that euery man should examine himself: but of Baptisme  
 there is no where any such thing. Wherupon we gather y they be right-  
 ly baptised which for their smallnesse of age, ar not yet able to receiue ex-  
 amination. Wheras he thirde allegeth, that all they abide in death whi-  
 che beleue not the Sonne of God, & that the wrath of God, abideth vpon  
 them: & therfore that infants which can not beleue lie in their dam-  
 nation: I answer that Christe there speaketh not of the generall gylti-  
 nesse wherwith all y posteritie of Adam are entwapped, but only thzet-  
 neth the despisers of the Gospell, which do proudey and stubboznelly re-  
 fuse the grace offred them. But this nothing pertaineth to infantes. Also  
 I set a cotrarie reason againt them: y whomesoever Christ blesseth,  
 he is discharged from the curse of Adam and the wrath of God: Sithe  
 therfore it is knowen that infantes are blessed of him, it foloweth that  
 they are discharged from death. Then he fallly citeth that whiche is no  
 where red, that whosoever is bozne of the Spirite, heareth the voyce  
 of the Spirit. Which although we graunt to be witten, yet shal proue  
 nothyng ells but that the faithfull are framed to obedience, accordyng  
 as the Spirite woorketh in them. But that whiche is spoken of a cer-  
 taine number, it is faultie to drawe indifferently to all. Forwerthly he  
 obietteth: because that goeth befoze which is naturall, we muste tarry  
 tyme for Baptisme whiche is spirituall. But althoughe I graunte  
 that all the posteritie of Adam begotten of the fleche doo from the very  
 wombe beare their owne damnation, yet I denye that that withstan-  
 deth but that God may presently byyng remedy: For neither shall Ser-  
 uettus proue that there were many yeares appoynted by God that the  
 spirituall newnesse of lyfe many begiue. As Paul testifieth, although  
 they whiche are bozne of the faithfull are by nature damned: yet by su-  
 pernatural grace they are saued. Then he byyngeth forth an allegorie,  
 that Dauid going by into y toure of Sion, did leade neither blinde men  
 nor lame men to him but strong souldiozs. But what if I set a parable  
 againt it, wherin God calleth to the heauenly banket blinde men and  
 lame men: howe will Seruettus vnbwynde himselfe out of this knott?  
 I aske also whether lame and maimed men had not sysz ben souldiozs  
 with Dauid. But it is superfluous to tary longer: bpo this reaso, which  
 the readers shall fynde by the holy hystorie to be made of mere falsehod.  
 There foloweth an other allegozie, that the Apostles were fishers of  
 men, not of litle childzen. But I aske; what that sayeng of Christ mea-  
 neth, that into the nette of the Gospel are gathered al kynδες of fishes.  
 But because I lyke not to play with allegozies: I answer that tobe the  
 office of teaching was enioyned to the Apostles, yet they were not for-  
 bidden from baptisyng of infantes. Howbeit I wold yet knowe, when  
 the Euangelist nameth them Anchrópous men, (in whiche woorde is  
 comprehended all mankynde without exception) why they should deny  
 infantes to be men. Seuenthy he allegeth, that sithe spirituall thyngs  
 agree with spirituall, infantes which are not spiritual, are also not mete  
 for baptisme. But first it is plainly euidet, howe wrongfully they wozst  
 the

John. iii.  
11. 11.1. Cor. xii.  
13.1. Cor. xii.  
13.1. Sa. vi.  
11.Luc. xiii.  
11.Mat. xiii.  
12.Mat. xiii.  
12.1. Cor. ii.  
13.



the place of Paule. There is entreated of doctrine: when the Corinthi-  
 ans did to muche stande in their owne conceite for bayne Charpnesse of  
 witte, Paule rebuketh their sluggishnesse, for that they wer yet to be in-  
 structed in the first introductions of heauenly wisdom. Who can ther-  
 of gather that Baptisme is to be denied to infants, whom being begot-  
 ten of the fleshe God doth by free adoption make holy to himself. Where  
 as he sayth, that they must be fed with spirituall meate, if they be newe  
 men, the solution is easy, that by Baptisme they are admitted into the  
 flocke of Christ, and that the signe of adoption suffiseth them, til being  
 growen to age they be able to beare strong meate: that therfoze the time  
 of examination which God expzessly requireth in the holy Supper, must  
 be taried for. Afterward he obiecteth that Christ calleth all his to the ho-  
 ly Supper. But it is certaine enough that he admitteth none, but them  
 that be already prepared to celebrare the remembrance of his deathe.  
 Wherupon foloweth that infantes, whome he vouchsafed to embrace,  
 do stay in a severall and proper degree by themselves till they grow to  
 age, and yet are not strangers. Whereas he saieth, that it is monstrous  
 that a man after that he is bozne, should not eate: I answer that sou-  
 les are otherwise fed than by the outward eatyng of the Supper: and  
 that therfoze Christ is neuerthelessse meate to infantes, althoughe they  
 abstaine from the signe. But of Baptisme the case is otherwise, by which  
 onely the gate into the Chirch is opened to them. Agayne he obiecteth  
 that a good Stewarde distributeth meate to the household in due time.  
 Which although I willyngly graunt: yet by what right wil he appoint  
 vnto vs the certaine tyme of Baptisme, that he may proue that it is not  
 geuen to infantes out of tyme. Moreover he byngeth in that coman-  
 demēt of Christ to the Apostles, y they shold make hast into the haruest,  
 whyle the fieldes ware white. Verily Christe meaneth this onely, that  
 the Apostles seeyng the fruite of their labor present, shoulde the more  
 cherefully prepare themselves to teache. Who shall thereof gather that  
 the onely tyme of Haruest is the ripe time for Baptisme: His eleuenth  
 reason is, that in the first Chirch christians and disciples were all one:  
 but we see nowe that he fondely reasoneth from the parte to the whole.  
 Disciples are called men of full age, whiche had ben already thoroughly  
 taught, and had professed Christ: as it behoued that the Jewes vnder  
 the law should be the disciples of Moses: yet no man shall therof right-  
 ly gather, that infantes were strangers, whome the Lord hath testified  
 to be of his household. Besyde these he allegeth, that all Christians  
 are brethren, in which number infantes are not vnto vs, so long as we  
 debarrē them from the Supper. But I returne to that principle, that  
 none are heires of the kingdome of heauen, but they that are the mem-  
 bres of Christ: then, that the embracyng of Christ was a true token of  
 the adoption, wherby infantes are ioyned in common with full growen  
 men, and that the absteyning for a time from the Supper withstandeth  
 not but that they perteyne to the body of the Chirche. Neither did she  
 these that was conuerted on the Crosse, cesse to be brother of the godly;  
 although he neuer cam to the Supper. Afterward he addeth, that none  
 is made our brother but by the Spirite of adoption, which is geuen on-  
 ly by the hearing of Faith. I answer, that he still falleth backe into the  
 same deceitfull argument, because he ouerthwartly dratweth that to in-  
 fantes

Math.  
 xiii. rlv

John. iiii  
 rrv.

Actes. xi  
 rrv.



infantes which was spoken only of growen men. Paule teacheth there that this is Gods ordinarie maner of calling to byng his electe to the faith, when he stirreth vp to them faithfull teachers, by whoes ministerie and trauaile he reacheth his hande to them. Who dare therby appoint a lawe to him, but that he may by some other secrete way graffe infantes into Christ: Where he objecteth that Cornelius was baptised after that he had receiued the Holy ghost: howe wzongfully he doothe out of one example gather a generall rule, appereth by the Eunuche and the Samaritanes, in whom the Lorde kepeth a contrary order, that Baptisme went befoze the giftes of the Holy ghost. The fiftenthe reason is moze than foolishe. He saith that we are by regeneratiō made Gods; and that they be Gods to whome the worde of God is spoken, whiche accozdeth not to childzen that be infantes. Whereas he faineth a Godhead to the faithfull, that is one of his dotages, which it pertaineth not to this present place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalm to so cōtrarie a sense, is a point of desperate shamelesse. Christ sayth, that Kynges and Magistrates are called of the Prophet goddes, because they beare an office appointed them of God. But, that which concernyng the speciall commaundement of gouernance is directed to certaine men; this handsome expolitoz draweth to the doctrine of the Gospell, that he may banishe infantes out of the Chirch. Agayne he objecteth, that infantes can not be accompted newe men, because they are not begotten by the word. But I doo nowe agayne repete that which I haue often sayde, that to regenerate vs doctrine is the vncorruptible sede, if we bee fit to receiue it: but when by reason of ags there is not yet in vs aptnesse to learne, God kepeth his degrees of regeneratyng. Afterward he cometh backe to his allegozies, that in the lawe a shepe and a goate were not offred in sacrifice so sone as they came out of the wombe. If I lysted to drawe figures to this purpose, I coulde likewise redily obiecte agaynst hym, that all fyrst begotten thynges were consecrate to God so soone as they had opened the wombe: then, that a lambe must be killed at a yeares age. Wherupō foloweth that māly strēgth is not to be taried for, but rather that the new and yet tender illues are chosen of God for sacrifices. Furthermoze he affirmeth that none can come to Christ, but they that haue ben prepared of John. As though Johns office wer not enduryng but for a tyme. But, to omit this, trulye that same preparation was not in the childzen whom Christ embraced and blessed. Wherfoze let him goe with his false pzinciple. At length he calleth for patrones Trismegistus and the Sibylles, to proue that holy washyngs pertaine not but to them that are of growen age. Loe howe honozably he thynketh of the Baptisme of Christ, which he reduceth to the Ceremonies of the Gentiles, that it may be no otherwys ministred than pleaseth Trismegistus. But we moze esteeme the authoritie of God, whome it hath pleased to make infantes holye to himselfe, and to admitte them with the holy signe, the force wherof they did not yet by age vnderstād. Neither do we compt it lawfull to bozowe out of the cleansynges of the Gentiles any thyng that may change in our Baptisme the everlastyng and inuolable law of God, which he hath stablised concernyng circumcision. Last of al, he maketh this argument: that if it be lawfull to Baptise infantes without vnderstandyng, then Baptisme may enterludelike

and

Actes. x.  
xviii.Actes. xvi.  
xxvii.John 2  
xxv.Cro. xiii.  
ii.Cro. xii.  
v.



And in sport be ministred of boies whē they plaie. But of this matter let hym quarrell with God by whose commaundement circumcision was common to infantes befoze that they had attained vnderstandyng. Was it therfoze a playeng mater, or subiect to the follies of children, that they myght ouerthrowe the holy ordynance of God? But it is no meruaile that these reprobate Spirits, as though they wer vexed with a phrensie, do thrust in all the grossest absurdities for defence of their errors: because God dothe with suche giddynesse iustly take vengeance of their pride and stubboznesse. Verily I trust I haue made playne with howe feble succors Seruettus hath holpen his silly brethre the Anabaptists.

Now I think it wil be doubtful to no sobze mā, how rashly thei trouble y<sup>e</sup> Chirch of Christ, that moue brawles & contentions for the Baptisme of infantes. But it is profitable to consyder, what Sathan goeth about with this so great sutteltie: euen to take away fro vs the singular fruite of affiance & spirituall ioy which is to be gathered hereof, & to diminishe as much also of the glozie of y<sup>e</sup> goodnesse of God. For how swete is it to godly myndes, to be certified not onely by worde, but also by sight to be sene with eies, that they obtaine so much fauor with the heuēly Father, that he hath also care of their posteritie? For here it is to be sene, howe he taketh vpon him the person of a most prouident Father of household toward vs, which euen after our death dothe not lay away his carefulnesse of vs, but prouideth and fozeesth for our children. Dought we not here after the exāple of Dauid with al our hart to leape vp vnto thākesgeuyng, that by suche thewe of his goodnesse, his name maye bee sanctified? This, verily Sathan intendeth, in assayling with so great armies the Baptisme of infantes: namely, that this testifyng of the grace of God beyng taken away, the promise which by it is present befoze our eies, may at length by little and little banishe away. Wherupon should grow not only a wicked vnthankfulnesse toward the mercy of God, but also a certaine slouthfulnesse in instructyng our children to godlynesse. For by this spurr we ar not a little pricked forward to bring them vp in y<sup>e</sup> earnest feare of God and in the keeping of his law, when we cōsider that euen immediatly from their birth, he taketh and acknowlegeth them for his children. Wherefoze vnlesse we list enuiously to darken the bountifulnesse of God, let vs offer to him our children, to whome he geueth a place among them that be of his familie and householde, that is to say, the membzes of the Chirche.

## The .xvii. Chapter.

Of the holy Supper of Christ: and what it auayleth vs.



After y<sup>e</sup> God hath ones receiued vs into his familie, and not only to take vs as his seruantes, but as his children: that he may fulfill the office of a moste good Father, and carefull for his issue, he taketh also vpon him to nourishe vs thzoughout the whole course of our life. And not contented therewith, it pleased hym by a pledge geuen, to assure vs of thys continuall liberalitie. To this ende therefore he



he hath geuen his Chirche an other Sacrament by the hand of his only begotten Sonne, namely a spirituall banquet, wherein Christ testifieth hymselfe to be the quicknyng bread, wherwith our soules are fed to true and blessed immoztalitie. But forasmuche as the knowlege of so great a mysterie is very necessarie, and accor dyng to the greatnesse thereof, requirerh a diligent declaration: and Satan, that he myghte bereue the Chirch of this inestimable treasure, hath long agoe spred mystes, and sings that tyme darknesse, to obscure the light of it, and then hath stirred struiues and battels that myght estrange the myndes of the simple from tastyng of this holy fode, and hath also in our tyme attempted the same craft: therfore when I shall haue bzevely knit by the summe for the capacitie of the vnlearned, I wyll bndo those knottes, wherwith Satan hath endeuored to snare the worlde. First, bread and wyne are signes, whiche represent vnto vs the inuisible foode, whiche we receyue of the fleshe and blood of Christ. For as in Baptisme God againe begettyng vs doothe graffe vs into the felowshippe of his Chirche, and by adoption dothe make vs his owne: so we haue sayde that he perfozmeth the office of a prouident Father of householde, in this that he continually ministrerh vs meate, that he susteineth and pzeferueth vs in that lyfe wherinto he hath by his worde begotten vs. Now the only meate of our soule is Christ, and therfore the heauenly Father calleth vs to hym, that beyng refreshed with common partakyng of hym, we maye from tyme to tyme gather liuely force, vntill we atteine to heauenlye immoztalitie. But forasmuche as this mysterie of the secrete vnityng of Christe with the godly is by nature impossible to be comprehended, he geueth the figure and image thereof in visibile signes moste fit for our small capacitie: yea as it were by earnestes and tokens geuen, he maketh it so assured vnto vs as if it were seen with our cies, because this so familiat a similitude entreth euen into the grossest myndes, that soules are so fed with Christ, as bread and wine do susteine the bodily life. Now therfore we haue it declared, to what ende this mysticall blessing tendeth, namely to assure vs, that y body of the Lord was so ones offred for vs, y we nowe eate it, and in eatyng it doo fele in vs the effectual working of that only sacrifice: that his blood was so ones shed for vs, that it is vnto vs continuall drinke. And so sounde the words of the promise: there adtoynd. Take, this is my body, whiche is deliuered for you: The body therfore whiche was ones offred by for our saluation, we are commaunded to take and eate: that when we see our selues to be made partakers of this, we may certainly determine that the power of his death whiche bzyngeth life shalbe effectuall in vs. Wherupon also he calleth the cuppe, the couenant in his blood. For after a certayne maner it reneweth, or rather continueth the couenant whiche he hath ones stablished with his blood, so muche as pertaineth to the confirmyng of our faith; so ofte as he reacherh vnto vs that holy blood to be tasted of.

A great fruite verily of affiance and swetenesse may godly soules gather of this Sacrament, because they haue a witnessse, that we are growen together into one body with Christe, so that whatsoeuer is his we may call ours. Herupon foloweth that we may boldly promise vnto our selues, that euerlastyng life is ours, wherof he is heire: and that the kingdome of heauen, wherinto he is now entred, can no moze fal away from

John. vi.

Mathe.  
xvi. xvi  
Mar. xiii  
xvii.  
Luc. xii.  
xix.  
i. Cor. xi.  
xviii.



from vs than from him: agayne that we can not nowe be condemned by our sinnes, from the gyltinesse wherof he hath acquitted vs, when he willed them to be imputed to himselfe as if they were his owne. This is the maruailous exchange, whiche of his immeasurable bountifullnesse he hath made with vs: that he beeing made with vs the sonne of man, hath made vs with hym the sonnes of God: that by his coming downe into earth, he hath made vs a waie to goe by into heauen: that putting vpon him our mortallitie, he hath geuen vs his immortallitie: that taking on hym our weakenesse, he hath strengthened vs with his power: that taking our pouertie to himselfe he hath conueyed his riches to vs: that taking to hym the weyght of our vnrightheousnesse, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed vs with his righteousnesse.

3 Of all these thynges we haue so full a witnessyng in this sacrament, that we must certainly determine, that Christ is truly geuen vs, as if Christ hymselfe were sett present before our eyes, and handled with our handes. For this woorde can neither lye to vs, nor mocke vs: Take, eate, drinke: this is my bodye whiche is deliuered for you: this is the blood, whiche is shed into the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereas he commaundeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas he commaundeth to eate, he signifieth that it is made one substance with vs. Whereas he sayth of the body, that it is deliuered for vs: of the blood, that it is shed for vs: therein he teacheth that bothe are not so muche his as ours: because he toke and laide away both, not for his commoditye, but to our saluation. And truly it is to be diligently marked, that the chese and in a maner whole pith of the Sacrament standeth in these words, Which is deliuered for you, Which is shed for you. For, otherwise it should not much profit vs, that the body and blood of the Lord are now distributed, vnllesse they had ben ones geuen forth for our redemption & saluation. Therfore they are represented vnder bread & wine, that we should learne that they are not only ours, but also ordeined for the nourishment of spirituall life. This is it that we before saied, that from the corporall thynges whych are shewed forth in the Sacrament, we are by a certayne proportionall relation guyded to spirituall thynges. So when bread is geuen vs for a signe of the body of Christ, we ought by it to conceiue this similitude: As bread nourisheth, susteineth, and mainteineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the onely meate to quicken & geue lyfe to oure soule. When we see wyne set forth for a signe of his blood: we must call to mynde what bles wyne byngeth to the bodye, that we may consider that the same are brought to vs spiritually by the blood of Christe: those bles bee, to cherishe, to restrewe, to strengihen, to make mercy. For if we sufficiently weye, what the deliueying of this holy body, what the shedding of this holy blood, hath profited vs: we shall plainly perceiue that these thynges whiche are spoken of bread and wine, according to such proportionall relation doe very well accorde with them toward vs when they are communicated vnto vs.

4 Therfore the chese partes of this Sacrament are not, simply & without hier consideration to reach to vs the body of Christ: but rather by some promise, wherby he testifieth, that his fleche is verily meate, and his blood is drinke, with whith we are fed into eternall life: wherby he affirmeth hymselfe to be the bread of lyfe, of whiche who so eateth, he shall liue



liue for euer : to seale (I saye) and confirme that promise : and for bringyng the same to passe, to sende vs to the crosse of Christ, where that promise hath ben truly performed, and in all pointes fulfilled. For we doo not well and healthfully eate Christ but crucified, when we doo with lively feelyng conceiue the effectualnesse of his death. For wheras he called himselfe the breade of life, he did not borrow that name of the sacrament, as some do wrongfully expounde it: but because he was geue vs suche of the Father, and performed himselfe suche, when being made partaker of our humane mortallitie, he made vs parteners of his diuine immortallitie : when offering himselfe for sacrifice, he toke our accursednesse vpon himself, y he might fil vs with blessing: when with his death he deuoured & swallowed by death: when in his resurrection he raised by this our corruptible flesh which he had put on, to glory & vncorruption.

It remaineth that by appliance all the same maye come to vs. That is done, bothe by the Gospell, and moze cleerely by the holy Supper, where bothe he offereth himselfe to vs with all his good thynges, & we receiue him by faith. Wherfore the sacramēt maketh not that Christ first beginneth to be the breade of life: but when it bringeth into remembrance, that he was made the breade of life, whiche we continually eate, and when it geueth vnto vs the taste and sauor of that breade then it maketh vs to fele the strength of that breade. For it promieth vs, that whatsoeuer Christ did or suffred, the same was done to geue life to vs.

Then, that this geuing of life is euerlasting, by which we may without ende be nourished susteined and preserued in life. For as Christ should not haue bene to vs the breade of life, vnlesse he had bene bozne and had dyed for vs, vnlesse he had risen agayne for vs: so now he should not bee the same vnlesse the effectualnesse and fruite of his birth, death and resurrection, were an euerlasting and immortall thing. All which Christe hath very well expressed in these wordes: The breade which I wil geue, is my flesh, which I wil geue for the life of the world. By which wordes without dout he signifieth, that his body should therfore bee to vs for breade, to the spirituall life of the soule, because it should be geuen forth to death for our saluation: and that it is deliuered to vs to eate of it, when by faith he maketh vs partakers of it. Ones therfore he gaue it, y he might be made breade, when he gaue forth himselfe to be crucified for the redemption of the world: daily he geueth it, when by the word of the Gospell he offereth it vnto vs to be receiued, so far as it was crucified: where he sealeth that deliuerance with the holy mysterie of the Supper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly betokeneth. Now herein we must beware of twoo faultes, that neither doing to muche in abasing the signes, we seme to pluck them fro their mysteries to which they are in a maner knitte fast: nor that being immeasurable in aduancing the same, we seme in the meane tyme somewhat to darken the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the breade of life, wherewith the faithful are nourished into eternal saluation, ther is no man but he graunteth, vnlesse he be altogether without religio. But this point is not likewise agreed vpon among al men, what is the maner of partaking of him. For there be that in one worde define, that to eate the fleche of Christe, and to drinke his blood, is nothing els but to beleue in Christ himselfe. But I thinke that Christ meant some certainer and hyper thyng, in that notable

John. vi.  
11.



## Of the outward meanes

table sermon where he comendeth to vs the eatyng of his fleſhe: names ly, that we are quickned by the true partaking of hym: whiche alſo he therfoze expreſſed by the woordes of eatyng and drynkyng, leaſt any man ſhould thynke, that the life whiche we receiue of hym is conceyued by bare knowlege only. For as not the ſyghte, but the eatyng of bread ſuffileth the body for nourishment: ſo it behoueth that the ſoule be truly and thzoughly made partaker of Chriſt, that by the power of hym it may be quickened into a ſpirituall lyfe. But in the meane tyme we confeſſe that there is no other eatyng, but of faith: as there can no other be imagined. But this is the difference betwene my woordes and theirs, that with them to eate is only to beleue: but I ſay that the fleſh of Chriſt is eaten with beleuing, becauſe by faith he is made ours, and I ſay that eatyng is the fruite and effect of faith. Or, if you wil haue it plainner, with them eatyng is faith: and I thynke it rather to followe of faith. In woordes verily the difference is but ſmalle: but in the thyng it ſelfe, not ſmall. For though the Apoſtle teacheth that Chriſte dwelleth in oure hartes by faith: yet no manne will expounde this dwelling to be faith: but all men doo perceyue that there is expreſſed a ſingular effect of faith, for that by it the faithful do obteyne to haue Chriſt dwelling in them. After this maner, the Lorde meant, in calling hymſelfe the bread of lyfe, not only to teache that in the faith of his death and reſurrection, ſaluation is reposed for vs: but alſo that by true partaking of himſelfe it is brought to paſſe, that his life paſſeth into vs, and becometh oures: like as bread, when it is taken for foode, miniſtreth lyuelinneſſe to the body.

Neither dyd Auguſtine, whom they bzynge in for their patron, in any other meanyng write that we eate by beleuyng, than to ſaye that this eatyng is of faith, not of the mouthe. Which I alſo denye not: but yet therewithall I adde, that we do by faith embrace Chriſte, not apperyng aſarre of, but making hymſelfe one with vs, that he may be oure head, and we his membres. Yet do not I vtterly diſalow that maner of ſpeaking: but only I deny it to be a full declaration, if they meane to deſigne what it is to eate the fleſhe of Chriſt. Otherwyſe I ſee that Auguſtine hath ofte bleſed this forme of ſpeche: as when he ſaith in the thirde booke Of Chriſtian doctrine, Unleſſe ye eate the fleſhe of the ſonne of man: this is a figure teachyng that we muſt communicate with the paſſion of the Lorde, and muſt ſweetely and profitably laye by in remembrance that for vs his fleſhe was crucified and wounded. Agayne when he ſayeth, that the thzee thouſande menne whyche were conuerted at Peters ſermon, dyd drynke the bloode of Chriſte by beleuyng, whyche they had ſhedde by cruell dealyng. But in manye other places he honozably ſetteth out that benefyte of faith, that by it oure ſoules are no leſſe reſreſhed with the communicatyng of the fleſhe of Chriſte, than oure bodies are with the breade whiche they eate. And the ſame is it whyche in a certayne place Chyſoſtome wyrteth, that Chriſte doeth not onely by faith, but alſo in dede make vs his body. For he meaneth not that we doo ſrom any other where than from faith, obteyne ſuche a benefite: but this onely he meaneth to exclude, that none when he heareth faith to be named, ſhoulde conceyue a naked unagination. As for them that will haue the Supper to be onely

a marke

Exp. iii.  
rbil.

John. vi.  
ll.

Homi. in  
Ioh. xxi.  
& xl.  
Act. ii. xli.

Homi. li.



a marke of outwarde profession, I do now passe them ouer: because I thinke that I haue sufficiently confuted their error, whē I entreated of Sacramentes generally. Only thys thing let the reders marke, y when the cup is called the couenant in the blood, there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirme Faith. Wherupō foloweth, that vniuerselle we haue respect to God, and embrace that which he offreth, we doe not rightly vse the holy Supper.

Moreouer they also do not satisfie me, which acknowleging that we haue some communion with Christ, when they meane to expresse it, doe make vs partakers only of the Spirite, without making any mention of flesh and blood. As though al those thinges were spoken of nothing, that hys flesh is verily meate, that his blood is verily drinke: that none hath life, but he that eateth that flesh, and drinketh that blood: and such other sayenges that belong to the same ende. Wherfore if it be certaine that the full communicating of Christ procedeth beyonde their description, as it is to narrowly strained: I wil now go about to knit bp in few wordes, how large it is and how farr it extendeth it selfe, befoze that I speake of the contrarie fault of excelle. For I shal haue a longer disputation with the excessive teachers, which, when accordyng to their owne grossnesse they frame a maner of eating & drinking ful of absurditie, do also transfigure Christ stripped out of hys fleshe into a fantasie: if yet a man may with any wordes comprehend so great a mysterie, whiche I se y I can not sufficiently comprehend with minde: and therfore I doe willingly confesse it, y no man should measure the hynesse therof by the smal propoztion of my childhnesse. But rather I exhorte the reders, y they do not restrayne the sense of their minde within these to narrowe boundes: but endeuor to rise bp much hyer, thā they can by my guiding. For I my selfe, so oft as I speake of this thing, whē I haue trauailed to say all, thinke that I haue yet sayd but litle in respecte of the worthinesse therof. And although the minde can do more in thinking, than the tong in expressing: yet with greatnesse of the thing, the minde also is surmounted and ouerwhelmed. Finally therfore nothing remaineth, but that I must breake fourth into admiration of that mysterie, whiche neither the mind can suffise to thinke of, nor the tong to declare. Yet after suche manner as I can, I wil set fourth the summe of my sentence: which as I nothing dout to be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of godly hartes.

First of all, we are taughte out of the Scripture, that Christe was from the beginning y lifebringyng worde of the Father, the fountaine and original of life, from whense all thinges euer receiued their hauing of life. Wherfore Iohn sometime calleth him the worde of life, and sometime writeth that life was in him: meaning that he euen then flowyng into al creatures, poured into them the pover of breathing and liuing. Yet the same Iohn addeth afterwarde, that the life was then and not tyll then openly shewed, when the Sonne of God, taking vpo him our fleshe, gaue himselfe to be seen with eyes and felte with handes. For though he did befoze also spred abroad his power into the creatures: yet because man, beyng by synne estranged from God, hauing lost the communion of lyfe, saw on euery side death hanging ouer hym: that he myght recouer hope of immortalitie, it behoued that he should be recei-



ued into the communion of that worde. For how small a confidence mayest thou conceiue therof, if thou heare y<sup>e</sup> the worde of God in dede, from which thou art most farr remoued, cōteyneth in it selfe the fulnesse of lyfe, but in thy selfe and rounde about thee nothyng offreth it selfe and is present befoze thine eyes but death: But sing that fountayne of lyfe beganne to dwell in our fleſhe, nowe it lyeth not a farr of hydden from vs, but presently deliuereth it selfe to be partaken of vs. Yea and it maketh the very fleſhe, wherein it resteth, to be of power to bryng lyfe to vs, that by partaking therof we maye be fed to immortallitie. I am (sayth he) the bred of lyfe, that am come downe from heauen. And the bred whiche I will geue, is my fleſhe, whiche I will geue for the lyfe of the worlde. In whiche woordes he teacheth, not onely that he is lyfe, in respecte that he is the eternall woorde of God whiche came downe to vs from heauen, but that in comming downe he poured the same power into the fleſhe whiche he did put on, that from thense the communicatyng of lyfe mighte flowe fourth vnto vs. Hereupon also these thinges nowe followe, that his fleſhe is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke, with whiche sustenances the faythfull are fostered into eternall life. Herein therfoze consisteth singular comfort to the godly, that nowe they finde life in their owne fleſhe. For so they doe not onely with easy passage atteine vnto it, but haue it of it selfe layd abzode for them and offring it selfe vnto them. Only let them holde open the bolome of their hart, that they may embrace it beeyng present, and they shall obteyne it.

But although the fleſhe of Chriſte haue not so greate power of it selfe, that it can geue life to vs, whiche bothe in the owne firste estate of it was subiecte to mortallitie, and nowe being endued with immortallitie, liueth not by it selfe: yet it is rightfully called lifebrynging, whiche is filled with fulnesse of lyfe, to poure it unto vs. In which meaning I doe with Cyril expounde that sayeng of Chriſt: As the Father hath lyfe in himselfe, so he hath also geuen to the Sonne to haue life in himselfe. For there he properly speaketh of his giftes, not whiche he from the beginning possessed with the Father, but with whiche he was garnished in the same fleſhe in whiche he appeared. Therfoze he sheweth that in hys manhode also dwelleth the fullnesse of lyfe, that whosoever partaketh of his fleſh and blood, may therwithall also enioy the partaking of life. Of what sort that is, we may declare by a familiar example. For as out of a fountaine water is sometime drōk, sometime is drawen, sometime by forrowes is conueied to the watering of groundes, which yet of it selfe doth not ouerflow into so many vles, but from the very spring it selfe which with euerlasting flowing yeldeth and ministreth vnto it from tyme to tyme newe abundance: so the fleſhe of Chriſt is like a riche and vntwasted fountaine whiche poureth into vs the life springing from the Godhead into it selfe. Nowe whoe seeth not, that the communion of the fleſhe and blood of Chriſte is necessarie to al that aspire to heauenly lyfe: Hereunto tendeth that sayeng of the Apostle, that the Chirch is the body of Chriſte and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the hed oute of whiche the whole body coupled and knit together by ioyntes, maketh increase of the body: that

John. vi.  
el. viii. 5.  
v. ii.

John. v.  
v. i.



that our bodies are the members of Christ. At which thinges we vnderstande to be impossible to be brought to passe, but that he must wholly cleave to vs in Spirite and body. But that most nere felowship wherby we are coupled with his fleſhe, he hath yet set out with a moze glorious title, when he sayd that we are members of his body, and are of his bones and of hys fleſhe. At the last, to declare it to be a mater greater than all wordes, he concludeth hys sayeng with an exclamation, This is (sayth he) a greate secret. Therefore it should be a pointe of extreme madnesse, to acknowledge no comunion of the saythfull with the fleſhe and blood of the Lord, which the Apostle declareth to be so greate, that he had rather wonder at it than expresse it.

Let þ summe be, þ oure soules are so fed with the fleſhe and blood of Christ, as bred & wyne do mainteine & susteine þ bodily lyfe. For otherwise the propoztional relation of the signe should not agree, vnlesse soules byd fynde their lode in Christ. Which can not be done, vnlesse Christ do truely grow into one w vs, and refreſh vs w the eating of his fleſhe and drinke of hys blood. But although it seme incredible, that in so great distance of places the fleſh of Christ reacheth to vs that it may be meate to vs: let vs remember how much the secret power of the Spirit surmounteth aboue al our senses, and how foolyſh it is to goe aboute to measure hys vnmeasurablenesse by our measure. That therfore whiche our mynde comprehendeth not, let our sayth conceiue, that the Spirite truely knitteth in one those thinges þ are seuered in places. Howe that same holy communicating of his body and blood, wherby Christ poureth hys life into vs, euen as if he pearced it into our bones & marowes, he in the Supper also testifieth & sealeth: and þ not with setting before vs a bayne oz boyde signe, but bringing fourth there þ effectually working of his spirite, wherby he fulfilleth þ which he promyseth. And verily he there offreth and deliuereth the thing signified to al them that sit at that spiritual banquet: although it be receiued with frute of þ saythfull onely, which receiue so great bountifullnesse with true sayth & thankfulness of mynde. After which maner the Apostle sayd, that the bred which we breake is the comunion of the body of Christ: and that þ cup which we hallow with þ word & prayers to that purpose, is the comunion of hys blood. Neither is there any cause why any man should obiect, that it is a figuratiue speche, by which the name of the thing signified is geuen to the signe. I graunt verily that þ breaking of þ bred is a signe, not þ thig it selfe. But this being admitted, yet we shall rightly gather of the deliuerance of the signe, that the thing it selfe is deliuered. For vnlesse a mā wil cal God a deceiuer, he can neuer be so bolde to say that he setteth before vs an empty signe. Therefore if by the breaking of bred the Lorde doth truely represente the partakng of hys body, it ought to be out of dout that he truely perfozmeth and deliuereth it. And this rule is alway to be holden of the godly, that so oft as they se the signes ordeined of the Lorde, they certainly thinke & persuaide themselves that the truth of the thng signified is there present. For to what purpose should the Lorde deliuer to thee into thy hande the signe of hys body, but to assure thee of the true partaking of it? If it be true, that a visibill signe is geuen vs, to seale the gift of an inuisibill thing: when we receiue the signe of the body, let vs no lesse certainly beleue that the body it selfe also is geue vs.

Eph. v.  
vii.

10

ii. Cor. x.  
viii.



11

I saye therefore (which both hath ben alway receiued in the Church, and al they teache at thys day that thynke right) that the holy mysterie of the Supper consisteth of twoo thinges: that is to saye, of the bodily signes, which beyng set befoze our eyes doe represent vnto vs inuisible thinges according to the capacitie of our weakenesse: and of spirituall trueth, which is by those signes bothe figured and deliuered. Of what sort that is, when I meane to heve it familiarly, I vse to set thze thinges: the signification, the mater which hangeth of the signification, the vertue oz effect which foloweth of both. The signification consisteth in the promises, which are after a certayne manner wrapped together with the signe. The mater oz substance I cal Christ with hys death and resurrection. By effect I vnderstande the redemption, righteousnesse, sanctification, and eternall lyfe, and whatsoeuer other benefites Christ bringeth vs. Now although all these thinges haue respect to fayth: yet I leaue no place to thys cauillation: as though when I say that Christ is receiued by fayth, I would haue hym coceined with vnderstanding only and imaginatio. For the promises offer hym, not þ we should sticke fast in the sight alone and in bare knowlege: but that we should enioye the true communicating of hym. And truely I se not how any mā maye haue cofidence that he hath redēption and righteousnesse in the crosse of Christ, & lyfe in hys death, but principally standing vpon the true communion of Christ himselfe. For those good thinges shoulde not come to vs, vnlesse Christ first made himselfe oures. I say therefore, that in the mysterie of the Supper, by the signes of bread and woine Christ is truly deliuered to vs, yea and hys body and blood, in which he hath fulfilled al obediēce for purchasing of ryghteousnesse to vs: namely that first we should growe together into one body with hym: & then beyng made partakers of hys substance, we may also fele hys power in the communicating of al hys good thinges.

12

Now I come down to the excessive mixtures, which supersticio hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with maruelous sutteltie, that withdrawing the myndes of men from heauen, he might fyl them with peruerse erroz, as though Christ were fastened to the elemente of bread. And first we must not dreame such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the craftsmē of the court of Rome haue fayned: as though the body of Christ were made present with presence of place, to be handled with handes, to be brooled with teethe, and swallowed w mouth. For this forme of recantation Pope Nicolas endited to Berengarius, to be a witnessle of hys repentance: namely with woordes so farr monstrous, that the authoz of the glose cryeth out that there is danger, if the reders do not wisely take hede to themselves, least they should sucke out of them an heresie worse than was that of Berengarius. In the seconde distinctio, in the Chapter beginning thus, Ego Berengarius. But Peter Lombarde, although he trauaile much in excusing the absurdity, yet moze inclineth to the contrary sentēce. For as we nothing dout þ it hath limites accoꝝdyng to the perpetual nature of the body of men, and is holden in heauen, into which it was ones receiued, vntill he returne to iugement: so to draw it backe vnder these corruptible elementes oz to imagyne it present euery where, we accompt it to be vtterly vnlawfull. Neyther verily is it so nedefull to this that we may enioy þ partaking

of



of it: forasmuch as the Lord geneth vs thys benefit by his Spirite, that we be made one with him in body, Spirite, and soule. The bonde therefore of thys conioynng is the Spirite of Christ, by the knitting wherof we be coupled together, and as it were a certaine conduit, by whiche whatsoeuer Christ himselfe bothe is and hath, is conueyed to vs. For if we beholde the sunne shynning fourth with hys beames vpon the earth after a certaine maner to cast fourth his substance vnto it to engender, nourishe, and quicken the frutes thereof: why should the extending of beames of the Spirite of Christ be inferioz to conuey the communion of his flesh and blood into vs: Wherefore the Scripture, when it speaketh of our partaking with Christ, referreth the whole force therof to þe Spirite. Yet in stede of many, one place shalbe sufficient. For Paule in the viii. chapter to the Romaines, sayth that Christ dwelleth in vs none otherwise than by hys Spirite: wherby yet he taketh not away that communion of his flesh and blood of which we now speake, but teacheth that the Spirite alone wozketh that we possesse whole Christ and haue him dwelling in vs.

Chrysol.  
serm. de  
Spiritu,  
sancto.

The Scholemen thought moze shamfastly, which were withholdē w<sup>th</sup> horzor of so barbarous vngodlinesse. Yet thei also theselues do nothing but mocke with sutteler deceites. They graunt that Christ is not cōteined there by way of circumscription noz after a bodily maner: but afterward they inuent away, which neither them selues do vnderstande, noz they can declare to other: yet it is such as falleth to this point that Christ must be sought in the forme of bred as they call it. For what is it: When they say that the substance of bred is turned into Christe, doe they not fasten hym to the whytenesse which they there leaue? But (saye they) he is so contained in the Sacrament, that he abideth in heauen: and we determine no other pzeſence but of habitude. But whatsoeuer woordes they bryng in to cloke it with a deceitfull coloz, thys is the ende of all, that that is by consecration made Christ, which befoze was bred: þe from thense fourth Christ lieth hid vnder that coloz of bred. Which also they are not ashamed in playne wordes to expresse. For these be the wordes of Lombarde: that the body of Christ, which in it selfe is visible, whē the consecration is ended, lyeth hydden and is couered vnder the forme of bred. So the forme of that bred is nothyng ells but a visoz, that taketh away the sight of the fleſhe from the eyes. Neither nede we many coniectures, to fynde what snares they mynded to lay with these wordes, sithe the thing it selfe plainly speaketh it. For it is to be seen w<sup>th</sup> howe great superstition in certaine ages past, not onely the common sorte of men, but also the very chiefe of them haue ben holden, & at thys dape be holdē in popish Chirches. For hauing litle care of true fayth (by which alone we both come into the felowship of Christ, and do cleaue together with hym) so that they haue a carnall pzeſence of hym, which they haue framed besyde the worde, they thynke that they haue hym pzeſente enough. Therefore in a summe, we see that thys hath ben gotten by thys wittty sutteltie, that bred was taken for God.

13

Lib. iiii.  
dist.

From hense proceded þe same sayned transubstantiatio, for which at thys day they fyght moze earnestly thā for al the other articles of their faith. For þe first bilders of that local pzeſence could not vnwyrnde themselues from thys doute how the body of Christ should be mingled with the

14



## Of the outward meanes

substance of bread, but that by and by many absurdities did thrust themselves in place. Therefore they were driven of necessity to flee to this invention, that there is made a turning of bread into the body: not that the body is properly made of bread, but because Christ, that he might hide himselfe vnder the forme, bringeth the substance to nothing. But it is marvellous, that they fel to so great ignorance, yea senselesse dullnesse, that not only the Scripture but also the consent of the old Church fighting against it, they brought abroad that monster. I graunt in dede y some of the olde writers somtyme bled the name of turning: not for that they would destroy the substance in the outward signes, but that they might teache that the bread dedicate to the mysterie differeth farre from common bread and is now other. But ech where they al plainly declare, that the holy Supper consisteth of twoo pattes, an earthly parte, and a heavenly: and the earthly part they do without controuersie expounde to be bread and wyne. Truly whatsoeuer they babble, it is plain that in confirming of this doctrine they want the defense of antiquitie, whiche they oftentimes presume to set against the euident worde of God. For it is not so long agoe sins it was inneted: it was verily vnknown not only to those better ages, in which the purer doctrine of religio yet flourished, but also euen whē that same purenesse was much defiled. There is none of the olde writers that doth not in expresse wordes confesse that the holy signes in y Supper are bread and wyne: although, as we haue sayd, they somtyme set it out with diuerse titles, to aduaunce the dignitie of the mysterie. For wheras they say that in the consecration is made a secrete turning, that now it is an other thing than bread and wyne: I haue euen now given warning that they do not thereby meane that the thinges themselves are brought to nought, but that they are now to be otherwise esteemed than common meates, which are appointed onely to fede the belly: forasmuch as in them is deliuered to vs y spiritual meate and drinke of the soule. This we also deny not. If (say these men) there be a turning, it must nedes be that there is of one thing made an other thing. If they meane that there is some thing made, which befoze was not, I agree with them. If they wil draw it to that their own imagination, let them answere me what change they thinke to be made in Baptisme. For herein the fathers also do determine a marvellous turning, when they say that of a corruptible elemēt is made a spiritual washing of the soule, yet none of them denyeth that water remaineth. But saye they) there is no such thing in Baptisme, as is that in y Supper. This is my body. As though the question were of those wordes, which haue a meaning plaine enough: and not rather, of that word of turning, which ought to signifie no moze in the Supper than in Baptisme. Therefore farewell they with these snares of syllables, wherby they do nothing els but bewray their own hungriuesse. For otherwise y significatio would not agree together, vnlesse the trueth which is there figured, had a liuely image in the outward signe. Christes wil was by the outward signe to testifie that his fleshe is meate. If he did set befoze vs only an empty imaginatiue forme of bread not true bread, where were y correlation or similitude which should leade vs frō the visible thing to the invisible? For, that al thinges may agree together, the signification shall extende no further, but that we be fed with the forme of the fleshe of Christ. As,

if in



if in Baptisme the forme of water should deceiue our eyes, it should not be to vs a certayne pledge of our washing: yea by that deceitfull shewe there should be geuen vs an occasion of wauering. Therfoze the nature of the Sacrament is ouerthrowen, vnlesse in the maner of significng, the earthly signe answer to the heavenly thing. And therfoze we lose the truth of thys mysterie, vnlesse true bred represent to vs the true body of Christ. I repete it againe: Sith the Supper is nothing ells, than a visibill testifieng of that promise which is in the vi. chapter of John, namely that Christ is the bred of lyfe, which came downe from heauen: there must be visibill bred vled for a meane, wherby that same spirituall bred may be figured: vnlesse we will that we lose all the frute, whiche in this behalfe God tenderly graunteth to susteine our weakenesse. Now by what reason should Paule gather, that all we are one body and one bred, whiche doe together partake of one bred, if there remayned onely an imaginatiue forme and not rather a naturall truth of bred:

But they could neuer haue ben so fowly begyled with the decettes of Satan, but because they wer alredy bewitched with this erroz, that the body of Christ enclosed vnder bred was by the bodily mouth sent down into the belly. The cause of so brutische imagination was, that consecration signified as much among them as a magical enchauntment. But thys pzinciple was vnknowen to them, that bread is a Sacramente to none but to men, to whom the worde is directed: lyke as the water of Baptisme is not changed in it selfe, but so some as the promise is adioyned, it beginneth to be that to vs which it befoze was not. Thys shall better appeare by example of a lyke Sacrament. The water springing out of the rocke in the desert was to the fathers a token and signe of the same thing, which the wyne doth figure to vs in the Supper. For Paul teacheth that they dzonke the same spirituall dzinke. But it was a common watering for the beastes and cattell of the people. Wherupon it is easily gathered, that in earthly elementes, when they are applyed to a spirituall vse, there is made no other turning but in respect of men, in so much as they are to them seales of the promises. Moreover sith Gods purpose is (as I often repete) as it were by handsome chariots to lift vs vp to himselfe, they doe by their waywardenesse wickedly disapoint the same, which do in dede cal vs to Christ, but lurkig inuisibly vnder bred. For it is not possible that the mynde of men, vncombrzng it selfe from the immesurableness of places, should atteine to Christ euen aboue the heauens. That which nature denyed them, they attempted to amende with a moze hurtfull remedie: that abiding in earth, we should nede no heavenly nerekenesse of Christ. Loe, this is, the necessitie, that compelled them to transfigure the body of Christ. In Bernardes time, althoughe a harder maner of speaking was growen in vse, yet transubstantiation was not then knowen. And in all ages befoze that, this similitude dyd flye aboute in euery mans mouth, that there is with bred and wyne a spiritual thing ioyned in thys mysterie. Of the wordes they answer, as they thinke, wittily: but bzinging nothing fit for thys presēt cause. The rod of Moses (say they) being turned into a Serpent, although it dyd get the name of a Serpent, yet kepeth stil the olde name, and is called a rod. So in their opinion it is as probable, that although the bred passe into a new substance, it may be abusiuely and yet not vnaptly called p.

D.iiii.

which

1. Coz. x.  
viii.

15

Cro. xviii.  
vi.  
1. Coz. x.  
iii.Cro. iii.  
iii. & vii.



Which it appeareth to the eyes. But what likelihoode or mereness fynde they betwene a cleare miracle, and their faizred illusion, of whiche no eye in earth is witnesser. The Magicians had mocked with deceites, so that the Egyptians were perswaded, that they excelled in diuine power to change creatures about the order of nature. Moses came fourth, & dzyuing away all their deceites, shewed that the inuincible power of God was on his side, because his owne rod consumed al the rest. But forasmuch as that was a turning discernable with eyes, therfore as we haue sayd, it perteyneth nothing to thys presēt cause: and in a litle time after, the rod visibly returned into his owne forme. Beside that it is not knowen, whether that sudden turning was of substance or no. Also the alluding to the rods of the Magicians is to be considered, which y<sup>e</sup> Prophet therfore would not call Serpentes, lest he should seme to signifie a turning where none was: because those deceiuers had done nothing but cast a myt befoze the eyes of the beholders. What likenesse herewith haue these formes of speche, The bzed which we bzeake, So ofte as ye shal eate this bzed, They communicated in bzeaking of bzed, and suche other. It is certaine y<sup>e</sup> their eyes were only deceiued w<sup>th</sup> the enchantmēt of the Magicians. As concerning Moses, the mater is more douteful, by whose hande it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a Serpent, and againe of a Serpent to make a rod, thā to cloth Angels with fleshy bodies, & by and by after to vnclothe them. If the nature of thys mysterie were the same or like, there were some coloz for their solution. Let this therfore remaine certaine, that it is not truly nor fittly promysed vs that in the Supper the flesh of Christ is truly to vs for meate, vnlesse the true substance of the outwarde Signe agree with it. And (as one erroz groweth of an other) the place of Jeremie is so foolishlye wrested to proue transubstantiation, that it irketh me to reherse it. The Prophet complaineth that wood is put in his bzed: meaning that by the crueltie of his enemies, his bzed was infected with bitternesse. As Dauid with a like figure bewayleth that his meate was corrupted w<sup>th</sup> gall; and hys dzyinke with vineger. These men will haue it that the body of Christ was by way of allegozie fastened to the crosse. But some of the olde fathers thought so. As though we ought not rather to pardō their ignozance, and to bury their shame, than to adde shamelesnesse to compell them yet still to fight like enemies with the natural meaning of the Prophet.

Other, which see that the propoztionall relation of the signe and the thing signified, can not be ouerthzowen, but that the truth of the mysterie must fal, do confesse that the bzed of the Supper is verily a substāce of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffreth no change in it selfe; but hath vnder it selfe the body of Christ enclosed. If they did so declare their meaning, that when the bzed is deliuered in the mysterie, there is adioyned the deliuering of the body, because the trueth is vnseuerable from the signe: I would not much strue with them. But because they placing the body in the bzed, do faine to it a beyng euery where contrarie to the nature thereof, and in adding vnder the bzed, they wyll haue it lye there hiddē: it is necessarie a litle while to draw such suttelcies out of their dēnes. For my mynde is not yet as of set purpose to go through with all this point: but only that I may lay the foundations of the dis-

putation

Coz. r.  
bi. & r.  
rbi.  
lectes. ii.  
ii.

ere. ri.  
r.  
sa. lxx.  
ii.



putation which shall by and by folowe in place fit for it. They wil tize-  
foze haue the body of Chziste to be inuisible and immeasurable, that it  
may lie hid vnder the bread: because they thinke that they do not other-  
wise communicate with hym than if he descende into bread: but they  
comprehend not the maner of descending, wherby he listeth vs bpward  
to himself. They lay vpon it all the colors that they can: but when they  
haue said all, it sufficiently appereth, that they stave vpon the locall pre-  
sence of Chzist. Whense commeth that: even because they can abide to  
conceiue no other partakyng of the fleshe and blood, but whiche consy-  
steth either of ioynyng and touchyng of place, or of some grosse en-  
closyng.

And, that they may obstinately defende the erroz ones rashly concei- 17  
ued, some of them sticke not to say, that the flesch of Chzist had neuer any  
other measurynge, but so farr and wide as heauen and earth is brode:  
Whereas he was bozne a childe out of the wombe, whereas he grewē,  
wheras he was spred abzode on the crosse, whereas he was enclosed in  
the sepulchze, the same was doone by a certaine dispensation, that he  
myght be bozne and dye, and perfozme the other dueties of man. Where Act. i. iiii  
as after his resurrection he was seen in his wonted fozme of body, t. ii. vii.  
wheras he was taken vp to heauen, wheras last of all also after his as- Act. i. iiii.  
cension he was seen of Stephen and Paule: it was doone by the same  
dispensation, that it might appere to the sight of men that he was made  
a kyng in heauen. What is this ells, but to raise vp Marcion out of hell:  
For no man can dout that the body of Chzist was a fantasy or a fanta-  
sticall thynge, if he was of suche state. Some slip away somewhat moze  
suttelly, with sayeng that this body whiche is geuen in the Sacrament  
is glozious and immortall: and that therfoze it is no absurditie, if it bee  
conteyned in many places, if in no place, if with no fozme, vnder the sa-  
crament. But I aske what maner of body Chziste gaue to the disciples  
the day befoze that he suffred: dod not the wordes sounde that he gaue  
the same mortall body, whiche was within a little after to be deliuered:  
He had already befoze (say they) shewed his glozie to be sene to thze of Mat. xvi  
the disciples. That is true in dede, but his will was by that brightnesse ii.  
to geue them a taste of immortallitie for an houre. In the meane tyme  
they shall not there fynd a double body, but that one body which Chzist  
did beare, garnished with newe glozie. But when he distributed his  
body at his first Supper, the tyme was nowe at hande; when he beyng  
stricken of God, and humbled shold lie without glozie as a leprous man: Chs. iiii  
so farre is it of that he then wold shew forth the glozie of his resurrec- iiii.  
tion. And howe great a wyndowe is here opened to Marcion, if the bo-  
dy of Chzist was seene in one place mortall and base; and in an other  
place was holden immortall and glozious: Howebeit if their opinion  
take place, the same happeneth daily: because they ar compelled to con-  
fesse that the body of Chzist beyng visibill in it selfe, lyeth hyd inuisibly  
vnder the signe of bread. And yet they that boinite out such monstros-  
ousnesse, are so not ashamed of their own shame, that they do vnprouo-  
ked hainously raile at vs, because we do not subscribe to them.

Nowe if they lyst to fasten the body and blood of the Lorde to bread 18  
and wyne: the one shall of necessitie be plucked in sunder fro the other.  
For as the bread is deliuered seuerally from the cup, so the body vnited  
to



to the bread muste nedes be diuided from the blood enclosed in the cup. For when they affirme that the body is in the bread, and the blood in the cup: and the bread and wyne are by spaces of place distant the one from the other: they can by no shift escape, but that the body must be seuered from the blood. But wheras they are wonte to allege, that by accompayning (as they faine) in the body is the blood, and likewise in the blood is the body, that verily is to triflyng: forasmuche as the Signes in whych they are enclosed, are so seuered. But if we be lifted vp with our eyes and myndes to heauen, that we seke Christ there in the glorie of his kingdome: as the signes doo allure vs to hym whole, so vnder the signe of bread, we shall be fedde with his bodye, vnder the signe of wyne we shall seuerally drynke his blood, that at length we may enioye hym whole. For although he hath taken awaye his fleche from vs, and in his body is ascended vp into heauen, yet he sitteth at the right hande of the Father, that is to say, he reigneth in the power, and maiestie, and glorie of the Father. This kyngdome is neyther bounded with any spaces of place, nor compassed aboute with any measurynge, but that Christ may shewe forth his myght wheresoeuer it pleaseth him both in heauen and in earth: but that he may shewe himselfe present with power and strength: but that he may alway be at hande with them that be his, breathing his lyfe into them, may liue in them, strengthen them, quicken them, preserue them safe, euen as if he were present in body: finally but that he may fede them with his owne bodye, the communion wherof he dothe by the power of his Spirite poure into them. After this maner the body and blood of Christe is delyuered to vs in the Sacrament.

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But we must appoint such a presence of Christ in the Supper, as may neither fasten hym to the element of bread, nor shut hym vp in the bread, nor by any meane combasse hym in. (for it is playne that all these thynges abate his heavenly glorie) finally suche as may neither take from him his owne measure, nor diuersly drawe hym in many places at ones, nor faine to hym suche an vnmeasurable greatnesse as is spred abrode throughout heauen and earth, for these thynges are playnely agaynst the truthe of the nature of manhod. Let vs (I say) neuer suffer these two exceptions to be taken away from vs. The one, that nothyng be abated from the glorie of Christ, which is done, when he is broughte vnder the corruptible elements of this world, or is bound to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothyng be by fainyng applied to his body, that agreeth not with the nature of man: whiche is done, when it is either saide to be infinite, or is seit in many places at ones. But these absurdities being taken away, I willyngly receiue what soeuer may auaille to expresse the true and substantiall communicaryng of the Body and Blood of the Lord, which comunicaryng is deliuered to the faithfull vnder the holy signes of the Supper: so that they may be thought not to receiue it by imagination onely or vnderstandyng of mynde, but to enioy it in dede to the foode of eternall lyfe. Why this sentence is so hatefull to the worlde, and all defence taken away from it by the vniust iudgementes of many, there is no cause at all, but for that the deuell hath with horrible bewitchyng madded their myndes. Cruelly that which we teache, dothe in all pointes very well agree with the Scrip-  
tures:



tures : it containeth neither any absurditie, nor darknesse, nor doubtfulnesse : it is not agaynst true godlynesse and sounde edification : finally it hath nothing in it, that may offend, sauyng that in certayne ages past, when that ignozance and barbarousnesse of Sophisters reigned in the Chirche, so clere light and open truthe hath ben vnwozthily oppzessed. Yet because Satā at this day also traunayleth by troublesome Spiritues to spot it with all the sclanders and reproches that he can, and bendeth himselfe to no other thynge with greater endeuor : it is profitable the moze diligently to defende and rescue it.

Nowe befoze that we goe any further, we must entreate of the selfe institution of Christe : specially because this is the most glorioz obiectiō that out aduersaries haue, that we departe from the woordes of Christe. Therfoze that we may be discharged of the false cause of malice wherwith they burden vs, our fittest beginnyng shall be at the exposition of the woordes. Thzee Euangelistes and Paule rehearse, that Christe tooke bread, when he had geuen thanks he brake it, gaue it to his disciples and sayde, Take, eate : this is my Body whiche is deliuered, or broken, for you. Of the cuppe Mathew and Marke saye thus : This cuppe is the blood of the newe testament, whiche shalbe shedde for many vnto forgeuenesse of synnes. But Paule and Luke say thus : This cuppe is the newe testament in my blood. The pattones of transubstantiation will haue by the pronoune (this) the forme of bread to be signified, because the consecration is made in the whole contente of the sentence, and there is no substance that can be shewed. But if they be holden with religious care of the woordes, because Christ testified, that that whiche he reached into the disciples handes, was his bodye : truly this their deuise, that that whiche was bread is nowe the bodye, is mozte farre from the propeze meanyng of them. That which Christe tooke into his handes and gaue the Apostles, he affirmeth to be his body : but he toke bread : who therfoze can not vnderstande that bread is yet shewed : and therfoze there is no greater absurditie, than to remoue that to the forme, whiche is spoken of the bread. Other, when they expounde this woorde (is) for (to be transubstantiate,) doo flee to a moze enforced and violently wozsted glose. Therfoze there is no cause why they should pzetende that they be moued with reuerence of woordes. For this was vnhheard of among all nations and languages, that the word (is) should be taken in this sense, namely for to be tourned into an other thynge. As for them that leaue breade in the Supper, and affirme that there is the body of Christ, they muche differ among themselues. They whiche speake moze modestly, although they precisely exact the letter, This is my body, yet afterwarde swaue from theyz precisenesse, and say that it is as muche in effect as that the body of Christ is with bread, in bread, and vnder bread. Of the mater it selfe which they affirme, we haue already touched somwhat, and we shal by and by haue occasion yet to speake moze. Nowe I dispute onely of the woordes, by which they say they are restrained that they can not admitte bread to be called the body, because it is a signe of the body. But if they shunne all figures, why do they leape away from the plaine shewing of Christ, to their owne manners of speaking farr differing from it : for there is great difference betwene this that bread is the body, and this that the body is with bread.

But

20

Mat. xxvi

xxvi.

Mar. xiiii

xxii.

Luc. xxii.

xxii.

i. Cor. x.

xxiii.



But because they saue it to bee impossible, that this simple proposition might stande, that bread is the body: they haue attempted to scape away by those formes of speche, as it were by croked turnyngs. Some moze bolde sticke not to affirme that euen in propre speakyng, bread is the body, and by this meane they truely proue themselues to be litteral me. If it be objected, that therfore the bread is Christ, and is God: this verily they will denie, because it is not expresse in the wordes of Christ. But they shall nothyng preuaile by denyng it: forasmuche as all doo agree that whole Christ is offred vs in the Supper. But it is an intolerable blasphemie, that it be without figure spoken of a fraile and corruptible element, that it is Christ. Now I aske of them, whether these twoo propositions be bothe of one effect, Christe is the Sonne of God, and bread is the body of Christe. If they graunt that they are diuers, (which we will enforce them to graunte whether they will or no) they lett them answer whens commeth the difference. I thynke they wyl byng none other but that the bread is after the sacramentall maner called the body. Wherupon foloweth, that Christes wordes are not subiecte to the common rule, nor oughte to bee tried by Grammer. Also I aske of all the precise and stiffe requirers of the letter, where Luke and Paule do call the cuppe the testament in the blood, whether they do not expresse the same thyng which they dyd in the first parte, where they call bread the bodye. Cruely the same religion was in the one parte of the mysterie that was in the other: and because thortnesse is darke, longer speche dothe better open the meanyng. So oft therfore as they shall affirme by one word, that the bread is the body: I will out of mo wordes byng a fitt exposition, that it is the Testament in the bodye. For why? Shall we nede to seke a moze faithfull or surer expositor than Paule & Luke? Neither yet doo I tende herunto, to diminishe any thing of that communicating of the body of Christ which I haue confessed: onely my purpose is to confute that foolish waiwardnesse, wherby they do so hatefully brawle about wordes. I vnderstand, by the authoritie of Paul and Luke, that the bread is the body of Christ, because it is the couenant in the body. If they fight against this, they haue warre not with me, but with the Spirite of God. Howsoener they cry oute that they be touched with reuerente of the wordes of Christ, wherby they do not figuratiuely vnderstande those thynges that are playnly spoken: yet this is not a pretence rightfull enoughe, why they shoulde so refuse all the reasons whiche we obiecte to the contrarie. In the meane tyme, as I haue already geuen warnyng, it is conuenient to learne, what maner of thing this is, The testament in the body and blood of Christ: because the couenant stablished with the sacrifice of death, should otherwise not profit vs, vnlesse there were adioyned that secreete communicatyng wherby we growe into one with Christe.

21

It remaineth therfore, that for the affinitie which the things signified haue with their signes, we confesse that the selfe name of the thing was geuen to the signe: figuratiuely in dede, but not without a most fitt proportionall agreement. I leaue allegozies and parables, least any man should quarell that I seeke startyng holes, and wander out of the present purpose. I say y this is a speche by figure of transnominacion whiche is comonly vsed in the Scripture, when mysteries are entreated of.



For neither can you otherwise vnderstand that whiche is sayd: that circumsion is a couenante: that the lambe is the Passeouer: that the Sacrifices of the lawe are expiations: finally that the rocke, oute of whiche water flowed in the deserte, was Christ: vnlesse you take it to be spoken by way of transferring of names. Neither are names transferred only from the hyer name to the lower: but contrariewise the name of the visible signe is also geuen to the thing signified: as when it is sayd y God appeared to Moses in the bushe: when the arke of couenante is called God, and the face of God: and the doue is called the Holy ghost. For though the signe differ in substance from the thing signified: because this is spirituall and heauenly, and that is cozpozall and visibill: yet because it doth not only figure the thing whiche it is holily appointed to represente, as a naked and empty token, but doth also truely deliuer it in dede: why may not the name of the thing rightly accorde with it? If signes deuised by men, whiche are rather images of thyngs absent, than markes of thynges present, which selfe absent thynges, they do oftentimes deceitfully shadow, are yet somtime garnished with the titles of the thinges: then those thinges that are ordeined of God, do by much greater reason borow the names of those thyngs, of which they alway bothe beare a sure and not disceyptfull signification, and haue the truthe adioyned with them. There is therfoze so great likenesse and uerenesse of the one to the other, that it is easy to draw their names to and froe. Therfoze let our aduersaries cesse to heape vnsauoy scroffings against vs, in calling vs Tropistes: because we expounde the Sacramental maner of speakyng after the common vse of the Scripture. For whereas the Sacramentes agree together in many thinges: in this trassferryng of names, they haue all a certaine communitie together. As therfoze the Apostle teacheth, that the stone out of which spiritual dzyinke did spring to y Israelites, was Christ, because it was a visibill signe, vnder which that spirituall dzyinke was truely in dede but not discernably to the eie perceiued: so bread is at this day called the body of Christe, forasmuche as it is a sygne whereby the Lorde offereth to vs the true eatyng of his bodey. Neither dyd Augustine otherwysle thynke oz speake, least any man shoulde despise this as a newe inuention. If (sayeth he) the Sacramentes hadde not a certaine likenesse of those thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, they shoulde not be Sacramentes at all. And of this likenesse oftentimes they take the names of the thinges themselves. As therfoze after a certaine maner the sacramēt of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ: the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ: so y sacramēt of faith is faith. There be in him many like places: which it were superfluous to heape together, sithe that same one suffiseth: sayyng that the readers must be warned that the holye man teacheth the same thyng in the Epistle to Erodus. But it is a trifling chift to say, that where Augustine teacheth, that when transferryng is often and cominonly vled in mysteries, he maketh no mention of the Supper: because if this chift were receiued, we myght not reason from the generaltie to the specialtie, neither were this a good argument: Every feling creature hath power of mouing, therfoze an ore and a horse haue power of mouyng. Howbeit long disputation hereof is in an other place ended by the wordes of the same holye man, where he sayth, that Christ

Exod. iiii.

ii.

Psalme

lxxviii.

viii. &amp; xlii

iii.

Math. iiii.

vbi.

i. Cor. v.

iii.

epi. rliii.

ad Boniā

fac.



sticked not to call it his body, when he gaue the signe of his boddye. Against Adimantus, the Manichean, in the. xii. Chapter. And in an other place, vpon the thirde Psalm. Meruailous (saith he) is the patience of Christ, that he receiued Judas to the banket, wherein he comitted and deliuered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood.

22  
 But if some p̄dise man, beyng blynde at all the rest, doo stand onely vpon this worde (this is) as though it seuered this mysterie from all other, the solution is easy. They saye that the behemence of the substantiue verbe (is) is so great that it admitteth no figure. Which if we graūt to them: euen in the wordes of Paule is redde the Substantiue. verbe, where he calleth bread the communicatynge of the body of Christe. But the communicatynge is an other thyng than the body it selfe. Yea commonly where sacramentes are entreated of, we fynde the same woorde vsed. As. This shall be to you a couenant with me. This Lambe shall be to you a Pascheouer. To reherse no moe: when Paule sayth that the rocke was Christe, why do they take the substantiue verbe in that place to be of lesse behemence than in the speche of Christ? Let them also answer, where John saith, the Holy ghost was not yet, because Iesus was not yet glorified, of what force the substantiue verbe is in that place. For if they abide fastened to their rule, the eternall essence of the Holy ghost shall be destroyed, as though it toke beginnyng at the Ascension of Christ. Finally let them answer, what meaneth that sayeng of Paule, that Baptisme is the washyng of regeneration and renewyng, which it is euident to be vnprofitable to many. But nothyng is stroger to confute them, than that sayeng of Paule, that the Church is Christe. For, byngyng a similitude of the body of man, he addeth, So is Christ: in whiche place he vnderstandeth the onely begotten sonne of God, not in himselfe, but in his membres. Hereby I thinke I haue obtained that to soundwitted and vncorrupted men the sclanders of oure enemies, are lothsome, when they spreadd abzoad, that we withdrav credit from the wordes of Christ: whiche we doo no lesse obediently embrace than they, and do wey them with moze godly reuerence. Yea their negligent carelesnesse sheweth that they doo not greatly care what Christe ment, so that it geue them a buckler to defende their obstinatie: like as oure earnest searchyng ought to be a wytnesse howe muche we esteeme the authoritie of Christ. They odiously spreadd abzode, that naturall sense of man withholdeth vs from beleuyng that which Christ hath vttered with his owne holy mouth: but howe maliciously they burden vs with this sclander, I haue a great part already made playne, and hereafter it shall moze clerely appere. Therfoze nothing withholdeth vs from beleuyng Christ when he speaketh, noz from obeying so soone as he dothe but with becke will this or that. Only this is the question, whether it be vnlawful to enquire of the naturall meanyng.

23  
 These good maisters, that they may seme wel lettred, do forbid men to departe be it neuer so litle from the letter. But I on the other syde, when the scripture nameth God a warlike man, because I see that without figuratiue translation it is to rough a maner of speakyng, doo not dout y it is a comparison taken from men. And truely vpon none other p̄tence in the olde tyme the Anthropomorphites troubled the true teaching Fathers, but that catching fast hold of these sayings, The eyes of God



God do see, It went by to his eares, His hand stretched out, The earth his footestole, they cried out that God had his body taken from hym, whiche the Scripture assigneth vnto hym. If this law be receiued, outrageous barbarousnesse shall ouerwhelme the whole light of faith. For, what monsters of absurdities may not phrentike men picke out, if it be graunted them to allege euery small tittle to stablish their opinions: That whiche they object, that it is not likely, that when Christ prepared for his Apostles a singular comfort in aduersities, he did then speake in a riddle or darkly, maketh of our side. For if it had not come in the myndes of the Apostles, that bread was figuratiuely called the body, because it was the signe of the body, they had without doute ben troubled with so monstrous a thyng. Almost at the same moment John reporteth that they did sticke in perplexitie at euery of the least difficulties. They whiche strue among themselves, howe Christ will go to the Father: and do moue question, howe he wyll goe out of the worlde: they which vnderstande nothyng of those thynges that are spoken concerning the heauenly Father, till they see hym: how wold they haue ben so easy to beleue that whiche all reso refuseth, that Christ sitteth at the boorde in their sight, and is enclosed inuisible vnder bread: Whereas therfore they in eatyng the bread without doutyng, testified their consent, hereby appeareth that they toke Christes wordes in the same sense that we do, because they remembred that which ought not to seme strange in mysteries, that the name of the thing signified is transferred to the signe. Therfore it was to the disciples, as it is to vs, a certaine and clere comfort, entangled with no riddle. Neither is ther any other cause why some should depart from our exposition, but because the enchauntment of the deuyll hath blynded them, namely that they should faine darknesse to themselves, where the exposition of an apt figure offteth it selfe. Moreouer if we precisely stande vpon the words, Christ hold wrongfully haue spoken in one place seuerally an other thyng concerning the bread than he speaketh of the cup. He calleth the bread his body, he calleth the wyne his blood: either it shall be a confused vaine repetition, or it shall be such a partition as shall diuide the body from the blood. Yea it shall as truly be sayd of the cuppe, This is my body, as of the bread it selfe, and it may likewise enterchangeably be sayd, that the bread is the blood. If they answer that we muste consider to what ende or vse the signes were ordeined: I graunt it in dede: but in the meane tyme they shall not vnderstande themselves, but that their error must drawe this absurditie with it, that the bread is the blood, and the wyne is the body. Nowe I wote not what this meaneth, when they graunt the bread and the body to be diuers things, yet to affirme that the one is spoken of the other properly and without any figure: as if a man should say that a garment is in dede a thyng differing from a man, and yet that it is properly called a man. In the meane while as though their victorie consisted in obstinacie & railing, they say that Christ is accused of lying, if an exposition be sought of the wordes. Nowe it shall be easy for vs to shew to the readers how vniust wrong these catchers of syllables do to vs, when they fill the simple with this opinion, that we withdraw credit from the wordes of Christ, which we haue proued to be furiously peruered and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and rightly expounded by vs.



But the sleaunders of this lye can not be vtterly purged, till an other crime be wiped away. For they spread abzoad, that we be so addicted to naturall reason, that we geue no moze to the power of God, than the order of nature suffreth, and common sense teacheth. From so malicious sleaunders I appelle to the very doctrine it selfe which I haue declared: whiche dothe clerely enough shewe, that I do not measure this mysterie by the propoztion of mans reason, noz doo make it subiect to the lawes of nature. I beseeche you, haue we learned out of naturall philosophie, that Chziste dothe so from heauen feede our soules and bodies with his fleshe, as our bodies ar nozished with bread and wyne: Whens cometh this power to fleshe, that it may geue lyfe? All men will say that it is not doone naturally. It will no moze please mans reason, that the fleshe of Chziste reacheth to vs, that it maye be foode vnto vs. Finally whosoener hath tasted of our doctrine, Chalbe rauished into admiration of the secrete polwer of God. But these good men that be so zelous of it, forge to themselues a miracle, which beyng taken away, God hymselfe vanissheth with his power. I desire to haue the readers ones agayne warned, that they diligently wey what our doctrine bzingeth, whether it hang vpon common sense, oz with the winges of Faith, surmounting the worlde, climbeth bp beyond it into the heauens. We say that Chzist as well with the outwarde signe as with his Spirite, descendeth to vs that he may truely quicken our soules with the substance of his fleshe & of his blood. In these fewe wordes he that percepueth not to be contained many miracles, is moze than senselesse: forasmuche as there is nothyng moze beside nature, than that soules should borow spiritual and heavenly life, of the fleshe which toke her beginnyng of the earth, and which was subiect to death. Nothing is moze incredible, than that thinges distant and asunder by the whole space of heauen and earth, shold in so great distance of places not only be conioyned, but also vnited, that soules may receiue foode of the fleshe of Chziste. Therfoze let waitward men cesse to procure hatred to vs by a filthy sleaunders, as though we did enuiously restraine any thyng of the immeasurable power of God. For they do either to foolishly erre oz to maliciously lye. For it is not here in question what God coulde, but what he woulde. We affirme that to bee done which pleased hym. But it pleased hym, that Chzist shold be made like to his bzethren in all thyngs, except synne. What maner of thyng is our fleshe? Is it not suche as consisteth of the certaine measure of it, as is contained in place, as is touched, as is seen? And why (say they) may not God make, that one selfe same fleshe may occupie many and diuers places; may be contained in no place, may be without measure & forme? Thou madde man, why requirest thou of the power of God, to make fleshe at one selfe tyme to be and not to be fleshe? Like as if thou sholdest instantly require hym to make at one self tyme the light to be bothe light & darknesse. But he willeth light to be light, darknesse to be darknesse, fleshe to be fleshe. He shall in deede when it pleaseth hym, turne darknesse into lyght, and lyght into darknesse: but when thou requirest that lyght and darknesse may not differ, what doest thou els but peruert the order of the wisdom of God? Therfoze fleshe must be fleshe: and Spirite, Spirite: euery thyng in suche lawe and condition as God hath created it. But suche is the condition of fleshe, that it muste be in  
one



one yea and that a certaine place, and consist of her measure and of her forme. With thys condition Christ toke fleſhe vpon him, to whiche (as Auguſtine witneſſeth) he hath geuen in dede vncorruption and gloze, but he hath not taken from it nature and truth.

Epi. ad  
darda.

They answer, that they haue the worde, whereby the will of God is made playne: namely if it be graunted them to banish out of the Church the gifte of exposition, whiche may bring lighte to the worde. I graunt that they haue the worde: but ſuche as in olde tyme the Anthropomorphites had, when they made God hauing a body: ſuche as Marcion and the Manichees had, when they fayned the body of Christ to be eyther heavenly or fantastical. For they alleged for testimonies, The firste Adam was of the earth, earthly: the seconde Adam is of heauen, heavenly. Againe, Christ abaced himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a ſeruant, and was founde in likenesse as a mā. But the grosse eaters thinke that there is no power of God, vnalesse with the monster forged in their braines the whole order of nature be ouerthrowen: whiche is rather to limit God, when we couet with our fained inuentiones to proue what he can do. For out of what worde haue they taken, that the body of Christe is visible in heauen, but lurketh inuisible in earth vnder innumerable litle peces of bred: They wil say that necessitie requireth this, that the body of Christe should be geuen in the Supper. Verily because it pleased them to gather a fleshy eating out of the wordes of Christ: they being caried away with their owne foreiugement, were driuen to necessitie to coine this sutteltie, which the whole Scripture crieth out against. But that any thing is by vs diminished of the power of God, is so false, that by our doctrine the prayse of it is very honozably set out. But forasmuche as they alway accuse vs, that we defraude God of hys honoz, when we refuse that whiche according to common sense is hard to be beleued, although it haue ben promised by the mouth of Christ: I make againe the same answer that I made euen nowe, that in the mysteries of Faith we doe not aske counsell of common sense, but with quiet willingness to learne, and with the Spirit of mekenesse whiche James commendeth, we receiue the doctrine come from heauen. But in that when they perniciously erre, I deny not that we followe a profitable moderation. They hearing the wordes of Christe, This is my body, imagine a miracle moſte farre from hys mynde. But when out of thys fayned inuention aryle fowle absurdities, because they haue already with hedlong hast put snaces vpon themselues, they plunge themselues into the bottomlesse depthe of the almightinesse of God, that by thys meane they may quenche the lyght of truth. Here vpon commeth that proude precisenesse: We will not knowe howe Christe speth hypde vnder the bred, holdyng our selues contented with thys saying of hys, This is my body. But we, as we doe in the whole Scripture, doe with no lesse obedience than care, studie to obteyne a sounde vnderstanding of thys place: neither doe we with preposterous heate rashly and without choise catch holde of that which first thursteth it selfe into our myndes: but being diligent musyng vpon it, we embrace the meaning whiche the Spirit of God ministrereth: and standing thereupon we doe from alofte despise whatsoeuer earthly wisdom is set against it. Yea we holde que

25

1. Cor. xv.  
16it.

Phi. ii. 6it

Jam. i.  
vri.1. Cor. x.  
16it1. Cor. x.  
16it

H. i. myndes



myndes captiue, that they may not be bolde so muche as with one litle worde to carpe against it: and do humble them, that they maye not dare to rise by against it. Hereupon sprong by the exposition of the woordes of Christ, which to be by the continual vsage of the Scripture common to al Sacramentes, al they that haue ben though but meanely exerce- sed therin, do knowe. Neither do we, after the exaple of the holy virgin, thynke it lawfull for vs, in a hard mater to enquire how it may be done.

But because nothing shal moze auaille to confirme the fayth of the godly, than when they haue learned that the doctrine whiche we haue taughte, is taken out of the worde of God, and standeth vpon the au- thoritie thereof: I will make this also euident with as greate byfenesse as I can. The body of Christ, sines the tyme that it rose agayne, not Aristotle but the Holy ghost teacheth to be limited, and that it is com- prehended in heauen vntill the laste day. Neither am I ignozante that they boldly mock out those places that are alleged for thys purpose. So oft as Christ sayth that he wil departe, leauing the world, they answer that that departing is nothing ells but a changing of mortall state. But after this manner, Christe shoulde not set the Holy ghost in hys place to supplie (as they call it) the wante of hys absence: forasmuche as he doth not succede into his place, nor Christ himselfe doth descende againe oute of the heauenly glozpe to take vpon hym the state of mortall lyfe. Cruely the comynge of the Holy ghost, and the ascending of Christe are thynges set as contrarie: therefore it can not be y Christe shoulde according to the fleshe dwel with vs after the same manner that he sendeth his Spirite. Moreouer he in playne wordes expresseth, that he will not be alway with hys disciples in the worlde. Thys saying also they thynke that they do gayly wype awaye, as though Christ sayd that he wil not alway be pooze and miserable or subiect to the necessities of thys frayle lyfe. But the circumstance of the place cryeth playnly to the contrarie, because there is not entreated of pouertie and nede or of the miserable state of earthly life, but of worshop and honoz. The anointing pleased not the disciples, because they thought it to be a superfluous and vnprofitable cost, and nere vnto riotous excelle, therefore they had rather that the price thereof which they thought to be ill wasted, had ben bestowed vpon the pooze. Christ answereth that he shall not alway be present, that he maye be worshipped with suche honoz. And none other- wise did Augustine expounde it, whoes wordes be these: which are no- thyng doutefull. When Christ sayd, Ye shal not alway haue me, he spake of the presence of his body. For according to his maiestie, accordyng to hys prouidence, according to hys vnspeakable and inuisible grace, thys was fulfilled which he sayd, Beholde, I am with you euen to the en- ding of the worlde. But according to the fleshe which the worde toke vnto hym, according to thys that he was borne of the Virgin, ac- cordyng to thys that he was taken of the Jewes, that he was fastened to the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrap- ped in linnen clothes, that he was layed in the graue, that he was manifestly shewed in the resurrection, thys was fulfilled, Ye shall not alway haue me with you. Why so? Because he was conuer- sante, accordyng to the presence of hys bodye fortye dayes with hys disciples, and whyle they accompanied hym in seynge not in folowing,



folowing, he ascended . He is not here: for he sitteth there at the right hande of the Father. And yet he is here: because he is not gone away in presence of maiestie. Other wyse according to the presence of maicsty we haue Christ alway: and according to the presence of the fleſhe it is rightly sayd, But me ye ſhal not alway haue. For according to the presence of the fleſhe, the Church had him a ſcwe dayes: nowe ſhe holdeth hym by fayth, but ſeeth him not with eyes. Where (that I may note thys alſo bzeſely) he maketh hym preſente to vs thre wapes, by maieſtie, prouidence, and vnſpeakable grace, vnder whiche I comprehend this maruelous communiõ of hys body and blood: if ſo that we vnderſtande it to be done by the power of the Holy ghoſt, not by that fayned enclosing of his body vnder the elemente. For our Lord hath testified, that he hath fleſhe and bones which may be felt and ſeen. And to Goe away and Aſcende doe not ſignifie to make a ſheue of one aſcending and going awaye, but to doe in dede that whiche the woordes ſounde: Shall we then (will ſome man ſaye) aſſigne to Chriſte ſome certaine coaſt of heauen: But I anſwere with Auguſtine, that this is a moſte curious and ſuperfluous queſtion, if ſo that yet we beleue that he is in heauen.

But what doth the name of aſcending ſo oft repeted: doth it not ſignifie a remouing from one place to an other: They denye it: because after their opinion, by heighth is onely ſignified maieſtie of Empire. But what meaneth the very manner of aſcending: was he not, in ſight of his diſciples loking on, liſted vp on hys: Doe not the Euangelistes plainly declare, that he was taken vp into þ heauens: Theſe witty Sophiſters do anſwere, that with a cloude ſet betwene him and them, he was conueyed out of their ſight, that the ſaithfull might learne that from thence fourth he ſhould not be viſible in the world. As though, to make credit of his inuiſible preſence, he ought not rather to vaniſhe away in a moment: or as though the cloude ought not rather to compaſſe him befoze that he ſtirred his foote. But when he is carried vp on hys into þ ayze, and with a cloude caſt vnderneath hym, teacheth that he is no more to be ſoughte in earth: we ſafely gather, that now he hath hys dwelling place in the heauens: as Paule alſo affirmeth, and from thence biddeth vs to loke for hym . After this maner the Angels warned the diſciples, that they in vaine gazed vp into heauen: because Jeſus which is taken vp into heauen, ſhall ſo come as they haue ſeen him goe vp. Here alſo the aduerſaries of ſounde doctrine ſtarte awaye with a pleaſante ſhift as they thynke, ſayeng that he ſhall then come viſible, which neuer wente out of the earth but that he abideth inuiſible with them that be hys. As though the Angells did theſe ſignifie a double preſence, and do not ſimply make the diſciples witneſſes of his going vp ſeing it with their eyes, that no douting mighte remayne: euen as if they had ſayd: he in your ſightes beholding it, being takẽ vp into heauen, hath claymed to hymſelfe the heauenly Empire: it remayneth that ye patiently abide in expectation, till he come againe the iudge of the world: because he is nowe entered into heauen, not that he may alone poſſeſſe it, but that he maye gather together with him you and all the goodly.

But forasmuche as the defenders of this baſtarde doctrine are not aſhamed to garniſhe it with the conſenteng voyces of the olde wyters



Of the outward meanes

And specially of Augustine: I will in fewe wordes declare how peruersly they goe aboute it. For whereas their testimonies haue ben gathered together of learned and godly men, I will not doe a thing already done: let hym that will, seke them oute of their woorkes. I wil not heape together, neyther out of Augustine hymselfe, al that might make to the purpose: but will be contente to shewe by a fewe that he is without controuersie whole on our side. As for this that our aduersaries, to writhe him from vs, doe allege that it is commonly read in his bookes, that the flesh and blood of Christ is distributed in the Supper, namely the Sacrifice ones offred in the crosse: it is but trifling: sithe he also calleth it eyther Thankesgeuing, or the Sacramente of the body. But in what sense he useth the woordes of flesh and blood, we nede not to seke with long compassing about: forasmuche as he declareth hymselfe, sayeng that Sacramentes take their names of the likenesse of the thinges whiche they signifye: and that therefore after a certaine manner the Sacramente of the body is the body. Wherewith accozdeth an other place whiche is well enough knowen: The Lorde stiked not to saye, This is my body, when he gaue the signe of it. Againe they object, that Augustine writeth expressely, that the body of Christe falleth to the grounde, and entreteth into the mouth: euen in the same sense, that he affirmeth it to be consumed, because he ioyne them bothe together. Neither doth that make to the contrarie, whiche he sayth, that whē the mysterie is ended the bred is consumed: because he had a litle befoze sayd: sithe these thinges are knowen to men, forasmuche as they are done by me, they may haue honor as things: but as maruelous things, they may not. And to no other ende tendeth that which our aduersaries doe to bnauidesly draw to themselves: that Christ did (after a certaine manner) beare hymselfe in his owne handes, when he reached the mysticall bred to the disciples. For by enterlacing this aduerbe of likenesse (after a certaine manner) he sufficiently declareth, that he was not truely nor really enclosed vnder the bred. And no maruell: sithe in an other place he plainly affirmeth that bodies, if spaces of places be taken from them, shalbe no where: and because they shalbe no where, they shal not be at al. It is a hungry cauillation, to say that in that place is not entreated of the Supper, in which God vttereth speciall power: because the question was moued concerning the flesh of Christe, and the holy man of set purpose answering sayth: Christ gaue immortalicie to hys flesh, but toke not nature from it. After this forme it is not to be thought that he is eche where spzed abroad: for we must beware that we doe not so affirme the Godhed of the man, that we take away the truth of the body. And it foloweth not, that that whiche is in God muste be eche where as God is. There is a reson by and by added: for one person is God and man, and both are one Christ: eche where, by thys that he is God: in heauen, by thys that he is man. What a negligēce had it ben, not to excepte the mysterie of the Supper beyng a thing so earnest and weyghy, if there had ben in it any thing against the doctrine which he entreated of. And yet if a man doe hedefully rede that which foloweth within a litle after, he shal fynde that vnder that general doctrine, the Supper is also comprehended, that Christ the onely begotten Sonne of God, and the same the sonne of man, is eche where whole present as

God:

ad Boni  
c. Epi.  
xv.

contra,  
dama.  
lanich.  
ib. iij.

ib. iij.  
e trini.  
ap. x.

n psal.  
ciii.

sist. ad.  
ardan.



God: that he is in the temple of God (that is in the Church) God as it were there dwelling, and in some certaine place of heauen by reason of the measure of hys true body. We see howe, to the vniting of Christe with the Church, he doth not draw his body out of heauen: which surely he would haue done, if the body of Christe were not truely meate to vs vnlesse it were enclosed vnder bred. In an other place defining how the faythfull doe nowe possesse Christ, Thou hast hym (sayth he) by y<sup>e</sup> signe of the crosse, by the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the meate and drinke of the altar. How rightly he tekeneth a superstitious vsage among the Signes of the p<sup>r</sup>esence of Christ, I doe not now dispute: but he that compareth the p<sup>r</sup>esence of the fleshe to the signe of the crosse, sufficiently sheweth that he sayneth not a twoo bodied Christ, that thesame he maye lurke hidden vnder the bred, which sitteth visib<sup>l</sup>e in heauē. If this nede plainer declaratiō, it is by and by after added in the same place, that according to the p<sup>r</sup>esence of maiestie, we alway haue Christ: that according to the p<sup>r</sup>esence of the fleshe, it is rightly sayed, *De ye shall not alway haue.* They answer, that thys is also added, that according to an vn<sup>u</sup>spekable and inuisible grace, it is fulfilled which is sayd of hym, *I am with you, euen vnto the ending of the worlde.* But that is nothing for their auantage: because this is at length restrayned to hys maiestie, which is euert in comparison set against the body, and hys fleshe by expresse name is made differēt from his grace and p<sup>o</sup>wer. As in an other place the same comparison of contraries is red in him, that Christe by bodily p<sup>r</sup>esence left the disciples, that by spirituall p<sup>r</sup>esence he maye bee stil with them: where it is playne that the substance of the fleshe is distinguished from the p<sup>o</sup>wer of the Spirite, which conioyneth vs with Christ, though we be otherwise farre seueted by distance of places. The same maner of speaking he oftentimes vseth, as when he sayth: *He is to come againe to the quicke and the dead with bodily p<sup>r</sup>esence, according to the rule of Fayth and sounde doctrine.* For with spirituall p<sup>r</sup>esence he was also to come to them, and to abide with the whole Church in the worlde vntill the ending of the worlde. Therefore thys speche is directed to the beleuers, whome he had already begonnie to saue with bodily p<sup>r</sup>esence, and whom he was to leaue with bodily absence: that he mighte with hys Father saue them with spirituall p<sup>r</sup>esence. To take bodily for visib<sup>l</sup>e is but trifling: sicke he setteth also the body in cōparison against the diuine p<sup>o</sup>wer: and adding (to saue with the Father) he clearly exp<sup>r</sup>esseth that he doth poure abzode his grace from heauen to vs by hys Spirite.

Tract. I.  
in. IohāMat. xxvii.  
ii.Mathew  
xxviii. xx.

And sicke they putt so muche confidence in thys lurking hole of inuisible p<sup>r</sup>esence, goe to, lett vs see how well they hyde themselues in it. Firste they shall not bying fourth one syllable oute of the Scriptures, wherby they maye proue that Christe is inuisible: but they take that for confessed whiche no man that hath his sounde witt will graunte them, that the body of Christe can not otherwise be geuen in the Supper but being couered with the visoz of bred. And this is the very pointe aboute whiche they strue with vs, so farr is it of from haung the place of a p<sup>r</sup>inciple. And when they so babble, they are compelled to make a double body of Christe: because after their opinion, it is in it selfe visib<sup>l</sup>e in heauen, but inuisible in the

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R.iii.

Supper



Supper after a special maner of dispensation. But how trimly this agreeth, it is easy to iudge both by other places of Scripture, and by the witnesse of Peter. Peter sayth that Christ must be holden or contained in heauen, til he come againe. These men teache that he is euery where, but without forme. They take exception and say that it is vniuste dealing, to make the nature of a glorified body subiect to the lawes of common nature. But this answer draweth with it that dotting error of Seruettus, (which is woorthily to be abhorred of all the godly) that the body was swallowed by of the Godhead. I do not say that they thinke so. But if this be reckened among the qualities of a glorified body, to fill all thinges after an inuisible manner, it is euident that the bodily substance is destroyed, and that there is left no difference of the godhead and the nature of man. Againe if the body of Christ be so of many fashions and diuerse, that it is seen in one place, & is inuisible in another: where is the very nature of a body which consisteth of his mesured proportions: and where is the vnicie? Much more rightly doth Tertullian say, which affirmeth that the body of Christ was a true and natural body, because in the mysterie of the Supper y<sup>e</sup> figure of it is set befoze vs for a pledge and assurance of the spirituall lyfe. And verily Christ sayd of his glorified body, see and fele, for a Spirite hath not fleſhe and bones. Doe by Christes own mouth the truthe of his fleſhe is proued, because it can be felt and seen. Take away these thinges, than it shall celsse to be fleſhe. They still flee to their denne of dispensation which they haue framed to themselves. But it is our part so to embrace that which Christ absolutely pronounceth, that that which he meaneth to affirme may be of force with vs without exception. He proueth himselfe to be no ghost, because he is visible in his fleſhe. Let that be taken away which he claimeth as propre to the nature of hys body: must they not then be faine to coyne a new definition of a body? Now whether soeuer they turne themselves about, their fained dispensation hath no place in that place of Paule where he sayth, that we loke for a Sauioz from heauen, which shall fashion our base body lyke to his glorious body. For we may not hope for a like fashioning in those qualities which they faine to Christ, that euery one should haue an inuisible and vnmeasurable body. Neither shall there be founde any man so dull witted whom they may make to beleue so great an absurdity. Let them not therfore ascribe this gift to Christes glorified body, to be at ones in many places, and to be contained in no space. Finally let them either openly deny the resurrection of the fleſh, or let them graunt that Christe being clothed with heauenly glory, did not put of his fleſhe, who shall make vs in our fleſhe fellowes and parteners of the same glory, when we shall haue the resurrection common with him. For, what doth the Scripture teache more plainely, than that as Christe did putt on our true fleſhe when he was borne of the Virgin, and suffred in oure true fleſhe when he satisfied for vs: so he receiued againe also the same true fleſhe in rising againe, and caried it by to heauen. For this is to vs the hope of oure resurrection and ascending into heauen, that Christe is rysen againe and ascended: and (as Tertullian sayth) he carryed the earnest of our resurrection into the heauens with him. Nowe how weak and fragile should that hope be, vnlesse this our selfe fleſh had ben rayſed



by with Christ asid entred into the kingdome of heauen: But this is the pꝛopꝛe trueth of a body, to be contained in space, to consist of his mesured pꝛopꝛtions, to haue his foꝛme. Therfoꝛe away with this foolish deuise, which doth fasten bothe the mindes of men and Christ to the bzꝛed. Foꝛ to what purpose serueth the secret pꝛesẽce vnder bzꝛed, but þ̄ they which couet to haue Christ ioyned with them, may rest in that signe: But the Lord himselfe willed vs to withdraꝛw not only our eyes but al our senses from the earth, foꝛbidding himselfe to be touched of the women vntil he had gone by to his Father. When he seeth Marie with godly zeale of reuerẽce to make hast to kisse his fete, there is no cause why he should disalow and foꝛbid this touching til he haue ben taken by into heauen, but because he wil be sought no where ells. Wheras they obiect that he was afterwarde seen of Stephen, the solution is easie. Foꝛ neither was it therfoꝛe necessaric that Christ should change place, which could geue to þ̄ eyes of his seruãt such sharpnesse of sight as might pearce thꝛough the heauens. The same a'lo is to be said of Paule. Wheras they obiecte that Christ came out of the Sepulchre being shut: and entred in among the disciples, the doꝛes being shut: that maketh neuer a whit moꝛe foꝛ maintenance of their erroꝛ. Foꝛ as the water like a fast pauemẽt made a way to Christ walking vpon the lake: so it is no maruel, if at his coming the hardnesse of the stone yelded it selfe. Howbeit it is moꝛe pꝛouable, that by his commaundement the stone was remoued, and by and by after passage geuen hym returned into his place. And to enter, the doꝛes being shut, is not asmuch in effect as to pearce thꝛough the whole substance, but by diuine power to open an entrie foꝛ himselfe, that he suddenly stode among the disciples, verily after a maruelous maner, whẽ the doꝛes were fast locked. That whiche they allege out of Luke, that Christ suddenly vanished away from the eyes of the disciples with whõ he went to Emaus, pꝛofiteth them nothing, & maketh foꝛ vs. Foꝛ, that he might take away the sight of himselfe from them, he was not made inuisible, but only went out of sight. As when he went in iourney together with them (as the same Luke witnesseth) he did not put on a helwe face, that he might not be knowen, but helde their eyes. But these selowes do not only trãsforme Christ, that he may be couersant in earth, but in diuerse places they make hym diuerse and vnlke himselfe. Finally in so trifling they do, not by one woꝛde in dede, but by a circumstance, make of the fleſhe of Christe a Spirite: and not contented therewith, they put vpon it also together contrarie qualities. Wherupon of necessitie foloweth that it is doble.

Now although we graunt them that which they pꝛate of the inuisible pꝛesẽce, the vnmesurablenesse ſhal not be yet pꝛoued, without which they ſhal in vayne attempt to enclose Christ vnder bzꝛed. Unless the body of Christ may be eueꝛy where at ones, without any cõpasse of place, it ſhall not be likely that he lyeth hidde vnder bzꝛed in the Supper. By which necessitie they brought in the monstrous being eueꝛy where. But it is shewed by strong and plaine witnesses of Scripture, that it was limited about by the measure of the body of a man: and then that by his ascending, he hath made it plaine that he is not in all places, but that when he passeth into one place, he leaueth the other that he was in before. Neither is the promise which they allege, to be drawe to þ̄ body,

John. 14  
11.

Ac. 13. 11

Act. 14. 11  
Mathew  
13. 35.  
Job 11. 11  
Mat. 23. 11  
11.Lu. 24. 11  
11.Lu. 24. 11  
11.



p. 11. r.
h. 11. r.
Coz. 1. 11.
h. 11. r.
h. 11. r.
h. 11. r.
h. 11. r.
h. 11. r.
 I am with you euen to the ending of the world. First the continuall co-  
 ioyning can not stande, vnlesse Christ dwel in vs cozporally without  
 vse of the Supper. Therfore there is no iust cause why they shoulde so  
 sharply brauole about the wordes of Christ, that they may in the Sup-  
 per enclose Christ vnder bread. Againe the text it selfe proueth, y<sup>e</sup> Christ  
 speaketh nothing lesse than of his flethe, but promisetly to his disciples  
 inuincible helpe, wherby he may defende and susteine them against all  
 the assaultes of Satan and the worlde. For when he enioyned them a  
 hard charge: least they should dout to take it in hande, or should fereful-  
 ly execute it, he strengtheneth them with affiance of his presence: as if  
 he had said, that his succoz shal not faile them, which shalbe impossible  
 to be overcome. Unlesse they listed to confounde all thinges, ought they  
 not to haue made distinction of the maner of presence. And verily some  
 had rather with great shame to vtter their ignozance, than to yelde ne-  
 uer so litle of their erroz. I speake not of the Papistes: whoes doctrine  
 is moze tolerable, or at the least moze shamefast. But contentiousnesse  
 so carrieth some away, that they say that by reson of the natures vnited  
 in Christ, wheresoener the Godhed of Christ is, there is also his flethe,  
 which can not be seuered from hys Godhed. As though that same vni-  
 ting haue compounded of those twoo natures I wote not what meane  
 thing which was neither God noz man. So in dede did Eutyches, and  
 after hym Seruettus. But it is plainly gathered out of the Scripture,  
 that the only one person of Christ doth so consist of twoo natures, that  
 either of them hath still her owne proprietie remainyng safe. And that  
 Eutyches was rightfully condemned, they wil be ashamed to deny: it is  
 maruel that they marke not the cause of hys condemning, that takyng  
 away the difference betwene the natures, enforzcing the vnitie of perso,  
 he made of God man, and of man God. What madnesse therfore is it,  
 rather to mingle heauen and earth together, than not to draw the body  
 of Christ out of the heavenly Sanctuarie: For wheras they bring for  
 themselues these testimonies, None is gone bp to heauen but he that is  
 come down the Sonne of man which is in heauen, Againe, The sonne  
 which is in the bosome of the Father, he shall declare them: it is a poynt  
 of like senselesse dullnesse, to despise the communicating of proprietie  
 which was in olde tyme not without cause inueted of the holy Fathers.  
 Cruely, when the Lord of glozy is said to be crucified, Paule doth not  
 meane that he suffered any thig in his godhed: but because y<sup>e</sup> same Christ  
 which being an abiect and despised in the fleth did suffer, was both God  
 and Lord of glozy. After thys manner also the Sonne of man was in  
 heauen: because the selfe same Christ, which accordyng to the flethe did  
 dwel the Sonne of man in earth, was God in heauen. In which sorte  
 he is sayd to haue descended from the sayd place accordyng to hys God-  
 hed: not that the Godhed did forsake heauen, to hide it selfe in the prison  
 of the body: but because, although it vylled all thynge, yet in the be-  
 behyng manhode of Christ it dwelled cozporally, that is to say naturally and af-  
 ter a certayne vnspeakable maner. It is a comon distinction in scholes,  
 which I am not ashamed to reherse: that although whole Christ be eue-  
 ry where, yet not the whole that is in hym is every where. And I wold  
 to God the Scholemen, themselues had wel weyed the ptych of thys say-  
 eng: for so shoulde the vnlanorie inuention of the fleshy presen<sup>t</sup> of Christ  
 haue



haue ben met withall. Therefore our mediator, sithe he is whole every where, is alway at hande with his, and in the Supper after a speciall maner geueth himselfe present: but yet so, that whole he is present, not the whole that he is: because, as it is said, in his flethe he is contined in heauen till he appeare to iudgement.

But they are farre deceiued, which conceiue no presence of the flethe of Christ in the Supper, vnlesse it be made present in bread. For so they leaue nothyng to the secreete woorkyng of the Spirite, whiche vniteth Christ hymself vnto vs. They thinke not Christ present, vnlesse he come downe to vs. As though if he did lift vs vp to hym, we should not adwel enioy his presence. Therefore the question is only of the maner: because they place Christ in the bread, but we think it not lawfull for vs to pluck hym out of heauen. Let the readers iudge whether is the righter. Onely let this caullation be driuen away, that Christe is taken away from his Supper, vnlesse he be hidden vnder the couer of bread: For sith this mysterie is heauenly, it is no nede to drabe Christ into the earth, that he may be toynd to vs.

Nowe if any man do aske me of the maner, I will not be ashamed to confesse, that it is a hyper secreete than that it can be eyther coprehended with my witt, or vttered with my woordes: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather fele it, than I can vnderstand it. Therefore I do herein without controuersie embrace the truth of God, in whiche I maye safely rest. He pronounceth that his flethe is the meate of my soule, and his blood is the drinke. With suche foode I offre my soule to hym to bee fedde. In his holy Supper he commaundeth me vnder the signes of bread and wyne to take eate, and drinke his body and blood. I nothing dout that bothe he dothe truely deliuer them, and I doo receiue them. Onely I refuse the absurdities, whiche appeare to be either vnwoorthy of the heauenly maiestie of Christ, or disagreying from the truth of his nature of manhode: forasmuche as they must also fight with the word of God, which also teacheth that Christ was so taken vp into the glorie of the heauenly kyngdome that it lyfteth hym vp aboue all estate of the woorld, and no lesse diligently setteth forth in his nature of man, those thynges that are properly belongyng to his true manhode. Neither ought this to seme incredible, or not consonant to reason: because as the whole kyngdome of Christ is spirituall, so whatsoeuer he doth with his Church, ought not to be reduced to the reason of this woorld. Or, that I may vble the woordes of Augustine, this mysterie, as other are, is done by men, but from God: in earth, but from heauen. Such (I say) is the presence of the body, as the nature of the Sacrament requireth: which we say here to excell with so great force, and so great effectualnesse, that it not only byngeth to our myndes vndouted trust of eternall lyfe, but also assureth vs of the immortallitie of our flethe. For it is nowe quickened of his immortall flethe, and after a certaine maner communicateth of his immortallitie. They whych are caried aboue this with their excessive speches, do nothyng but with suche entanglementes darken the simple and playne truth. If any be not yet satisfied, I wold haue hym here a whyle to consider with me, that we now speake of a Sacrament, all the partes wherof ought to be referred to Faith. But we do no lesse deintly and plentifully feede Faith with this partakyng of the bodye  
whiche

32

32

Lu. xliii  
xxvi.Iren. lib.  
iiii. cap.  
xxxiii.



which we haue declared, than they that plucke Christe hymselfe oute of heauen. In the meane tyme I plainly confesse, that I refuse that mixture of the flesh of Christ with our soule, or the pouryng out of it suche as they teache: because it sufficeth vs, that Christ dothe out of the substance of his flesh breathe life into our soules, yea doth poure into vs his owne lyfe, although the very flesh of Christ doth not entre into vs. Moreouer it is no doute that the propozition of Faith, whereby Paule willeth vs to examine all exposition of Scripture, dothe in this behalfe very well agree with me. As for them that speake agaynst so euident a truthe, let them looke after what rule of faith they fashion themselves. He that dothe not confesse that Iesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. These men, although they cloke it, or marke it not, doo spoile hym of his flesh.

Of communicatyng is to be likewise thought, whiche they acknowledge none, vnlesse they deuoure the flesh of Christe vnder bread. But there is no small wrong done to the Holy ghost, vnlesse we beleue that it is brought to passe by his incomprehensible power, that we communicate with the flesh and blood of Christ. Yea if the force of the mysterie, such as it is taught of vs, and as it was knowen to the old Church from fower hundred yeres agoe, were weyed accoꝝdyng to the worthynesse of it, there was enough and more wherupon we myght be satisfi- ed: the gate had ben shut agaynst many fowle errors, out of which haue ben kindled many horrible dissensions wherwith both in olde tyme and in our age the Church hath ben miserably bered; while curious men do enforce an excessiue maner of presence, which the Scripture neuer she- weth. And they turmoyle aboute a thyng fondly and rashely conceined, as if the enclosyng of Christ vnder bread were (as the prouerbe is) the proue and poupe of godlinesse. It principally behoued to know, howe the body of Christ, as it was ones deliuered for vs, is made ours: howe we are made partakers of his blood that was shedde: because this is to possesse whole Christ crucified, that we may enioy all his good thyngs. Nowe these thynges, in which was so great impoztance, beyng omitted yea neglected and in a maner buried, this onely crabbed question please- seth them, howe the body of Christ lieth hidde vnder bread or vnder the forme of bread. They falsly spread abzode that whatsoeuer we teache concernyng spirituall eatyng, is contrarie to the true and reall eatyng, as they call it: because we haue respecte to nothyng but to the maner, which among them is carnall, whyle they enclose Christ in bread: but to vs it is spirituall, because the secrete power of the Spirit is the bonde of our conioynyng with Christ. No truer is that other obiection; that we touche onely the frute or effecte which the faithfull take of the eating of the flesh of Christ. For we haue said befoze, that Christ hymselfe is the substance of the Supper: and that therupon foloweth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death we are cleansed from sinnes, by his blood we are washed, by his resurrection we are railed vp into hope of the hea- uenly lyfe. But the foolish imagination, whereof Lombarde was the authoz, hath peruered their myndes, while they thinke that the eating of the flesh of Christ is the Sacrament. For thus sayth he: The Sa- crament and not the thyng are the formes of bread and wyne: the sa- crament and the thyng, are the flesh and blood of Christ: the thyng

and



and not the sacrament, is his mysticall fleſhe. Agayne within a littell after. The thyng ſignified and contained, is the propre fleſhe of Chriſt: the thyng ſignified and not conceyned is his mysticall body. Whereas he maketh difference betwene the fleſhe of Chriſt, and the effectual power of noziſhyng, wherwith it is endued, I agree: but whereas he ſaineth it to be a ſacrament, yea and contained vnder bread, it is an error not to be ſuffred. Hereupon hath growen the falſe expoſition of ſacramentall eatyng, becauſe they haue thought that wicked men alſo and euill doers doo eate the fleſhe of Chriſt, howe muche ſoever they bee ſtrangers from hym. But the fleſhe of Chriſt it ſelfe in the myſterie of the Supper is no leſſe a ſpirituall thyng than eternall ſaluation. Whereupon we gather, that whoſoever be voide of the Spirit of Chriſt, can no moze eate the fleſhe, of Chriſt than they can drinke wine wherwith is ſoyned no taſte. Cruely Chriſt is to haynoully tozne in ſonder, when that dead body and which hath no lyuely ſtrength, is geuen foozth in common to vnbeleuers: and his expreſſe wordes are directly againſt it, Whoſoever eateth my fleſhe and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in hym. John. 6.  
16. They answer that in that place is not entreated of the ſacramentall eatyng: which I graunt, ſo that they wyl not nowe and then ſtomble agaynſt the ſame ſtone, in ſayeng that the fleſhe it ſelfe is eaten without fruite. But I would knowe of them, howe long they hold it when they haue eaten it. Here, in my iudgement, they ſhall haue no waye to gett out. But they object, that nothyng can bee withdrawn or faile of the promiſes of God by the vnthankfulneſſe of men. I graunt in dede, and I ſay that the force of the myſterie remaineth whole, howſoever wicked men doo, as muche as in them lyeth, endeuor to make it boyde. Yet it is one thyng to be offered, and an other thyng to be receiued. Chriſt reacheth this ſpirituall meate and offereth this ſpirituall drinke to all men: ſome do gredily eate of it, ſome do lothtingly reſuſe it: ſhall theſe mens reſuſyng make the meate and the drynke to loſe their nature? They wil ſay that their opiniõ is holpen by this ſimilitude, namely that the fleſhe of Chriſt, though it be vnſauorie, is neuertheleſſe his fleſhe. But I denie that it can be eaten without the taſte of faith: or (if we liſt rather to ſpeake as Auguſtine doth) I ſay that men beare away no moze of this ſacramēt, thā thei gather with the veſſel of faith. So nothing is abated from the Sacrament, yea the truth and effectualneſſe therof remaineth vnminithed, although the wicked depart emptie frõ the outward partakynge of it. If they agayne object that this worde, this is my bodye, is diminiſhed, if the wicked receiue cozruptible bread and nothyng ells: we haue a ſolution ready, that God will not be acknoven true in the receiuyng it ſelfe, but in the ſtedfaſtneſſe of his owne goodneſſe, when he is ready to geue, yea liberally offereth to the vnwozthy that whiche they reſuſe. And this is the fulneſſe of the Sacrament, which y whole world can not breaake, that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is no leſſe geuen to the vnwozthy than to the choſen faithfull ones of God: but therewithall it is true, that as water lightyng vpon a hard ſtone, falleth away, becauſe there is no entrie open into the ſtone: ſo the wicked do with their hardneſſe driue back the grace of God that it cã not perce into them. Adzeouer, that Chriſt ſhould be receiued without faith, is no moze agreeyng with reaſon, than ſede to bud in the ſpye. Whereas they aſke, how Chriſte



It is come to damnation to some, vnlesse they receiue him vnworthily, it is a very cold question: forasmuch as we no where rede, that men do procure death to themselves by vnworthily receiuyng Christe, but rather by refusing him. Neither doth Christes parable helpe them, where he saith that sede groweth by among thoznes, and afterwarde beyng choked is marred: because he there entreateth, of what value the faith is whiche endureth but for a tyme, which they do not think to be necessary to the eatyng of Christes flesh and drinkyng of his blood, that in this behalfe do make Judas egally felow with Peter. But rather by the same parable their error is cofuted, where Christ saith y some sede falleth in the hie waie, other some vpon stones, & neither of them takeih roote. Wherupō foloweth that to the vnbeleuers their owne hardnesse is a let y Christ atteineth not to them. Whosoouer desireth to haue our saluation holpen by this mysterie, shall fynde nothyng fitter, than that the faithfull being led to the very fountaine, shold draw life out of the Sōne of God. But the dignitie of it is honorably enough set out, when we keepe in mynde that it is a helpe wherby we be grafted into the body of Christ, or beyng grafted do moze and moze growe together, till he do fully make hymself one with vs in the heavenly lyfe. They obiect that Paule ought not to haue made them gilty of the body and blood of Christ, vnlesse they wer partakers of them. But I answer that they ar not therfore condemned, because they haue eaten them, but only because they haue prophaned the mysterie, in treading vnder feete the pledge of the holly conioynyng with God, which they ought reuerently to receiue.

34 Now because Augustine among the old wryters chiefly hath affirmed that article of doctrine, that nothyng is abated from the Sacraments, nor the grace which they figure is made void by the infidelite or nough-  
tinesse of men: it shalbe profitable to proue clerely by his owne wordes, how vnfitly & peruerly they do draw that to this present cause, which cast the body of Christ to dogges to eate. The sacramentall eating, after their opinion, is wherby the wicked receiue the body & blood of Christ without y power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. Augustine cōtrari-  
wise weyeng wisely those wordes, He that eateth my flesh, & drinketh my blood, shal not die for euer, saiethe: Namely the power of the sacrament, not only the visibill sacrament: & verily within, not without: he y eateth it w harte, not he y pzeisseth it with tooth. Wherupon at length he con-  
cludeth that the sacramēt of this thing, that is to say, of the vnitie of the body & blood of Christ, is set befoze men in the Supper of the Lorde, to some vnto life, to some vnto destruction: but the thing it selfe wherof it is a sacrament, to al men vnto life, to none vnto destruction, whosoouer be partaker of it. That none shold here cauill, that the thing is called not the body, but the grace of the Spirit which may be seuered frō the body: the cōtratie comparison betwene these two wordes of addition Visibill & Inuisibill driueth away al these mystes: for vnder the first of them can not be cōprehended the body of Christ. Wherupon foloweth y the vnbeleuers do communicate only of y visibill signe. And y al doutyng may be better taken away, after y he had said y this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man, he addeth: Moses & Aaron and Phinees, & many other that dyd eate Manna, pleased God. Why so: because the spirituall meate they spirituallly vnderstoode, spirituallly hungred, spiritualllye  
tasted,



tasted, that they myghte bee spirituallly fylled. For we also at this tyme haue receiued spiritual meat: but the Sacrament is one thyng, and the power of the sacrament is an other. A litle after: And by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doute neither eateth spirituallly his fleshe, nor dzinketh his blood, though carnally and visibly he pzeisseth with teeth the signe of the body and blood. We heare agayne that the visibly signe is set in cōparison as contrary to spirituall eating. Wherby þ error is cōfuted, that the body of Christ inuisibly is in dede eaten sacramētally, though not spirituallly. We heare also that nothing is graūted to pzoophane & vncleane mē beside the visibly receiuyng of the signe. Hereupon cometh his famous sayeng, þ the other disciples did eate the bred þ Lord, but Judas did eate þ bread of þ Lord: wherin he plainly excludeth þ vnbeleuers frō the partakyng of þ body & blood. Neither tendeth it to any other end which he sayth in an other place: What meruailest thou, if to Judas was geuē the bread of Christ, by which he might be made bond to the deuell: when thou seest on the cōtrary side that to Paul was geuē the angel of the deuell, by whome he might be made perfect in Christ: He saith verily in an other place, that the bread of the Supper was þ body of Christ to them to whom Paule said, He that eateth vnworthily, eateth and dzinketh iugement to himselfe: and that they haue not therfore nothyng, because they haue receiued noughtily. But in what sense, he declareth moze fully in an other place. For (takynge in hand purposely to define howe the wicked & euell doers, which professe the christian faith with mouth but with dedes do deny it, do eate the body of Christ, and that against the opinton of some which thought that thei did not eate in sacramēt only but in very dede.) But neither (saith he) ought it to be said that they eate þ body of Christ, because thei ar not to be reckned among the membzes of Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) they can not together be þ mēbers of Christ; and the membzes of a harlot. Finally where himselfe saith, He that eateth my fleshe, and dzinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in hym, he sheweth what it is not sacramentally but in very dede to eate the body of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abyde in him. For he so sayd this, as though he had sayde, he that abydeth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let hym not say or thinke that he dothe eate my body, or dzynke my blood. Let the readers weye the thynges sett as contraries in the comparison to eate, Sacramētally, and in Very dede: and there shall remaine no dout. He confirmeth the same, no lesse plainly in these wordes: Prepare not your sawes, but your harr: Hereupon is this Supper commended. Doe we beleue in Christ, when we receiue by faith: in receiuyng we know what to thinke. We receiue a litle and are fatted in hart. Therfore not that which is sene, but that which is beleued, dothe fede. Here also that whiche the wicked receiue, he restraineth to the visibly signe: and teacheth that Christ is none otherwise receiued than by faith. So also in an other place, pronoucyng expzessly that the good and the euell do communicate together in the signes, he excludeth the euell from the true eatyng of the fleshe of Christ. For if they receiued the thing it selfe, he wold not bitterly haue left that vnspoken which was moze fitt for his mater. Also in an other place, entreating of the eatyng and the frute therof, he concludeth thus. Then shall the body and

Homil.  
in Iohā.  
11.

Homil.  
111.  
1. Cor. 11.  
bit.  
Lib v. de  
bapt cōs  
tra De tra  
1. Cor. 11.  
111.

John. 6.  
111.  
Lib. de ci  
uitat. dei  
111 cap.  
111.

Cō Fair.  
lib 111.  
cap. 111.  
Serm. de  
verb. Az  
posk.

blood



blood of Christ be life to euery man, if that which in the Sacrament is  
 visibly receiued, be in the truth it selfe spiritually eaten, spiritually dr**ink**.  
 Therfore whoso make vnbeleuers partakers of the fle**sh** and blood of  
 Christ, that they may agree with Augustine, let them shew vs the visi-  
 ble body of Christ: forasmuche as, by his iudgement, the whole tr**uth** is  
 spirituall. And it is certainly gathered out of his wordes, that the Sa-  
 cramentall eatyng, when vnbelefe closeth by the entrie to tr**uth**e, is as  
 much in effect as visible or outward eatyng. If the body of Christ might  
 be eaten truely and yet not spiritually, what should that meane whiche he  
 sayth in an other place: Ye shall not eat this body which ye see, & dr**inke**  
 the blood which they shall shedde that shall crucifie me. I haue comin-  
 ded a certaine sacrament vnto you, beeyng spiritually vnderstanded it  
 shall quicken you. Verily he woulde not denie but that the same body  
 which Christ offered for sacrifice, is deliuered in the Supper: but he by  
 set out the maner of eatyng: namely that being receiued into heavenly  
 glorie, by the secreete power of the Spirit it breatheth lyfe into vs. I  
 graunt in dede that there is oftentimes founde in hym this maner of  
 speakyng, that the body of Christ is eaten of the vnbeleuers: but he ex-  
 poundeth himselfe, addyng, In Sacramente. And in an other place he  
 describeth spirituall eating, in whiche our binges consume not grace.  
 And least myne aduersaries should saye, that I fighte with them with a  
 heape of places, I wold know of them how they can vnwynde themsel-  
 ues from one sayeng of his, where he saith that Sacraments do worke  
 in the only elect that which they figure. Truely they dare not denye but  
 that the bred in the Supper figureth the body of Christ. Whereupon fol-  
 loweth that the reprobate are debarred from the partakyng of it. That  
 Cyrill also thought none otherwise, these wordes doo declare. As if a  
 man vpon molten ware do poure other ware, he wholly tempereth the  
 one ware with the other: so is it necessary, if any man receiue the fle**sh**  
 and blood of the Lorde, that he be ioyned with hym, that Christe may  
 be founde in hym and he in Christ. By these wordes I thinke it is eu-  
 dent, that they are bereued of the true and real eatyng, that do but sacra-  
 mentally eat the body of Christ, which can not be seuered from his po-  
 wer: and that therfore faileth not the faith of the promises of god, which  
 ceaseth not to rayne from heauen, although the stones and rockes con-  
 ceiue not the liquor of the raine.

35 This knowlege shall also easly dr**aw**e vs away from the carnal wor-  
 shipping, whiche some haue with peruerse rashnesse erected in the Sa-  
 crament: because they made accompt with themselves in this maner: If  
 it be the body, then bothe the soule and the godhead are together with  
 the body, which now can not be seuered: therfore Christe is there to be  
 worshipped. First if their accompanieng whiche they pretende be denied  
 them, what will they do? For how much soeuer they crie out vpon an ab-  
 surditie, if the body be seuered from the soule and the godhed: yet what  
 soundwitted and sobze man can persuaide himself that the body of Christ  
 is Christ: They thinke themselves in dede gaily to proue it with their  
 logicall argumentes. But sith Christ speaketh distinctly of his body and  
 blood, but describeth not the maner of presence: how will they of a doubt-  
 full thing gather certainly that which they would. What then? If their  
 consciences chance to be exercised w any moze greuous selyng, shall not  
 they

n psal.  
 cxi.

Homil.  
 in Iohā.  
 xvii.

In. vi. Io-  
 han cap.  
 xvii.



they by and by with their logical arguments be dissolved & melt in ashes. It is when they shall see themselves destitute of the certaine word of God, upon which alone our soules do stand fast; when they are called to account, & without which they faint at euery first moment: when they shall call to mynde that the doctrine and exāples of the Apostles are against them, and that themselves alone are to themselves the authors of it. To suche motions shall be added other not small prickynge. What? Shall it be a mater of no impoztance, to worshop God in this forme, where no thyng was prescribed vnto vs? When it concerned the true worshyp of God, ought they with so great lightnesse to haue attempted that of which there is no where red any one word? But if they had, with such humblesnesse as they ought, holden all their thoughtes vnder the word of God; they wold truly haue harkened to that which he said, Take, eate, drinke, and wold haue obeyed this cōmaundement, wherin he biddeth the Sacrament to be receiued, not to be worshipped. But they which, as it is cōmaunded of God, do receiue it without worshippynge, are assured that they do not swarue from Gods cōmaundement: than which assurednesse there is nothing better when we take any worke in hande. They haue the example of the Apostles, whom we reade not to haue fallen downe flat & worshipped it, but euen as they were sitting, to haue receiued it & eaten it. They haue the vse of the Apostolike Chirch, wherin Luke re-  
 porteth that the faithfull did communicate not in worshipping but in  
 breakyng of bread. They haue the Apostles doctrine, wherewith Paule  
 instructed the Chirch of the Cozynthians, professyng that he had recei-  
 ued of the Lorde that whiche he deliuered.  
 And these thyngs verily tend to this end, that the godly readers shold  
 wey how perillous it is in so hye maters to wander frō the simple worde  
 of God to the dreames of our owne brainte. But those thyngs that are  
 aboue said, ought to deliuer vs from all doute in this behalfe. For, that  
 godly soules may therein rightly take hold of Christ, they must nedes be  
 lifted vp to heauen. If this be the office of a sacrament, to help y<sup>e</sup> mynde  
 of man whiche otherwise is weake, that it may rise vpwarde to reache  
 the height of spirituall mysteriēs: then they which are holden downe, in  
 the outward signe do stray from the right way of sekynge Christ. What  
 then? Shall we denie that it is a superstitious worshippynge, when men  
 do thzowe themselves downe befoze bread, to worshop Christe therein?  
 Doubtesse y<sup>e</sup> Nicene Synode meant to mete w<sup>th</sup> this misthiefe, whē it foze  
 bade vs to be hūbly intentiue to y<sup>e</sup> signes set befoze vs. And for none o<sup>r</sup>  
 ther cause was it in olde tyme ordeined, that befoze the consecration the  
 people shold with a loude voice be put in mynde to haue their hartes lift-  
 ed vpward. The Scripture it selfe also, beside that it diligently decla-  
 reth vnto vs the ascension of Christ, wher by he cōuēyed away the pres-  
 ence of his body from our sight & conuersation: to shake away from vs  
 all carnal thinkyng of hym; so oft as it maketh mention of him, cōmaū-  
 deth vs to be in myndes raised vpward, & to seke him in heauen sittynge  
 at the right hand of the Father. According to this rule he was rather to  
 be spiritually worshipped in heauēly glorie, thā this so perillous a kinde  
 of worshippynge to be deuised, full of carnall and grosse opinion of God.  
 Wherfoze they y<sup>e</sup> haue inuēted y<sup>e</sup> worshippynge of y<sup>e</sup> sacramēt, haue not on-  
 ly dreamed it of themselves beside y<sup>e</sup> Scripture, in which no mention of it  
 can

Act. ii. iii

1. Cor. xi.

36

1. Tim. ii.

.02

Sursum

corda,

Coloss.

iii. ii.

Heb.



can be shewed (which yet should not haue ben ouerpasse if it had ben acceptable to God.) But also al y<sup>e</sup> scripture crieng out against it, they haue framed to theselues a God after y<sup>e</sup> wil of their own lust, leauing y<sup>e</sup> liuing God: For what is idolatry; if this be not, to worshop the gifts in steede of the gener of himself: Wherin they haue dolely offended: For both y<sup>e</sup> honoz taken fro God was conueyed to a creature: and he himself also dishonored in the defilyng and prophanyng of his benefite, when of his holy sacramēt is made a cursed idole. But let vs contrarywise, least we fall into the same pit, thzoughly settle our eares, eyes, hartes, myndes, and tonges in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the schole of the Holy ghost, the best scholemaster, in whiche suche profite is attained that nothing nede moze to be gotten from any where ellg, but we willingly ought to be ignozant of whatsoeuer is not taught in it.

37

But nowe (as superstition, when it hath ones passed the right boundes, maketh no end of sinning) thei fel a great wai further. For thei haue deuised Ceremonies altogether strange fro the institutio of y<sup>e</sup> Supper, to this end only y<sup>e</sup> they might geue diuine honozs to the signe. We yelde (say they) this worshop to Christ: first, if this wer done in the Supper, I wold say that that worshipping only is lawfull, which resteth not in y<sup>e</sup> signe, but is directed to Christ sitting in heauen. But now by what pretense do they boast y<sup>e</sup> they worshop Christ in that bread: whē thei haue no promise therof: They consecrate an host, as they call it, which they may carie about in pompe, which they may shew forth in a comon gazing to be looked vpon, worshipped, and called vpon. I aske by what power they think it to be rightly consecrate. Verily they wil bring forth those wordes, This is my body. But I will object to the contrary, y<sup>e</sup> it was therwithall said, Take & eate. Neither will I do that of nothing. For whē a promise is knit to a comāndement, I say y<sup>e</sup> the promise is so contained vnder y<sup>e</sup> comāndement, that being seuered it is made no promise at all. This shalbe made plainer by a like exāple. God gaue a comāndement, when he said, Call vpon me: He added a promise, I wil heare thee. If any mā calling vpon Peter & Paule, do glorie vpon this promise, wil not al meerie out that he doth wrongfully: And what other thing I pray you, do they which leauing the comāndement concernyng eatyng, do catch hold of a mained promise, this is my body, to abuse it to strange ceremonies from the institution of Christ: Let vs therfore remembre that this promise is geuen to them which kepe the comāndement ioined with it: but y<sup>e</sup> they be destitute of all the word which remoue the Sacrament to any other way: We haue heretofore entreated how the mysterie of the holy supper serueth our faith befoze God. But forasmuch as the Lord doth here not only bring into our remembrance so great largesse of his boūtie, as we haue befoze shewed; but doth as it were from hande to hande bring it forth, & stirreth vs to acknowledge it: he doth thet withal warne vs y<sup>e</sup> we be not vnthakfull to so plentiful libertalitie; but rather y<sup>e</sup> we should publishe it with such praises as it is mett, and aduance it with thankesgeuyng. Therfore when he deliuered the institution of the Sacramēt it self to the Apostles, he taught them that they should doo it in remembrance of him. Which Paul expouñdetly, to declare the Lords death. That is, publikely & altogether with one mouth opely to confesse, y<sup>e</sup> al our assistance of life & salutiō is reposed in the death of y<sup>e</sup> Lord: y<sup>e</sup> we may glori-

Psalm. l. ro.

1. Cor. xi. 17. 18.

Luc. xxi. 17. 18.



tie him w<sup>o</sup> our cōfessio, & may by our exāple exhorte other to geue glozy to him. Here againe it appeareth wherunto y<sup>e</sup> marke of thys Sacramēt is directed, namely to exercise vs in y<sup>e</sup> remēbrance of the death of Chzist. For, this that we are commaunded to declare the Lordes death tyll he come to iudge, is nothing ells but that we should publishe that with cōfessio of mouth, which our fayth hath acknowledged in the Sacramēt, that is, that the death of Chzist is our life. This is the seconde vse of the Sacrament, which pertaineth to outwarde confession.

Thirde the Lorde also willed it to be to vs in stede of an exhortatio, than which none other can moze vehemently encourage and enflame vs bothe to purenesse and holinesse of life, and also to charitie, peace, and agreement. For the Lord doth therein so communicate his body to vs, that he is made thzoughly one with vs, and we with him. Nowe sithe he hath but one body, whereof he maketh vs all partakers, it is necessarie that al we also be by such partaking made one body. Whiche vnitie the bred which is deliuered in the Sacrament, representeth: which as it is made of many graynes in such sort mingled together that one can not be discerned from an other: after the same manner we also oughte to be coniointed and knitt together with so great agreement of myndes, that no disagreement or diuision come betwene vs. This I had rather to be expressed with Pauls wordes. The cup of blessing (sayth he) which we blesse, is the communicating of the blood of Chzist: and the bred of blessing which we bzeake, is the partaking of the body of Chzist. Therefore we al are one body, that partake of one bred. We shall haue very well profited in the Sacramēt, if this thought so shalbe emprinted & engraueu in our mindes, that none of the bzeathzen can be hurt, despised, refused, abused, or in any wise be offended of vs, but that therewithal we do in so doing hurt, despise and abuse Chzist w<sup>o</sup> our iniurious dealinges: y<sup>e</sup> we can not disagree with our bzeathzen, but that we muste therewithall disagree with Chziste: that Chziste can not be loued of vs, but that he muste be loued in oure bzeathzen: that what care we haue of oure own body, such also we ought to haue of our bzeathzen whiche are members of our body: as no part of our bodi is touched w<sup>o</sup> any felig of grefe, whiche is not spred abzode into al the other partes, so we must not suffer, our brother to be greued with any euill wherof we shoulde not also be touched w<sup>o</sup> cōpassion. Therfoze Augustine not w<sup>o</sup>ut cause so oft calleth thys Sacramēt y<sup>e</sup> bonde of charitie. For what sharper spur could be put to vs, to stirre bp mutual charitie amōg vs, thā whē Chzist geuing himselfe to vs, doth not only allure vs w<sup>o</sup> hys own exāple y<sup>e</sup> we shoulde mutually dedicate & deliuer our selues one to an other: but in somuch as he maketh himselfe common to al, he maketh al vs also one in himselfe.

But hereby is that very well confirmed whiche I haue sayd in an other place, that the true ministratio of the Sacramente standeth not without the worde. For whatsoeuer profit commeth to vs of the Supper, requireth the worde: whether we be to be cōfirmed in faith, or to be exercised in cōfessio, or to be stirred bp to dutie, praiet is nedeful. Therfoze nothing can be moze disorderly done in the Supper, than if it be turned to a dumme actio: as hath ben done vnder the tyranny of the Pope. For they would haue the whole force of consecration to hang vpon y<sup>e</sup> intent of y<sup>e</sup> Prest, as though this nothing pertained to y<sup>e</sup> people.



to whom it most of all behoued þ the mysterie shoulde be declared. But therupon hath growen this erroꝝ, þ they marked not that those promises wherw the consecration is made, are directed not to þ elemētes themselves, but to them that receiue them. But Chziste speaketh not to the bred, that it may be made his body, but cōmaūdeþ his disciples to eat, and promiseth to them the communicating of hys body and blood. And none other order doth Paul teach, than þ together w the bred and the cup, the promises shoulde be offered to the faythful. Thus it is truely. We ought not here to imagine any magical enchauntment, þ it be sufficient to haue mūbled by þ woꝝdes, as though þ elemētes did heare them: but let vs vnderstande þ those woꝝdes are a liuely preaching, whiche maye edifie þ hearers, which may inwardly pearce into their myndes, whiche may be emprinted and settled in their hartes, whith maye shewe fourth effectualnesse in þ fulfilling of þ which it promiseth. By these reasons it clerely appeareth, þ the layeng vp of þ Sacramēt, which many do earnestly require, þ it may be extraoꝝdinarily distributed to the sicke, is vnprofitable. For either they shal receiue it wout reherfing of þ institutio of Chziste, oꝝ þ minister shal together w the signe ioyne þ true declaration of þ mysterie. In silence is abuse and fault. If þ promises be reherfed, and þ mysterie declared, þ they which shal receiue it maye receiue it with frute, there is no cause why we shoulde doute that thys is the true consecration. To what ende then wil that other consecration come, the foꝝce wherof commeth not so farr as to the sicke men: But they that doe so, haue the example of the olde Chirch. I graunt: but in so great a matter, and in which we erre not without greate danger, nothing is safer than to folow the truth it selfe.

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Now as we see that thys holy bred of the Supper of the Lord is spiritual meate, no lesse swete and delicate than healthful to þ godly worshippers of God, by þ taste wherof they fele þ Christ is their lyfe, whom it rayseth vp to thankesgiving, to whome it is an exhortation to mutual charitie among themselves: so on the other side it is turned into a moste noysome payson to all them whoes fayth it doth not nourishe and confirme, and whom it doth not stirre vp to confession of praise and to charitie. For as bodily meate, when it fyndeth a stomach possessed w euill humoꝝs, being it selfe also therby made euil and coꝝrupted doth rather hurt than nourish: so thys spiritual meate, if it lighte vpon a soule defiled with malice and noughtinesse, thzoweth it down hedlong wyth greater fal: berily not by þ fault of þ meate it selfe, but because to defyled and vnbeleuing mē nothing is cleane, though otherwise it be neuer so muche sanctified by the blessing of the Lorde. For (as Paule sayth) they that eat and dꝝynke vnworthily, are gylty of the body and blood of the Lorde, and do eat and dꝝynke iugement to themselves, not discerning the body of the Lorde. For, suche kynde of men as without any sparcle of fayth, without any zele of charitie, do thzurst themselves fourth lyke swyne to take the Supper of the Lorde, doe not discern the body of the Lorde. For insomuche as they doe not beleue that that body is their life, they doe as muche as in them lyeth dishonoꝝ it, spoiling it of all the dignitie therof, and finally in so receiuing it they prophane and defyle it. But in so much as being estranged and disagreyng from their brethren, they dare myngle the holye sygne of the body of Chziste  
with

It. i. rb.  
Co. xi.  
f.



with their disagreeentes, it is no thanke to them that the body of Christ is not rent in sonder, and limnemeale tozne in peces. And so not vnwozthily they are gyltie of the body and blood of the Lorde, whiche they do with vngodlinesse ful of sacrilege so fowly defile. Therfoze by thys vnwozthily eating, they take to themselues damnation. For whereas they haue no fayth reposed in Christ, yet receiuing the Sacramente they pzoferre that there is saluation for them no where ellis thā in him, and do forswere al other affiance. Wherefoze they themselues are accusers to themselues, they themselues pronounce witnesse againste themselues, and they themselues seale their owne damnation. Againe when they being with hatred and euil wil diuided and dzawen in soder from their bzehtzen, that is, from the members of Christe, haue no parte in Christ: yet they do testifie that this is the only saluation to cōmunicate with Christe, and to be made one with him. For this cause Paule commaundeth, that a man pzoue himselfe, befoze that he eate of this bred or dzinke of this cup. Wherby (as I expounde it) he meant that euery man should descende into himselfe, and weye with himselfe, whether he doe with inwarde affiance of hart rest vpon the saluatiō which Christ hath purchaced: whether he acknowledge it with confession of mouth: then whether he do with desirous endeuoz of innocence and holinesse aspire to the folowing of Christ: whether after his example he be redy to geue himselfe to his bzehtzen, and to cōmunicate himselfe to them with whō he hath Christ common to hym: whether, as he himselfe is accompted of Christ, he do likewise on his behalfe take al his bzehtzen for members of his owne body: whether, he couet to cherishe, defende, and helpe them as his owne members. Not for that these duties both of fayth and charitie can now be perfect in vs: but because we ought to endeuoz this, and with all our desires to long towarde it, y we may daily moze and moze encrease our fayth begonne.

Commonly when they goe about to prepare men to such woꝛthinesse of eating, they haue in cruell wise toꝛmented and bered pooze consciences: and yet they bzought neuer a whit of all those thinges that myght serue to the purpose. They sayd that those did eate woꝛthily which were in state of grace. To be in state of grace they expounded to be pure and cleansed from al sinne. By which doctrine all the men that euer haue at any time ben or now be in earth, were debarred from the vse of thys Sacramente. For if we goe about this, to fetche our woꝛthinesse from our selues, we are vtterly vndone: onely despeire and damnable ruine abideth for vs. Though we endeuoz with our whole strēgthes, we shall nothing moze pzenaile, but that then at last we shall be most vnwoꝛthy, when we haue most of all trauailed about seking of woꝛthinesse. To salue this soze, they haue deuised a way to attaine woꝛthinesse: that, as much as in vs lieth, making examination, and requiring of our selues accompt of al our doinges, we hold with contrition, confession, and satisfaction cleanse our vnwoꝛthinesse: which way of clensing, what manner of thing it is, we haue alreedy shewed there where was moze conuenient place to speake of it. So much as serueth for our present purpose, I saye that these be to hūgry and banishing comfortes to dismaied and discouraged consciences and suche as are striken with horroz of their sinne. For if the Lorde by speciall foꝛbidding, admitteth none to the



partaking of his Supper but the righteous and innocente: there needeth no small hede that may make a man assured of his own righteou- nesse which he heareth to be required of God. But whereby is this assur- rednesse confirmed vnto vs, that they are discharged afoze God, which haue done so muche as in them lay? But although it were so, yet when shall it be that a man may be bolde to assure himselfe that he hath doone as muche as in him lay? So when there is made no certaine assurance of our worthinesse, the entrie shall alway remaine shut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eate and drinke iudgement to themselues, which eate and drinke vnworthily.

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 Nowe it is easy to iudge what manner of doctrine this is whiche reigneth in the Papacie, and from what authoz it hath proceded, which with the outragious rigor thereof bereueth and spoyleth, miserable sinners and suche as be tormented with feare and sorowe, of the comfort of this Sacramente, in whiche yet al the swete delicates of the Gospell were set befoze them. Surely the deuill coulde by no readier way de- stroye men, than by so making them senselesse, that they coulde not per- ceine the taste and sauoz of such foode, wherewith it was the will of the moste good heauenly Father to fede them. Least therefore we runne into suche hedlong downfall, let vs remember that this holy banket is medicine to the sicke, comfort to sinners, liberal gift to the pooze: which bring no profit to the healthy, righteous, and riche, if any suche coulde be found: for whereas in it Chyriste is geuen vs for meate: we vnder- stande that withoute him we pyne, starue, and faine, like as famyne destroyeth the lively strength of the body. Againe whereas he is geuen vs for lyfe: we vnderstande that without him we are in our selues vt- terly dead. Wherefoze this is the worthinesse bothe the onely and beste that we can bring to God, if we offer to him our owne vilenesse and (as I may so cal it) vnworthinesse, that of his mercy he may make vs wor- thy of him: if we despeire in our selues, that we may be comforted in him: if we humble our selues, that we may be raised vp of him: if we accuse our selues, that we may be iustified of him: mozeouer if we aspire to that vnitie which he commendeth to vs in his Supper: and as he maketh vs all, one in himselfe, so if we wishe to vs all altogether one soule, one hart one tong. If we haue these thinges througely well weyed and considered, suche thoughtes althoughe they shake vs, yet shall neuer ouerthrowe vs. As, howe should we being nedy and naked of all good thinges, we defiled with filthinesse of sinnes, we halfe dead, eate the body of the Lorde worthily? We will rather thinke that we being pooze come to the liberall geuer, we sicke to the Phisician, we sinners to the authoz of righteoussnesse, finally we dead men to hym that geueth lyfe: that that worthinesse which is commaunded of God, consisteth chesely of fayth, whiche reposes all thinges in Chyriste and nothing in vs: and nexte of charitie, and the selfe same charitie which it is enoughe to offer vnperfecte to God, that he maye encrease it to better, forasmuche as it can not be geuen perfecte. Some other agreing with vs in thys, that the worthinesse it selfe consisteth in fayth and charitie: yet in the measure of worthinesse haue gone farr oute of the waye, requiring a perfection of fayth, whereunto nothing maye be added, and a charitie egall with that which Chyrist hath



hath shewed toward vs. But hereby they doe none otherwise than those other before, dyue all men away from comming to this holy Supper. For if their sentence shoulde take place, no man shoulde receiue but vnworthily, forasmuche as all without exception shoulde be holden gyltie and conuicte of their vnperfectnesse. And truely it were a point of to muche amazed dulnesse, I will not say foolishnesse, to require such perfection in the sacrament, as may make the sacrament boide and superfluous: which was not ordeined for the perfecte, but for the weake and feble to awake, to stirre vp, to prick forward, and exercise the affection of Faith and charitie, and to correcte the default of either of them.

But so much as concerneth the outward forme of doing, whether the faithfull receiue it in their hande or no: whether they deuide it, or euery one eate that which is geuen him: whether they put agayne the cup in the hande of the deacon, or deliuet it to the nexte: whether the bread be leuened, or vnleuened: whether the wyne be redde or white: it maketh no matter. These thinges be indifferente and lefte in the libertie of the Chirch. Howbeit it is certayne, that the vsage of the olde Chirch was, that euery one shoulde take it into his hand. And Christ sayde, Diuide it among you. The historizes reporte, that it was leuened and commoft bread before the time of Alexander Bishop of Rome, which first delited in vnleuened bread: but for what reaso, I see not, vilesse it were with a new sight to draw the eyes of the common people to wondzing at it, rather than to instruct their mindes with good religion. I aduise al them that are touched with any though but light zeale of godlinesse, to tel whether they do not evidently see, bothe how muche moze brightly the glory of God shineth herein, and how muche moze abundant sweetnesse of spirituall comfote commeth to the faithfull, than in these colde and playelike trifles, whiche bringe none other vse but to deceiue the sense of the amazed people. This they call the holding of the people in religion, when beeyng made foolish and senselesse wyth superstition it is drawen whether they lyste. If any man will defend suche intentions by antiquite, I my self also am not ignozant howe aunciente is the vse of the chresme, and blowing in Baptisme: Howe nye to the age of the Apostles the Supper of the L O R D E was infected with rustinesse: but this verily is the waywardnesse of mans boldnesse, whiche can not withholde it selfe but that it muste alwaye playe and be wanton in the mysteries of God. But let vs remember that God doth so hply esteeme the obedience of his woorde, that he wylleth vs in it to iudge both his Angels and the whole worlde. Nowe, byddyng farewel to so great a heape of ceremonie: it might thus haue bene most comlyly ministrad, if it were oft and at least euery weke sette before the Chirch, but that first they shoulde beginne wyth publike prayers: then a sermon shoulde be made: then the minister, hauing bread and wyne set vpon the boarde, shoulde rehearse the institution of the Supper: and then shoulde declare the promises y are in it lefte vnto vs: and therewithall shoulde excommunicate al them that by the lords forbidding are debarred fro it, afterward they shoulde pray that with what liberalitie y lord hath geue vs this holy foode, he woulde instructe and frame vs also with the same



Fayth and thankfulness of mynde to receiue it, and that forasmuch as we are not of our selues, he would of his mercy make vs woorthy of such a banquet: that then either Psalmes should be soong, or somewhat red; and the faythful should in seemely order communicate of the holy banquet, the ministers breaking the bred and geuing it to the people: that when the Supper is ended, exhortation should be made to pure fayth and confession of fayth, to charitie, and to maners mete for Christians: laste of all that geuing of thankes should be reherced, and praises be soong to God: which being ended the congregation should be let goe in peace.

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 These thinges that we haue hether to spoken of thys Sacramente do largely shewe, that it was not therfore ordeined, that it should be receiued yerely ones, and that slightly for maners sake (as now commonly the custome is) but that it should be in often vse to al Christians, that with often remembrance they should repete the passion of Christe: by which remembrance they might susteyne and strengthen their fayth, and exhort themselues to sing cofession of prayse to God, and to publish his goodnesse: finally by which they might nourishe mutuall charitie, and testifie it among themselues, wherof they saw the knot in the knite of the body of Christ. For so oft as we communicate of the signe of the body of the Lord, we do as by a token geuen and receiued, enterchangeably bynde our selues one to an other vnto all duties of loue, y none of vs doe any thing wherby he may offende his brother, nor leaue any thing vndone wherby he may helpe hym, when nede requireth and abilitie sufficeth. That suche was the vse of the Apostolike Chirch, Luke rehearseth in the Actes, when he sayth that the faithfull were continuing in the doctrine of the Apostles, in communicating, in breaking of bred, and in prayers. So was it altogether mete to be done, that there should be no assemblie of the Chirch without the word, prayers, partaking of the Supper & almes. That thys order was also institute among the Cozynthians we may sufficiently gather of Paul: and it is certayne that in many ages afterwarde it was in vse. For thereupon came those olde Canons, which they father vpon Anacletus and Calixtus, that when the consecration is done, al should communicate, that will not bee without y dozes of y Chirch. And it is red in those olde Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apostles: that they which continue not vnto the ende, and do not receiue the holy communion, muste be corrected as men that moue vniquietnesse of the Chirche. Also in the Councell at Antioche, it was decreed that they which entre into the Chirch, and heare the Scriptures, and do absteyne from the communion, should be remoued from the Chirch, til they haue amended this faulte. Which, although in the first Councell at Toletum it was either somewhat qualified or at least set fourth in mylder wordes, yet it is there also decreed, that they which when they haue heard the sermon are founde neuer to communicate, should be warned: if after warning they absteyne, they should be debarred from it.

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 Vncilly by these ordinances the holy men meant to reteine and mainteyne the often vse of the Communion, which often vse they had receiued from the Apostles themselues, whiche they saw to be most holtsome for the faythful, and by litle and litle by the negligence of the common people to growe out of vse. Augustine testifieth of hys owne tyme: The Sacra-



Sacrament (sayth he) of this thing, of the vnitie of the Lordes body, is somewhere dayly, somewhere by certayne distances of dayes, prepared vpon the Lordes table, and is there receaued at the table, to some vnto lyfe, to other some vnto destruction. And in the first Epistle to Zanuaris: some doe daily communicate of the body and blood of the Lord: some receiue it at certayne dayes: in some places there is no day let passe wherein it is not offred, in some other place only vpon the saturday and the Sunday, and in some othet places neuer but on the Sunday. But forasmuch as the common people was (as we haue said) somewhat slack, the holy men did call earnestly vpon them with sharpe rebukinges, least they should seme to winke at such slouthfulnesse. Suche an exaple is in Chrylostome vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is not sayed vnto him that dishonored y<sup>e</sup> banket: wherfoze didst thou sit down: but, wherfoze didst thou come in: Whosoever is not partaker of the mysteries, he is wycked and shamelesse for that he standeth here presente. I beseeche you, if any be called to a banket, washeth hys handes, sitteth downe, semeth to prepare hymselfe to eate, and then doth tast of nothing: shall he not shame bothe the banket, and the maker of the banket: So thou, standing among them that with prayer do prepare themselves to receiue y<sup>e</sup> holy meate, haste euen in thys that thou haste not gone away confessed that thou art one of the number of them, at the last thou doest not partake: had it not ben better that thou hadst not ben present. Thou wylt say, I am vnwozthy. Therefore neither wast thou wozythy of the Communion of prayer, whiche is a preparing to the receiuing of the holy mysterie.

And truely thys custome which commaundeth to communicate yere-ly ones, is a most certaine inuention of the deuill, by whoes mynisterie soeuer it was bzought in. They say that zephetinus was authoz of that decree, which it is not likely to haue ben such as we now haue it. For he by his ordinaunce did peraduenture not after the worst manner provide for the Chirch, as the times then were. For it is no dout but that then y<sup>e</sup> holy Supper was set befoze the saythfull so oft as they came together in assemble: neither is it any dout but that a good part of them did communicate. But when it scarcely at any tyme happened that al did communicate together, and wheras it was necessarie that they which were mingled with pzophane men and idolatrets, should by some outward signe testifie their fayth: the holy man for order and policies sake, appoynted that day, wherin the whole people of Christians should by partaking of the Lordes Supper vtter a confession of their faith. The ordinaunce of zephetinus being otherwise good, hath ben euel wrested of them that came after: when a certayne law was made of one communicating yere-ly: wherby it is come to passe, that almost al men when they haue ones communicate, as though they had gaily discharged themselves for al the rest of the yere, slepe soundly on bothe eares. It ought to haue ben farr otherwise done. Every weke at the least, the Lordes table should be sett befoze the assemble of the Christians: the promises should be declared, which might fede vs spirituallly at it: none should in dede be compelled by necessitie, but all should be exhorted and prycked forwarde: the sluggishnesse also of the slouthfull should be rebuked. All should by heapes, as hungry men, come together to such deynties. Not



without rightfull cause therfore at the beginning I complayned; that by the craft of the deuill this custome was thrust in, which whē it appointeth one certaine day of the yere, maketh men slouthfull for all the residue of the yere. We see in dede that this peruerse abuse was crept in euen in the tyme of Chrysostome: but we may also therewithall see how muche it displeaseth hym. For he complaineth with greuous wordes in the same place whiche I euen nowe alleged, that there is so great inequalitye of this mater, that often in sometimes of the yere they came not euen whē they were cleane, but at Easter they came euē whē they were vncleane. Then he cryeth out: O custome. O presumption. Then in vaine is the daily offering bled: in vaine we stande at the altar: there is none that partaketh together with vs. So farr is it of that he allowed it by his authoritie adioyned to it.

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Out of the same shop proceeded also an other ordinance; whiche hath stolen away or violently taken away the halfe of the Supper from the better nūber of the people of God: namely the signe of the blood, which beyng denyed to lay and profane men (for with such titles forsothe they set out Gods inheritance) became a peculiar possession to shauen & anoynted men. It is the commaundement of the eternall God, & al should drynke: which commaundement man dare discontinue and repelle with a new and contrarie law, commaunding that not all should drynke. And that these law makers should not seme to fight wout reason against their God, they pretende perils that myght happen if this holy cup were commonly geuen to all: as though those dangers had not ben foreseen and marked of the eternal wisdom of God. And then suttelly forsothe they reason, that the one is enough for both. For if (say they) it be the body, it is whole Christ, which can not now be seuered fro his body. Therefore by Accompanieng the body containeth the blood. Loe how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath neuer so litle begon with loose reines to be wanton and wilde. The Lord shewing bred, saith that it is his body: when he sheweth the cup, he calleth it his blood. The boldnesse of mans reason, crieth out contrariwise that the bred is the blood, and the wine is the body: as though the Lord had for no cause seuered his body from his blood bothe in wordes and in signes: or as though it had euer ben heard spoken that the body or blood of Christ is called God & man. Verily if he had ment to signifie whole himselfe, he might haue sayed, it is I: as he is wont to speake in the Scriptures, and not, thys is my body, thys is my blood. But he willing to helpe our weaknesse, did set the cup seuerally from the bred, to teache that he sufficeth no lesse for drinke than for meate. Nowe let one part be taken away, then we shall finde but the one halfe of the nourishmentes in him. Therefore although it be true which they pretende, that the blood is in the bred by way of Accompanieng, and againe the body in the cup: yet they defraude godly soules of the confirmation of fayth whiche Christe deliuereth as necessarie. Therefore bidding their suttelties farewell, we muste holde faste the profit whiche is by the ordinance of Christe in the twoo earnestes.

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I knowe in dede that the ministers of Satan doe here cauil as it is: an ordinarie thing with them to make mockerie of the Scriptures. First they allege that of one bare doing ought not to be gathered a rule wherby the Church should be bounde to perpetual obseruing. But they lye  
when



when they say that it was but a bare doynge: for Christ did not only deliuer the cuppe, but also did institute that his Apostles should in tyme to come doo the same. For they are the wordes of a commaunder, drinke ye all of this cuppe. And Paule so reherseeth that it was a dede, that he also commendeth it for a certain rule. An other starting hole is, that the Apostles alone were receiued of Christ to the partaking, of this Supper, whome he had already chosen and taken into the order of the sacrificyng prestes. But I would haue them answere me to fīue questions, from which they shall not be able to escape; but that they shall be easily conuincēd with their lies. First, by what oracle haue they this solution reueled, beyng so strange from the worde of God: The Scripture reckeneth. xii. that sate with Iesus: but it dothe not so obscure the dignitie of Christ, that it calleth them sacrificyng prestes: of which name we will speake hereafter in place fit for it. Though he gaue it then to the. xii. yet he commaunded that they should do the same, namely that they should distribute it among them. Secondely, why in that better age, from the Apostles almost a thousand yeres, were al without exception made partakers of bothe the signes: was the old Chirche ignorant what gestes Christ had receiued to his Supper: It were a point of moste desperate shamelesnesse, here to sticke and dally in graūtyng it to bee true. There remayne the ecclesiasticall hystories, there remayne the bookes of the old wryters, which minister euident testimonies of this matter. The fleshe (sayth Tertullian) is fed with the body & blood of Christ, that the soule may be fatted with fedyng vpon God. Now (sayd Ambrose to Theodosius) wilt thou receiue with suche handes the holy body of the Lorde: With what boldnesse wilt thou with thy mouthe partake of the cup of the precious blood: And Hierome sayth, The prestes whiche make the Thankesgeuing, and do distribute the blood of the Lorde to the people, Chrysostome, Not as in the olde lawe the prest did eate parte, and the people part: but one body is set before all, and one cuppe. Those thynges that pertainē to the Thankesgeuing, are all comon betwene the prest and the people. The selfe same thyng dothe Augustine testifie in many places.

But why dispute I about a thyng moste knowen: Let all the Greke and Latine wryters be redde ouer: suche testimonies shall echewhere offer themselves. Neither was this custome growen oute of vse, whyle there remained one droppe of purenesse in the Chirch. Gregorie, whom you may rightly say to haue ben the last bishop of Rome, teacheth that it was kept in his tyme. What is the blood of the Lambe, ye haue nowe learned, not by hearpyng but by drinkyng. His blood is poured into the mouthes of the faithfull. Yea it yet endured fower hundred yeates after his death, when all thynges were growen oute of kynde. For neither was that taken onely for an vslage, but also for an inuolable lawe. For then was in force the reuerence of Gods institution, and they doubted not that it was sacrilege, to seuer those thynges which the Lorde hadde conioyned. For thus saith Gelasius. We haue founde, that some receyuyng only the portion of the holy body, do absteyne from the cup. Lett them without dout, because they seme to be bound with I wot not what superstition, either receyue the Sacramentes whole, or bee debarred from them whole. For the diuidyng of this mysterie is not committed without

lib. de re  
fur. car-  
nis.  
Theodo-  
ric. lib. iij  
cap. viii.  
Euchaz-  
ristia.  
Hier. in  
ii. Mal.  
Chrysof.  
in ii. Cor.  
cap. viii.  
Euchaz-  
ristia.

De conse-  
cra dist.  
ii. ca. Cōs  
per.



without great sacrilege. Those reasons of Cypriane were heard, which truly ought to moue a christian mynde. How (saith he) do we teache or prouoke them to shed their blood in the confessing of Christe, if we deny his blood to them that shal fyght? Or how do we make them fitte for the cup of Martyrdome, if we do not first in the Church by right of communion admitte them to drinke the cup of the Lord. Whereas the Canonistes do restraine that decree of Gelasius to the prestes, that is so childish a cauill that it nedde not to be confuted.

30

Thirdly, why did he simply say of the bread, that they should eate: but of the cuppe, that they should all drinke: even as if he had meant of set purpose to mete with the craft of Satan. Fowerthly, if (as they would haue it) the Lord be bound to admitt to his Supper onely sacrificyng Prestes, what man euer durst call to the partaking of it strangers whom the Lord had excluded: yea and to the partaking of that gifte, the power wherof was not in their handes, without any commaundement of him which onely could geue it: yea vpon confidence of what warrant do they vse it at this day to distribute to the common people the Signe of the body of Christ, if they haue neither commaundement noz example of the Lord: Fifthly, did Paule lie, when he saide to the Corinthians, that he had receiued of the Lord that which he had deliuered to them: for afterwarde he declarerh the thyng that he deliuered: that all without difference should communicate of both the Signes. If Paule receiued of the Lord, that all should be admitted without differēce: let them loke of whome they haue receiued, which doo drinke alwaye almost all the people of God: because they can not now pretend God to be the authoz of it with whome there is not yea & nay. And yet still for closyng of such abominations they dare pretend the name of the Church, and with suche pretense defende it. As though either these Antechristes were the Church, whiche so easily treade vnder foote, scatter abzoade, and destroy the doctrine & institution of Christ: or the Apostolike Church were not the Church, in which the whole force of religion flourisheth.

## The.xviii. Chapter.

Of the Popes Masse, by which sacrilege the Supper of Christ hath not only ben prophaned, but also brought to nought.



With these and lyke inuentions Satan hath trauallyed, as by ouerspreading of darknesse to obscure and defile the holy Supper of Christ, that at least the purenesse of it should not be kepte still in the Church. But the head of horrible abomination was, when he aduanced a signe, by which it myght not onely be darkned and peruerterd, but beyng betterly blotted and abolyshed should be banyshe away and fall oute of the remembrance of men: namely when he blynded almost the whole world with a moste pestilent error, that they should beleeue that the Masse is a sacrifice & oblation to obtaine the forgiuenesse of sinnes. How at the beginning the sounder sort of the Scholernē toke this doctrine, I nothyng regard: farewell they boyth they? crabbed supersticies



relties: which howsoever they may be defended with cauillyng, yet are therfore to be refused of all good men because they do nothyng els. but spred muche darknesse ouer the brightnesse of the Supper. Therefore bidding them farewell, let the readers vnderstand that I here matche in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romische Antichrist and his prophetes haue infected the whole worlde, namely that the Masse is a worke wherby the sacrificyng Priest which offereth by Christ, and the oth- er that doo partake at the same oblation, do deserue the fauor of God: or that it is a cleansyng sacrifice, wherby they reconcile God to themsel- ues. Neither hath this ben receiued onely in common opinion of the people, but the very doyng it selfe is so framed, that it is a kynde of pa- cifyerig wherwith satisfacion is made to God for the purgynge of the quicke and dead. The wordes also which they vse, do expresse the same: and no other thyng may we gather of the dayly vse of it. I know how depe rootes this pestilence hath take, vnder how great seming of good- nesse it lurketh, howe it beareth in shewe the name of Christe, howe in the one name of Masse many beleue that they comprehend the whole summe of faith. But when it shalbe by the worde of God most clerely proued, that this Masse, howe muche soeuer it be colozed and glorious, yet shamefully dishonozeth Christ, burieth & oppzesseth his crosse, put- teth his death in forgetfulnesse, taketh away the frute that cometh ther- of vnto vs, doth weaken and destroy the Sacrament wherin was left the memorie of his death: shall there then be any so depe rootes, which this moste strong axe, I meane the word of God, shall not cutt, do downe and ouerthrowe? Is there any face so beautifull, that this lyght can not bewray the euell which lurketh vnder it?

Let vs therfore shew that which hath ben set in the fyrst place, that in it is intolerable blasphemie & dishonoz done to Christ. For he was con- secrate of his Father a Priest and Bishop, not for a tyme as we reade that they were ordeined in the olde testament, whoes life beyng mortal theyr presthode also coulde not be immortall: for which cause also there neded successozs that should from tyme to tyme be putt in the place of them that dyed. But in place of Christ, which is immortall, there nedeth no vicar to be set after hym. Therfore he was ordeined of the Father a prest for euer, accordyng to the order of Melchisedech, that he should exe- cute an euerlastyng presthode. This mysterie had bene long before fi- gured in Melchisedech, whom when the Scripture had ones broughte in for the preste of the luyng God, it neuer afterwarde made mention of hym, as though he had had no end of his life. After this point of like- nesse, Christe was called a prest accordyng to his order. Now they that doo daily sacrifice, must nedes appoint prestes to make the oblations, whom they must appoint as it were successozs and vicars in the stede of Christ. By which puttyng in stede of him, they do not only spoile Christ of his honoz, and plucke from hym the prerogatiue of eternal presthod, but also trauaile to thrust hym downe from the right hande of his Fa- ther, on which he can not sitt immortall, but that he muste therwithall remaine the eternall prest. Neither lett them laye for themselves, that their pety sacrificers are not putt in place of Christ as if he were dead, but only are helpers of his eternal presthod, which ceaseth not therfore to continue, for they are moze strongly holden fast with the wordes of the

10. d. 102  
11210. d. 102  
112

2

Hob. v. b.  
f. vil. d. vff  
et. fr. r. c. c.  
p. r. r. l.psal. cr.  
r. i. i. f.  
Gen. r. i. i. f.  
r. b. i. i.10. d. 102  
11210. d. 102  
112

the



Heb. vii. the Apostle, than that they may so escape: namely, that there were ma-  
 ny other prestes made, because they were by deathe letted to continuie.  
 Therfore there is but one that is not letted by death, and he nedeth no  
 companions. Yet, suche is their stowardnesse, they arme themselves  
 with the example of Melchisedech to defend their wickednesse. For, be-  
 cause it is sayd that he offred bread and wyne, they gather that he was a  
 foze the wyng of their Masse: as though the likenesse betwene hym and  
 Christ were in the offryng of bread and wyne. Whiche is so empirie and  
 trisyng that it nedeth no confutation. Melchisedech gaue bread & wyne  
 to Abraham and his companions, to refreche them beyng weary after  
 their lozney and battail. What is this to a sacrifice? Moses praiseth the  
 gentlestesse of the holy king: these fellowes vnseasonably coyne a my-  
 sterie whereof no mention is made. Yet thei deceitfully paint their erroz  
 w an other coloz, because it foloweth by & by after, And he was y prest  
 of y hyst. God. I answer, y they wrongfully draw to the bread & wyne  
 that which the Apostle referreth to the blessing. Therfore when he was  
 the prest of God, he blessed Abraham. Wherupon the same Apostle (thā  
 whome we nede to seke no better exposito) gathereth his excellence,  
 because the lesser is blessed of the greater. But if the oblatiō of Melchi-  
 sedech were a figure of the sacrifice of the Masse: would the Apostle, I  
 praye you, which scarcheth out all euen y least thinges, haue forgotten  
 so earnest and weightie a thing? Now (howsoeuer they trifle) they shall  
 in bayne goe aboute to ouerthrowe the reason whiche the Apostle him-  
 selfe bzingeth, that the righte and honoz of sacrificing presthoode ceas-  
 seth among moztall men, because Christ which is immoztall, is the only  
 and perpetual sacrificing preste.

An other bertue of the Masse was, that it oppzesseth and burleth the  
 crosse & passion of Christ. This verily is most certaine, that the crosse of  
 Christ is ouerthrowē so sone as the altar is set bp. For if he offred him-  
 selfe for a sacrifice vpon the crosse, that he might sanctifie vs for euer, &  
 purchase to vs eternall redemption: vndoutedly y force & effectualnesse  
 of that sacrifice continueth without any end. Otherwise we hold think  
 nothing moze honozably of Christ, than of oxen & calues which were sa-  
 crificed vnder the lawe: the offrings whereof are proued vneffectuall  
 and weake by this that they were oft renued. Wherfore either we must  
 confesse, that the sacrifice of Christe, which he fulfilled vpon the crosse,  
 wanted the force of eternall cleansyng, oz that Christe hath made an  
 ende of all with one sacrifice ones for euer. This is it that the Apostle  
 sayth, that this chiefe Bishop Christ ones appered by offring by of him  
 selfe befoze y ending of the woꝝld, to the dꝛiuing away of sinne. Againe,  
 That we ar sanctified by the wil of God, by the offring of y body of Je-  
 sus Christ ones. Again, That Christ w one oblatiō for euer hath made  
 perfect them that ar sanctified: wherunto he adioineth a notable sentēce  
 y forgenesse of sinnes being ones purchaced, ther remaineth no moze  
 any oblation. This also Christ signified by his laste saieng & vttered a-  
 mōg his last gaspings, whē he said, It is ended. We ar wōt to note y last  
 saienges of men when they are dieng, for ozacles. Christ dieng testifieth  
 y by his one sacrifice is perfired and fulfilled whatsoeuer was for our sal-  
 uation. Shall it be lawfull for vs daily to patch innumerable sacrifices  
 to such a sacrifice, (the pꝛfection whereof he hath so shyningly set foꝝth)



as though it were vnperfecte: When the holy worde of God not onely affirmeth, but also crieth out, & protesteth, that this sacrifice was ones fully done that the force thereof remaineth euermore: whoso require an other sacrifice, do they not accuse this of imperfection & weakenesse? But as for the Masse, which hath ben deliuered in suche sort that there may euery day be made a hundred thousand sacrifices, to what end tendeth it, but that the passion of Christe, whereby he offered hym an onely sacrificed oblation to the father, should lye buried and drowned? Who, vnlesse he be blynde, can not see that it was the boldnesse of Satã whiche wrought against so open and clere truthe? Neither am I ignorant with what deceites that father of lyeng bleseth to color this his fraude, sayeng that there are not sondry nor diuerse sacrifices, but that one selfe same sacrifice is repeted. But suche smokes are easily blowen away. For in the whole discourse the Apostle trauaileth to proue: not onely that there are no other sacrifices, but that that one sacrifice was ones offered vp, & shal no more be repeted. The sutteller men do yet slip out at a narrower hole, sayeng that it is not a repeting but an applying. But this Sophisticall argument also is no lesse easily confuted. For neither did Christ ones offer by hym selfe with this condition, that his sacrifice should be daily confirmed with new oblations: but that by the preaching of the Gospell, and ministring of the holpe Supper, the fruite thereof should be communicated vnto vs. So Paule saith that Christe oure 1. Co. 5. b. vii. Pasche was offered by, and biddeth vs to eat of hym. This (I say) is the meane wherby the Sacrifice of the Crosse is rightly applied to vs, when it is communicated to vs to take the vse of it, and we wyth true fayth receiue it,

But it is worthe the laboz to heare, with what other foundation beside these they vpholde the sacrifice of the Masse. For they draw to this purpose the prophecie of Malachie, wherby the Lorde promisseth that Mal. i. viii the time shall come when throughout the whole worlde there shall be offered to his name incense and a cleane sacrifice. As though it were a new or vnwonted thing among the Prophetes, when they speake of the calling of the Gentils to expresse by the outward ceremonie of the law the spirituall worshipping of God, to which they exhort the: that they might the more familiarly declare to the men of their age, that the Gentiles should be called into the true felowshippe of religion. Like as also they are wont altogether to describe by figures of theyr law, the truth y was deliuered by the Gospell. So they set for turning to the Lorde, ascending Ier. 4. xviii into Ierusalem: for the worshipping of God, the offering of al kindes of giftes: for larger knowlege of him which was to be geuen to the faithful in the kyngdome of Christe, dreames and visions. That therfore whiche they allege, is like vnto an other prophecie of Esaye, where the Esai. 54. rri. Prophet foretelleth of three altars to be set vppe in Assiria, Egipte, and Turkye. For first I aske, whether they do not graunt that the fulfilling of this prophecie is in the kyngdome of Christ. Secondly, wher be these altars, or when they were euer set vp. Thirdly whether they think that to euery seuerall kyngdome is apointed a seuerall temple, such as was that at Ierusalem. These things if they wey, I think they wil confesse, that the Prophet vnder fygures agreeable with his tyme, prophecieth of the spiritual worshipping of God to be spred abroad into the whole world: Which



Which we geue to them for a solution. But of this thing sithe there do euery where examples commonly offre them selues, I wil not busie my selfe in longer rehearfall of them. Howbeit herein also they are miserably deceiued, that they acknowlege no sacrifice but of the Masse, whereas in dede the faithfull do nowe sacrifice to the Lord, & do offer a cleane offering, of which shalbe spoken by and by.

5

Nowe I come downe to the third office of the Masse, where I must declare howe it blotteth oute the true and onely death of Christe, and shaketh it oute of the remembrance of menne. For as among men the strength of a testament hangerh vppon the death of the testator: so also our lord hath with his death confirmed the testament whereby he hath geuen vs forgeuenesse of synnes and eternal righteousnesse. They that dare varie or make newe any thing in this testamente, doo denye his death, and holde it as it were of no force. But what is the Masse, but a new and altogether diuerse testamēt: For why? Doth not euery seuerall Masse promise new forgeuenesse of sinnes, new purchasing of righteousnesse: so that now there be so many testaments, as there be Masses: Let Christ therfoze come again, and with an other death confirme this testament, or rather with infinite deathes confirme innumerable testaments of Masses. Haue I not therfoze said true at the beginning, that the only and true death of Christ is blotted oute by Masses: Yea what shall we say of this that the Masse directly tendeth to this ende, that if it be possible, Christ should bee slayne agayne: For where is a testamente (sayeth the Apostle) there of necessitie must be the death of the testator. The Masse sheweth it selfe to be a new testament of Christ: therfoze it requireth his death. Moreouer the hoste which is offred, must necessarily be slayne and sacrificed. If Christ in euery seuerall Masse be sacrificed, then he muste at euery moment bee in a thousande places cruelly slayen. This is not myne, but the Apostles argument, If he had neded to offer him selfe ofte, he muste ofte haue dyed sins the beginning of the worlde. I knowe that they haue an answer in redinesse, whereby also they charge vs with slander. For they say that that is obiected agaynst them which they neuer thought, nor yet canne. And we knowe, that the death and life of Christ is not in their hande. We loke not whether they goe aboute to kill hym: onely our purpose is to shew, what manner of absurdity foloweth of their vngodly and wicked doctrine. Which self thing I proue by the Apostles owne mouth. Though they crye out to the contrarye a hundred tymes, that this sacrifice is vnbloody: I wil deny that it hangerh vpon the wyll of men, that sacrifices should change their nature, for by this meane the holy and inuiolable ordinance of God shold faile. Wherupō foloweth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required shedding of blood, that washing may not be wanting.

6

Now is the fourth office of the Masse to be entreated of, namely to take awaye from vs the fruite that came to vs of the death of Christe, while it maketh vs not to acknowlege it and thinke vpon it. For who can call to mynde that he is redemed by the death of Christ when he seeth a new redemption in the Masse: Who can truste that sinnes are forgeuen him, when he seeth a newe forgeuenesse: Neither shall he escape that shall say, that we do for no other cause obteyn forgeuenesse of sinnes in the Masse, but because it is alre dy purchased by the death of Christ. For he

he



he bringeth nothyng els than as if he would boſte, that Chriſt hath redeemed vs with this condition that we ſhoulde redeme our ſelues. For ſuch doctrine hath ben ſpred by the miniſters of Satan, and ſuch at this day they mainteyn with cryenges out, with ſword and ſier, that we whē in the Maſſe we offer by Chriſt to his Father, by this work of offering do obtaine forgeuenesse of ſinnes, and are made partakers of the paſſion of Chriſt. What now remaineth to the paſſion of Chriſt, but to be an example of redemption, whereby we may learne to be our owne redemers? Chriſte him ſelfe, when in the Supper he ſealeth the confidence of pardon, doth not bidde his diſciples to ſticke in that doing, but ſendeth the awaye to the ſacrifice of his deathe: ſigniſieng that the Supper is a monument or inemorial (as the common ſpeech is) whereby they may learne that y<sup>e</sup> ſatisfactorie cleaſing ſacrifice, by which the Father was to be appeaſed, muſt haue ben offered but ones: For neither is it enough to know that Chriſt is the onely ſacrifice, vnleſſe the onely ſacrificing be ioyned with it, that our faith may be faſtened to his croſſe.

Nowe I come to the concluſion, namely that the holye Supper, in which the Lord had left the remembrance of his paſſion grauen and expreſſed, is by the ſettyng by of the Maſſe, taken away, defaced, and deſtroyed. For the Supper it ſelfe is the gift of God, whiche was to be receiued with thankſgeuing. The ſacrifice of the Maſſe is famed to pay a price to God, which he may receiue for ſatisfaction. Howe muche difference there is betwene to geue and to receiue, ſo much doth the ſacrifice differ from the Sacrament of the Supper: And this truly is the moſte wretched vnthankfulneſſe of man, y<sup>e</sup> where the largeſſe of Gods boūtie ought to haue be acknowledged, & thanks to be geuen, therein he maketh God his dettor. The Sacrament promiſed, that by the death of Chriſte we are not onely ones reſtozed into life, but are continually quickned, becauſe then all the pattes of our ſaluation were fulfilled. The ſacrifice of the Maſſe ſingeth a farre other ſong, that Chriſt muſt be dayly ſacrificed, that he may ſomewhat profit vs. The Supper ſhoulde haue bene diſtributed in the cōmon aſſembly of the Chirch, that it might enforzme vs of the communion whereby we all cleaue together in Chriſt Jeſus. The ſacrifice of the Maſſe diſſolueth and plucketh in ſonder this cōmunitie. For after that the erroz grew in force, y<sup>e</sup> there muſt be ſacrificers y<sup>e</sup> hold ſacrifice for the people, y<sup>e</sup> Supper of y<sup>e</sup> Lord as though it were poſſed ouer to them, ceſſed to be cōmunicated to the cōgregation of y<sup>e</sup> faithfull according to the commaundement of the Lord. An entrie was made open to priuate Maſſes, which might rather reſemble a certaine excommunication, than that ſame communitie ordeined of the Lorde, when the petty ſacrificer wylling ſeuerally by hym ſelfe to deuoure his ſacrifice, doothe ſeuere hymſelfe from the whole people of the faithfull. I call priuate Maſſe (leaſt any man be deceiued) whereſoeuer there is no partaking of the Lordes Supper among the faithfull, although otherwiſe a great multitude of men be preſent.

And whence the very name of Maſſe firſt ſprung, I could neuer certainly iudge: ſayng that it ſemeth to me likely that it was taken of the offerings that were geuen. Whereupon the olde writers uſe it commonly in the plural number. But, to leaue ſtryping about the name, I ſaye that priuate Maſſes are directly againſt the ordinance of Chriſte, and there



therfore they are a wicked prophanyng of the holy Supper. For what hath the Lorde commaunded vs: not to take, and diuide it among vs: What maner of obseruyng of the commaundement doth Paule teache: not the breaking of bread, which is the communion of the body & blood: Therfore whē one taketh it without distributing, what liknesse is there: But y<sup>e</sup> same one mā doth it in the name of y<sup>e</sup> whole Chirch. By what commaundement: Is not this openly to mocke God, when one mā priuately taketh to hym selfe that which ought not to haue ben done but among many: But bicause y<sup>e</sup> wordes of Christ & Paul ar plain enough, we may brefely cōclude, y<sup>e</sup> whersoener is not breaking of bread to the cōmunion of the faithfull, there is not y<sup>e</sup> Supper of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, but a false and wzongfull counterfayting of the Supper. But a false counterfaytyng is a corrupting. Now the corrupting of so great a mysterie is not without wickednesse. Therfore in priuate Masses is a wicked abuse. And (as one fault in religion from time to tyme bredeth an other) after y<sup>e</sup> that maner of offring without communion was ones crept in, by litle and litle they beganne in euery corner of Chirches to make innumerable Masses, & diuersly to draw the people hether and thether, which should haue come together into one assemble, that they might reknowlege the mysterie of their owne vnitie. Now let them goe and deny it to be ydolatrie, that in their Masses they shew forth bread to be worshipped in steede of Christ: For in vaine they boast of those promises of the presence of Christ, which howsoeuer they be vnderstode, verily wer not geue to this purpose, that wicked and prophane men, so oft as they will, and to whatsoeuer abuse they list, may make the body of Christ: but that the faithfull, when wyth religious obseruation they do in Celebrating of the Supper follow the commaundement of Christ, may enioy the true partaking of him.

Beside that, this peruersnesse was vnknowē to the purer Chirch. For howsoeuer the moze shamelesse sort among our aduersaries do here gee about to disguise the mater with false colozs, yet it is moste sure that all antiquitie is against them, as we haue afoze proued in other things, & it may moze certainly be iudged by the cōtinual reding of old wziters. But ere I make an ende of speaking of it, I aske our Massing doctozs, sithe they knowe that obedience is moze esteemed of God than oblations, and that he moze requireth that his voice be harkened to, thā that sacrifices be offred: how they beleue that this maner of sacrificing is acceptable to God, whereof they haue no certaine commaundement, and which they see not to be allowed by any one syllable of the Scripture. Mozeouer when they heare the Apostle say, that no mā taketh to himself y<sup>e</sup> name & honor of sacrificing presthode but he y<sup>e</sup> is called as Maro was: yea & that Christ himself did not thrust in himself, but obeyd y<sup>e</sup> calling of his father: either they must bring forth God y<sup>e</sup> authoz & ordeiner of their sacrificing presthod, or they must cōfesse y<sup>e</sup> the honor is not of God, into which they haue w<sup>th</sup> wicked rashnes brokē in vncalled. But they cā not shew one titlle of a letter y<sup>e</sup> mainteineth their sacrificing presthod. Wherfore shal not their sacrifices vanish away, which cā not be offred without a prest: If any mā do thrust in thozt sentēces of the old wziters gathered here & there, and do by their authoritie trauail to proue y<sup>e</sup> the sacrifice which is done in the Supper is far otherwise to be vnderstaded thā we do expound it: let him be brefely answered thus: if the question be of allowyng the

1. Cor. 10.  
vbi:

1. Samu:  
xvi: 17.



the forged deuise of sacrifice, suche as the Papistes haue fayned in the Masse, the old wryters do neuer speake in defence of such sacrilege. They do in dede vse the worde Sacrifice: but therewithal they expounde, that they meane nothing ells but the remembrance of that true and onely sacrifice, which Christ our only sacrificing prestre (as they eche where report of him) made on the crosse. The Hebrues (sayeth Augustine) in the sacrifices of beastes which they offred to God, did celebrare a propheticie of the sacrifice to come, which Christ offred: the Christians doe with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Christ celebrare a remembrance of the sacrifice already made. Here verily he teacheth altogether the same thing, which is wrytten in moe wordes in the booke of fayth to Peter the Deacon, whosoener be the authoz of it. The words be these, Beleue most stedfastly and dout not at al, that the only begottē himself, being made fleshe for vs, offred himselfe for vs a sacrifice and oblation to God into a sauoz of swetenesse: to whō with the Father and the Holy ghoste in the tyme of the olde testamente beastes were sacrificed: and to whom now with the Father and the Holy ghost (with whō he hath one Godhed) the holy Chirch throughtout the whole world cesseth not to offer the sacrifice of bred and wyne. For in those fleshy sacrifices was a figuring of the fleshe of Christ which he should offer for our synnes, and of hys blood which he should shed to the forgeuenesse of synnes. But in this sacrifice is thankesgeuing & rehearsal of the fleshe of Christ whiche he offered for vs, and of his blood whiche the same he hath shed for vs. Wherupon Augustine himselfe in many places expoundeth it to be nothing ells but a sacrifice of prayse. Finally you shal commonly fynde in him, that the Supper of the Lord is for no other reason called a sacrifice, but because it is the remembrance, image, and witnesse of that singular, true, and only sacrifice wherewith Christ hath cleansed vs. Also there is a notable place in hys fourth booke of the Trinitie the xxiii. Chapter, where after that he hath discoursed of the only sacrifice, he thus concludeth: because in a sacrifice fower things ar considered, to whō it is offred, and of whō, what is offred, & for whō. The same he himselfe the one and true mediator reconciling vs to God by the sacrifice of peace, remaineth one wyth hym to whō he offred: maketh them one in hym for whom he offred: is one himselfe which offred, & the thing which he offred. To the same effect also speaketh Chrysostome. But they so chalenge y honoz of sacrificing presthode to Christ, y Augustine testifieth it to be y voice of Antichrist if any man make a Bishop intercessoz betwene God & men. Yet do we not deny but y the offering bp of Christ is there so shewed in vs, y the spectacle of y crosse is in a maner set befoze our eyes: as the Apostle sayth that Christ was crucified in the eyes of the Galathians, whē the preaching of y crosse was set befoze them. But forasmuch as I see that those olde Fathers also wrested thys remembrance an other waye thā was agreable w the institutio of y Lord (because their Supper contained I wote not what repeted oz at least renewed forme of sacrificy) the safest way for godly hartes shalbe to rest in y pure & simple ordinace of God: whoes also the Supper is therfoze called, because in it his authoritie alone oughte to be in force. Truly lithe I fynde that they haue kepte a Godly and true sense of thys whole mysterie, and I doe not perceiue that they meante to abate any thyng were it neuer

Lib. rr.  
contra.  
Fauft.  
cap. xviii.

Contra ad  
uersar.  
legis.

Lib ii cō  
tra parm.  
cap. viii.

II

Cal. iii. f.



so little from the only sacrifice of the Lord, I can not condemne them of vngodlinesse: yet I thynke that they can not be excused, but that they haue offended somewhat in the maner of the celebration. For they counterfayted the Jewishe manner of sacrificing moze nerely than either Christ had ordeined, or the nature of the Gospel did beare. Therefore that same ouerthwart appliance to heauenly thynges is the only thing wherin a man may woorthily blame them, for that beyng not contented with the simple and natural institution of Christe, they swarued to the shadowes of the lawe.

12

If a man do diligently wey, y this differēce is put by y worde of the Lord betwene y sacrifices of Moses, & our Thankesgeuing, y wheras those did represent to y Jewishe people, y same effectualnesse of y death of Christe, which is at thys day deliuered to vs in the Supper, yet the maner of representyng was diuerse. For in those, the Leuiticall Prestes were commaunded to figure y which Christ should performe: there was brought a sacrifice which should be in the stede of Christ himselfe: there was an altar wherupon it should be offred: finally al thinges were so done, that there was set befoze their eyes an image of y sacrifice which was to be offred to God for a satisfactorie cleansing. But sins the tyme that the sacrifice is ended, the Lord hath apointed to vs an other order: namely y it should conuey to the faithfull people the frute of the sacrifice offred to hym by the Sōne. Therefore he hath geuen vs a table wherat we should eate, not an altar wherupon sacrifice should be offred: he hath not cōsecrated prestes to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy bāket. How much moze hye & holy the mysterie is, so much moze religiōusly and w greater reuerence it is mete to be handled. Therefore there is no way safer, than putting away al boldnesse of mans vnderstāding, to sticke fast in y alone which the Scripture teacheth. And truely if we consider y it is the Supper of the Lord & not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer our selues to be remoued one heare bredth from it by any authoritie of men or prescription of yeres. Therefore when the Apostle mynded to cleanse it from al faultes which had already crept in to the Chirch of the Cozinthiās, he bleseth the rediest way therunto, that is, he calleth it backe to the only institution of it, frō whense he sheweth that a perpetuall rule ought to be fetched.

1. Coz. xi.  
ff.

13

Nowe least any wrangler should stirre vs by strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing prest, I wil also declare, but yet brefely, what in the whole discourse I haue meant by a sacrifice, and what by a Sacrificing Prest. Whoso stretche the woorde sacrifice to all holy Ceremonies and doinges of religion, I se not by what reason they doe it. We do knowe that by the continuall ble of the Scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Grekes cal somtyme Thusia, sometime Prosphora somtyme Telece. Which being generally takē cōprehendeth whatsoeuer is in any wise offred to God. Wherefoze we muste make distinction: but yer so that thys distinction may haue a supernall appliance of similitude from the sacrifices of the lawe of Moses: vnder the shadowes wherof the Lord willed to represent to his people the whole trithe of sacrifices. Of those although there wer diuerse formes, yet they may al be referred to two sortes. For either there was oblation made for sinne after a certaine maner of satisfaction, wherby gyltinesse was redeemed before



before God: or it was a signe of the worshipping of God, & a testifying of religio: sometime in stede of supplicatio, to craue þ fauor of God: sometime in stede of thākelgeuing, to testifie thākfulnesse of mynde for benefites receiued: sometime only for an exercise of Godlinesse, to renewe the stablishing of the couenāt: to which later sozt pertained burnt offrings, drynke offrings, oblations, first frutes, & peace offrings. Wherefore let vs also diuide ours into twoo kyndes: and for teachinges sake lette vs cal the one the sacrifice of worshipping & of Godly deuotio, because it consisteth in the honoring & worshipping of God, which the faythfull bothe owe & yelde vnto hym: or, if you wyl, the sacrifice of Thākelgeuing: forasmuch as it is geuen to God of none but of them þ beyng laden with immeasurable benefites, do reder to him them selues with all their doinges. The other may be called propitiatorie or of expiation. The sacrifice of expiation is þ which tendeth to appease the wrath of God, to satisfie his iugement, & so to wash & wype away sinnes: whereby the sinner cleansed from the filthy spottes of them & restozed into puritie of ryghteousnesse, may returne into fauor with God hymselfe. So in the lawe those were called sacrifices þ were offred for the purging of synnes: not for þ they were sufficiente to recouer the fauor of God, or to put away iniquitie: but for þ they shadowed out such a true sacrifice which at lēgth was fully done by Christ alone: & by hym alone, because it could be done by none other: & ones, because the effectualnesse and foze of þ one sacrifice which Christ hath fully done, is eternal, as he hymselfe hath testified with hys own mouth, whē he sayd þ it was ended & fulfilled: þ is to saye, that whatsoeuer was necessariē to the recōciling of the Fathers fauor, to the obteyning of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, to righteousnesse & to saluatiō, al the same was perfozmed & fulfilled with þ hys only oblation, and there so nothyng wanted therof that there was afterward no place left to any other sacrifice.

Wherefore I determine, þ it is a most wicked reproch, & blasphemy not to be suffred, as wel against Christ as agaynst þ sacrifice which he hath fully done by hys death vpo the crosse for vs, if any man by renewyng an oblation thynke to purchase the pardon of synnes, to appease God, and to obteyne ryghteousnesse. But what is ells done by Massing, but that by deseruing of new oblatiō we may be made partakers of the passio of Christe: And, that there myght be no measure of madding, they thought it but a smal thyng to say þ there is made indifferently a cōmō sacrifice for the whole Chirch, vnlesse they further sayd þ it is in theyr choise to apply it peculiarly to thys man or þ man to whō they would, or rather to euery one whosoever he were þ would bye for hymselfe suche waire with redy money. Now because they could not reach to þ pryce that Judas had, yet þ they might in some marke resemble their authoz, they kepte the lykenesse of number. Judas solde him for thirty silver pens: these fellowes sell hym, after the french accompt, for xxx. brazen pens: but Judas solde hym ones, these fellowes sel hym as oft as they can find a bier. In this sence also we deny þ they be sacrificing prestes, that is to say, they that with such an oblation are meanes to God for þ people, they that appealing God, may purchase þ satisfactorie purging of synnes. For Christ is þ only Bishop & sacrificing prest of þ new Testamente, into whom all presthodes are remoued, and in whome they

Ero. rrii.  
rrii.Job. rii.  
rrii.

14

The cōmon pryce of a Masse in frauce is. iiii. Karolus. Whiche make. rrii deniers, about the value of a sterling grote.



be shut vp and ended. And if the Scripture had made no mention of the eternal Priesthode of Christe: yet soasmuche as God, sins that he hath taken away those old Priesthodes, hath ordeined none, the Apostles argument remaineth inuincible, that no man taketh honoz to hymselfe but he that is called of God. By what affiance therfoze dare these robbers of God, that boast themselves for the butchers of Christ, call themselves the sacrificing Priestes of the liuing God?

15 Plato hath an excellent place in his seconde boke of *Comon weale*. Where when he entreateth of the olde maners of expiation, and laugheth to scozne the foolishe confidence of euil me and wicked doers; which thought that their wicked doinges were by these as by coueringes hidden that the Gods could not se them, and did, as if they had gotten warrant of the Gods by couenant, moze carelesly folow their own lustes: he semeth throughtly to touche the maner of satisfactorie purging of the Masse, suche as is at thys day in the world. To beguile and vndermine an other man, al men know to be vnlawfull. To greue widowes with wrongfull dealinges, to robbe the fatherlesse, to trouble the poore, by euil crafty meanes to catch other mens goods to themselves, with forswearinges and deceites to enter forceably into any mans possessiōs, to oppresse any man with violence and tyrannous feare, al men cōfesse to be wicked. How therfoze dare so many commonly do al these thinges, as though they shoulde freely be bolde to doe them? Cruely, if we ryghtly wey it, no other cause doth so much encourage them, but because they haue confidence, that by the sacrifice of a Masse, as by paymente of full pryce for recōpense, they shal satisfie God, or at the least that thys is an easy way to cōpounde with him. The Plato procedeth further to scozne their grosse blockishnesse, which thinke þ by such satisfactorie cleasinges those peynes are redemed that otherwise they shoulde suffer in hell. And wherto serue at this day the pereli obites, & the greater part of Masses, but that thei which throughout al their life haue ben most cruel tyrates, or most rauenous robbers, or geuen fourth to al mischeuous doinges, shoulde as though they wer redemed by thys pryce, escape the fier of purgatorie?

16 Under the other kinde of sacrifice, which we haue called the sacrifice of Thākesgeuing, are cōteined al the dutieful wozkēs of charitie, which when we extende to our brethren, we honoz the Lord hymselfe in his members: then, al our prayers, prayfinges, geuinges of thākes, & whatsoever we do to the worshipping of God. Al which thinges finally do hāg vpon the greater sacrifice, wherby we are in soule and body hallowed to be a holy tēple to the Lord. For neither is it enough, if our outward doinges be applyed to the obeying of hym: but first our selues, and then al that is ours ought to be consecrate and dedicate to hym: þ whatsoever is in vs, may serue hys glozy, & may serue of zelous endeour to aduāce it. This kynde of sacrifice tendeth nothing at al to appease the wozath of God, nothing at al to obtaine forgeuenesse of synnes, nothing at all to deserue righteousnesse: but is occupied only in magnifyeng & extolling of God. For it can not be pleasāt & acceptable to God, but at their hāds, whō by forgeuenesse of sinnes alredy receiued he hath by other meanes reconciled to hymselfe, and therfoze acquitted them from gyltinesse. But it is so necessary for the Chirch, that it can not be away from it. Therefoze



foze it shalbe euerlasting, so long as the people of God shal continue, as we haue befoze already shewed out of the Prophet: for in that meaning I will take this propheticke, for fro the rising of the sunne to the going down therof, great is my name among the Gentiles, and in euery place incense shalbe offered to my name, and a cleane offering: because my name is terrible among the Gentiles, sayth the Lord: so farr is it of, that we would put it away. So Paul biddeth vs to offer our bodies, a sacrifice liuing, holy, acceptable to God, a reasonable worship. Where he spake very pithily, when he added y<sup>e</sup> thys is our reasonable worshipping: for he meant the spiritual maner of worshipping of God, whiche he did secretly set in compariso against the carnal sacrifices of y<sup>e</sup> law of Moyses. So liberall doing of good and communicating are called sacrifices by which God is pleased. So y<sup>e</sup> liberalitie of the Phillipians, wherby they had releued y<sup>e</sup> pouertie of Paul, is called a sacrifice of swete smellyng. So al y<sup>e</sup> good workes of y<sup>e</sup> faithful are called spiritual sacrifices.

And why do I seke out many examples: for commonly this maner of speakyng is often foude in y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures. Yea a while y<sup>e</sup> people of God was yet holde vnder y<sup>e</sup> outward schooling of y<sup>e</sup> lawe, yet y<sup>e</sup> Prophetes did sufficietly expresse, y<sup>e</sup> vnder those carnal sacrifices was the truth, which y<sup>e</sup> Christia Church hath comon w<sup>th</sup> the nation of the Jewes. After which maner Dauid prayed, y<sup>e</sup> his prayer might as incense ascende into y<sup>e</sup> sight of God. And Dsee called geuinges of thanks, y<sup>e</sup> calues of lippes, which in an other place Dauid calleth y<sup>e</sup> sacrifices of prayse. Whom the Apostle himselte following, calleth them also the sacrifices of prayse, and expoundeth them the frutes of lippes confessing to his name. Thys kinde of sacrifice the Supper of the Lord can not want: wherein when we declare his death and render thankesgeuing, we doe nothing but offer the sacrifice of prayse. Of thys office of sacrificing, al we Christians are called a kingly Priesthode: because by Christ we offer to God that sacrifice of praise of which the Apostle speaketh, the frute of lippes that confesse to his name. For neither do we with our giftes appeare in the sight of God without an intercessor: Christe is he, whiche being the mediator coming betweene, we offer vs and outs to the Father. He is our Bishop, which being entred into the sanctuary of heauen, hath opened the entry to vs. He is the altar, vpon which we lay our giftes, that in him we may be bolde all that we are bolde. It is he (I say) that hath made vs a kyngdome and Priestes to the Father.

What remaineth, but y<sup>e</sup> the blinde may se, the deff maye heare, children themselues may vnderstande this abhominatio of y<sup>e</sup> Masse, whiche being offered in a goldē cup, hath made dronke y<sup>e</sup> kynges & peoples of the earth, fro the hest to the lowest, hath so stryken them with drowynesse and giddinesse, y<sup>e</sup> being become more senselesse than brutē beastes, they haue set y<sup>e</sup> whole ship of their safetie only in this deadly deuouring gulf. Cruely Satā neuer did bende himselte w<sup>th</sup> a stronger engine thā this to assaile & vāquish y<sup>e</sup> kyngdome of Christ. This is the Helene, for whome the enemies of the truth fyght at thys daye with so great rage, so great furiousnesse, so great crueltie: a Helene in dede, with whome they so defile themselues with spiritual whordōe, whiche is y<sup>e</sup> most cursed of al. I do not here so much as ones touch with my litle fynget those grosse abuses, wherw<sup>th</sup> they might color y<sup>e</sup> vnholy purenesse of their holi Masse.

Gala. i. xi

Ro. xi. i.

Heb. xiii.  
i. vi.  
Phil. iiii.  
xviii.

17

Pr. xlii. ii.  
Dse, xlii. i.  
iii.  
Pr. li. xxi.  
Heb. xiii.  
xv.

1. Pe. ii. fr.

Keue. i. vi

18

Quene  
Helene y<sup>e</sup>  
Grecian  
Barlone,  
cause of y<sup>e</sup>  
warre of  
Troy.



how filthy markettinges they vse, how vnholiest gaines they make to their mallings, with how great rauening they fill their couetousnesse. Only I do point vnto, and p̄ with few & plaine wordes, what maner of thing is euē the very holiest holinesse of the Masse, for which it hath deserved in certain ages past to be so honorabie & to be had in so great reuerence. For, to haue these so great mysteries set out according to their worthinesse, requireth a greater worke: and I am vnwilling to mingle herewith those filthy vncleanneses p̄ comonly shew themselves before the eyes & faces of al mē: ȳ al mē may vnderstād, ȳ the Masse taken in her most piked purenesse, & wherewith it may be set out to the best shew, without her appendances, from the roote to the topp swarmeth full of all kinde of wickednesse; blasphemie, idolatrie, and sacrilege.

The Reders now haue in a maner almost al those thinges gathered into an abridgement, which we haue thought behoueful to be knowen cōcerning these twoo Sacramentes: ȳ vse of which hath ben deliuered to p̄ Christian Chirch frō the beginning of ȳ new testamēt, to continue to p̄ very ende of ȳ world: namely, ȳ Baptisme should be as it wer a certaine entry into it, & an admissio into fayth: & the Supper should be as it were a cōtinual foode; wherew Christ spiritually fedeth ȳ familie of hys faythful. Wherfoze as there is but one God, one Fayth, one Christ, one Chirch his body: so there is but one Baptisme, & is not ofte ministered againe. But ȳ Supper is frō tyme to tyme distributed, that they which haue ben ones receined into ȳ Chirch, may vnderstand ȳ they be cōtinually fed to Christ. Beside these twoo as there is no other Sacramēt ordeined of God, so neither oughte ȳ Chirch of the faythfull to acknowledge any other. For, ȳ it is not a thing ȳ lyeth in the choise of mā, to rayse & set vp new Sacramētes, he shal easily vnderstand ȳ remembreth ȳ which hath ben here befoze plainly enough declared, ȳ is, that Sacramentes are appointed of God to this end, ȳ they should instruct vs of some promise of his, & testifie to vs his good wil towarde vs: and he also ȳ calleth to minde, ȳ none hath ben Gods counsellor, ȳ might promise vs any certaintie of his wil, or assure vs and bring vs oute of care, what affectio he beareth towarde vs, what he wil geue, or what he will deny vs: For therew is also determined, ȳ no mā can set fourth a signe to be a testimonie of any wil or promise of his: it is he himselte alone, ȳ can by a signe geue testifie to vs of himselte. I wil speake it moze briefly, and paradventure moze grossly, but moze plainly. A Sacrament can neuer be without promise of saluation. Al men gathered on a heape to gether can of themselves promise nothing of our saluation. Therefore neither can they of themselves set fourth or set vp a Sacrament.

Therefore let the Christian Chirch be contented with these twoo, and let her not only not admitt or acknowledge any third for the presēt time, but also not desire or loke for any to the ende of the world. For whereas certaine diuerse Sacramentes, beside those their ordinarie ones, were geuen to the Jewes, according to the diuerse course of tymes, as Manna, Water spyrnging oute of the rocke, the Brazen serpente and suche other: they were by thys change put in mynde that they should not stay vpon such figures, whoes state was not very stedfast: but ȳ they should loke for some better thing from God, which should cōtinue without any decaying, and without any end. But we are in a farr other case, to who

Christ

Esai. xl  
riii.  
Rom. vi.  
viii.

Exo. xvi.  
riii. &  
xviii. vi.  
i. Cor. xii.  
i. lii.  
Num. x.  
viii.



Christe is openly shewed: in whome all the treasures of knowlege and wisdom are hidden with so great abundance and plentie, that either to hope for or loke for any newe encrease to these treasures, is verily to moue God to wrath, and to prouoke him against vs. We muste hunger for, seke, loke vpon, learne, and througely learne Christ alone; vntill that great day shal appeare, wherein the Lord shal openly shewe to the full the glozy of his kyngdome, and hymselfe suche as he is, to be beholde of vs. And for this reason this our age is in the Scriptures signified by the last houre, the last dayes, the last tymes, that no man shoulde deceiue himselfe with vaine loking for any new doctrine or reuelation: For many tymes and in many sortes he spake befoze by his Prophets: in these lasse dayes the heauenly Father hath spoken in hys beloued Sone, which only can manifestly shew the Father: and in dede he hath manifestly shewed hym to the full, so much as behoueth vs, whyle we nowe beholde hym by a glasse. As therefore thys is now taken awaye from men, that they can not make newe Sacramentes in the Church of God: so it were to be wished, that as litle as were possible of mans inuention might be mingled with those Sacramentes that are of God. For lyke as when water is poured in, the wyne departeth and is delayed: & as with leauen scattered among it, the whole lumpe of doae waxeth soower: so the purenesse of the mysteties of God is nothyng ells but defyled when man addeth any thyng of hys owne. And yet we see howe farr the Sacramentes are swarued out of kynde from their naturall purenesse, as they be handled at thys day. There is echewhere to muche of pompes, ceremonies, and gesturinges: but of the woorde of God in the meane tyme there is neither any consideration noz mention, withoute which euen the Sacramentes themselues are not Sacramentes. Yea and the very ceremonies that are ordeined of God, in so greate a route can not ones lift by their hed, but lye as it were oppressed. Howe litle is that seen in Baptisme, which only ought there to haue shyned and been looked vpon, as we haue in an other place rightfully complained, euen Baptisme it selfe? As for the Supper, it is bitterly buried, sines that it hath ben turned into y<sup>e</sup> Masse, sauing that it is seen ones euery yere but in a mangled and halfe tozne fashion.

John. iii.  
viii.  
Col. ii. iii.

i. Jo. iii. ii.  
i. John. ii.  
viii.  
i. Pe. i. xx.  
Heb. i. ii.

i. Cor. xiii.  
vii.

### The. xix. Chapter.

Of the siue falsly named Sacramentes: where is declared, that the other syue which haue ben hereto commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not Sacramentes: and then is shewed what maniere of thinges they be.



Ur former discourse concerning Sacramentes myghte haue obtained thys with the sobze and willing to learne, that they shoulde not ouer curiously procede any further, noz shold without the word of God embrace any other Sacraments beside those two which they knewe to be ordeined of y<sup>e</sup> Lord. But forasmuch as that opinion of the seuen Sacramentes, being commonly vled in all mens talke, hauing waded through all scholes and preachinges, hath by very auncientie gathered rootes, and is yet still settled in the



myndes of men: I thought that I should do a thing woorth the traual, if I should severally and moze nerely seatche those other syue that are commonly adnumbred among the true and naturall Sacramentes of the Lorde, and wypping away al deceitfull coloz, shoulde set them fourth to be seen of the simple suche as they be, and how fallly they haue ben hetherto taken for Sacramentes. First, I here protest to al the godly, that I doe not take in hande this contention aboute the name for any desire of struiuing, but that I am by weighty causes led to fight againste the abuse of it I am not ignozante that Christians are Lordes, as of wordes, so of al thinges also, & therfore may at their wil apply wordes to thinges, so that a godly sence be kept, although there be some vnproprietye in the speaking. Al thys I graunt: although it were better that the woordes shoulde be made subiect to thinges, than thinges to the wordes. But in the name of Sacrament there is an other consideratiō. For they which make seuen Sacramentes, do therewithal geue to them al this definition, y they be visibill formes of inuisibill grace: they make them altogether vessells of the Holy ghost: instrumentes of geuing of righteousnesse, causes of the obtayning of grace. Yea and the Maister of the sentences himselve denyeth that the Sacramentes of the lawe of Moses are properly called by this name, because they did not deliuer in dede the thing that they figured. As it, I beseeche you, to be suffred, that those signes which the Lord hath hallowed with his own mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, shoulde not be accompted for Sacramentes: and in the meane tyme this honoz shoulde be conueyed away to those vsages which men either haue deuised of themselues, or at least do obserue without expresse commaundement of God: Therfore either let them change the definition, or let them absteyne from the wrongfull vsing of this worde, which doth afterwarde engender false opinions and ful of absurditie. Extreme anointing (say they) is a figure and cause of inuisibill grace, because it is a Sacrament. If we ought in no wise to graunt that which they gather vpon it, then truly we must resist them in the name it selfe, least therby we admitt that it maye geue occasion to such an erroz. Againe when they would proue it to be a Sacrament, they adde thys cause, for that it consisteth of y outward signe and the worde. If we finde neither commaundement noz promise of it, what can we do ells but crye out against them:

2 Now appeareth y we braule not about the worde, but do moue a cōtrouersie not superfluous cōcerning the thing it selfe. Therfore this we must strongly hold fast, which we haue with inuincible reason befoze cōfirmed, y the power to institute a Sacrament is in the hande of none but of God only. For a Sacrament ought w a certayne promise to raise vp & cōfort y cōsciēces of y faythful: which could neuer receiue this certaintie from man. A Sacrament ought to be to vs a witnessing of the good wil of God towarde vs, wherof none of all men or Angels can be witness, forasmuch as none hath ben of Gods counsell. Therfore it is he alone which doth with right authozitie testifie of himself to vs by his worde. A Sacramēt is a seale, wher w the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it could not be sealed with bodily thinges and elementes of thys worlde, vnlesse they be by the power of God framed and appointed therunto. Therfore mā can not ordeine a Sacrament, because  
this



this is not in the power of man, to make that so great mysteries of God should lye hidden vnder so base thynges. The worde of God muste goe before, which maye make a Sacrament to be a Sacrament, as Augustine very well teacheth. Howeuer it is profitable that there be kepte some difference betwene the Sacramentes and other ceremonies, vntlesse we will fall into many absurdities. The Apostles prayed kneeling: therfore men shall not kueele without a Sacrament. It is sayd that the disciples prayed toward the East: therfore the loking into the East shall be a Sacrament. Paule willeth men in euery place to lift vp pure handes, and it is rehearsed that holy mē oftentimes prayed with their handes lifted vp: then let the lifting vp of hands also be made a Sacramēt. Finally let all the gestures of the holy ones turne into Sacramentes. Howbeit I would not also muche passe vpon these thinges, if so that they were not ioyned with those other greater discommodities:

If they will presse vs with the auzhoritie of the olde Chirche, I saye that they pretende a false color. For this number of seuen is no where founde among the Ecclesiasticall writers: neither is it certaine at what time it first crept in. I graūt in dede yf somtime they be very free in vsing yf name of a sacramēt: but what meane they therby: eue al ceremonies & outward rites, & al exercises of godlinesse. But whē they speake of those signes, that ought to be witnesses of the grace of God towarde vs, they are contented with these twoo. Baptisme, and the Supper. Least anye man should thinke that I falsely boiste of this, I will here reherse a fewe testimonies of Augustine. To Ianuarius he sayth: First I would haue thee to holde fast that whiche is the chiefe poynt of this disputation, that our Lorde Christ (as he hymselfe saith in the gospels) hath made vs subiect to a light yoke and a light burden. Wherfore he hath bounde together the felowship of the newe people with Sacramentes very fewe in numbze, very easy in obseruyng, very excellent in signification. As are Baptisme halowed in the name of the Trinitie, and the Cōmunicating of the body and blood of the Lorde, and whatsoeuer els is sett foorth in the cononicall Scriptures. Agayne, in his booke of Christian doctrine. Sing the Lordes resurrection, the Lorde himselfe and the doctrine of the Apostles hath delivered certaine fewe signes in stede of many, and those most easy to be done, most reuerend in vnderstanding, most pure in obseruing: as is Baptisme, and the Celebrating of the body and blood of the Lorde. Why dothe he here make no mention of the holy number, that is: of the number of seuen? Is it likely that he would haue passed it ouer, if it had ben at that tyme ordeyned in the Chirch, specially sicke he is otherwysse in obseruyng of numbzes moze curious than neede were? Yea, when he nameth Baptisme and the Supper, & speaketh nothyng of the rest: doth he not sufficiently signifie, that these two mysteries do excell in singular dignitie, and that the other ceremonies doo reste benethe in a lower degree? Wherfore I say that these Sacramentarie doctozs are destitute not onely of the worde of the Lorde, but also of the consent of the old Chirch, how much soeuer they glozy of this pretence. But now let vs come downe to the speciall thynges themselues,

#### Of Confirmation.

This was the maner in olde tyme, that the children of Christians, when they were growen to age of discretion, should be brought before the

Homil.  
in Iohā.  
liii.  
Act. ii. xl.  
c. r. xxxvi.

1. Tim. ii.  
viii.

Epistō.  
iis.

Lib. iiii.  
cap. ix.



the Bishop: that they shoulde fulfill that duetie whiche was required of those that being grown in yeres did offer them selues to Baptisme, For these sate among those that were to bee catechized, till being fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, they coulde make a confession of their faith befoze the bishoppe and the people. Therfoze they that were baptised being infantes because they hadde not then made confession of their faith befoze the Church, were aboute the ende of their childhod or in the beginning of their yeares of discretion presented againe by their parentes, and were crained of the Bishop accordyng to the forme of the Catechisme, whiche they had then certaine and common. And that this doyng, which otherwise ought worthily to be graue & hely, myght haue the moze reuerence and dignitie, there was added also the Ceremonie of layeng on of handes. So that same childe, his faith beyng allowed, was let goe with solamine blessing. The old writers do oft make mention of this maner. Leo the Pope writeth: If any returne from heretikes, let hym not be baptised agayn: but (whiche he wanted among the Heretikes) let the vertue of the Spirite be geuen hym by the Bishops layeng on of his handes. Here our aduersaries will crye out, that it is rightfully called a Sacrament, in which the holy ghest is geue, but Leo himselfe dothe in an other place declare what he meaneth by those wordes: Whoso (saith he) is baptized among heretikes, let him not be re-baptized, but with calling vpon the Holy ghoste, lett him be confirmed with layeng on of handes: because he receiued only the forme of Baptisme without sanctifying. Hierome also maketh mention of it, writing against the Luciferians. But although I do not denye that Hierome somewhat erreth therein, for that he saith that it is an obseruation of the Apostles: yet he is most far from these mennes follies. And the very same also he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this blessing is geue to the bishops onely, rather in honoz of their presthode than by the necessitie of lawe. Therfoze suche laying on of handes, whiche is done simply in steede of blessing, I prayse and woulde that it were at thys daye restored to the pure ble thereof.

But the later age, hauyng in a maner blotted out the thyng it selfe, hath set I wot not what fained confirmation for a Sacrament of God. They haue fained that the vertue of Confirmation is, to geue the Holy ghost to the encrease of Grace, which in Baptisme was geuen to innocencie: to strengthen them to battaile, which in Baptisme wer new begotten to lyfe. This Confirmation is celebrated with annoynting, and with this forme of wordes, I signe thee with the signe of the holy crosse, and confirme thee with the chresme of saluation, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy ghost. All this is gayely and trimly done. But where is the woorde of God: that maye promise here the presence of the Holy ghost: They can not bring forth one tittle. Wherby then will they certifie vs that their chresme is the vessell of the Holy ghoste. We see oyle, that is, a thicke and fatt liquoz and nothyng els. Let the woorde (sayth Augustine) be added to the element, & there shalbe made a Sacrament. Let them (I say) byng forth this woorde, if they will haue vs in the oyle to loke vpon any thyng but the oyle. If they dyd acknowledge themselves ministers of the Sacramentes, as they ought, we needed to strue no longer. This is the first lawe of a minister,

Epist. 37.

Episto.  
lxxv. i.



nister, y<sup>e</sup> he do nothing without comaūdemēt. So to, let them bring forth any comaūdemēt of this point ministerie, & I will not speake one word moze. If they haue no comaūdemēt, they can not excuse their boldnesse full of sacrilege: After this maner the Lord asked the Pharisees, whether the Baptisme of John were from heauen or from men: if they had answered, from men, thē he had made them confesse that it was trisling and bayne: if from heauen, then wete they compelled to acknowledge the doctrine of John. Therfoze least they shoulde to much sclander John, thei durst not confesse that it was from men. If therfoze Confirmation be from men, it is pzoued to be baine and trisling: if they will persuaue vs that it is from heauen, let them pzoue it.

They do in dede defend themselves with the example of the Apostles, whom they think to haue done nothing rashly. That is wel in dede: nether woulde we blame them, if they shewed themselves folowers of the Apostles. But what did the Apostles? Luke reporteth in the Actes, that the Apostles which were at Hierusalem, when they hearde that Samaria hadde receiued the worde of God, sent thether Peter and John: they prayed for the Samaritans, y<sup>e</sup> they might receiue the Holy ghost, which was not yet come into any of them, but they were baptized onely in the name of Iesus: when they had prayed, they laied their hands vpon them: by which layeng on, the Samaritanes receiued the Holy ghost. And of this laieng on of hands he diuerse tymes maketh mentio. I heare what the Apostles did: that is, they faithfully executed their ministerie. The Lord willed that those visibible and wonderful graces of the Holy ghost, which he then pouted out vpon his people, shold be ministred and distributed of his Apostles by the laieng on of handes. But vnder this laieng on of hands I thinke there was not contained any hier mysterie: but I expound it, that they adioyned such a ceremonie, that by the very outward doynge they mighte signifie, that they recommended and as it were offered to God him vpon whome they laid their handes. If this ministerie which y<sup>e</sup> Apostles then executed, were yet stil remaining in y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, the layeng on of handes also ought to be kept. But sins that same grace hath cessed to be geuen, whereto serueth the laieng on of handes? True lye the Holy ghost is yet present with the people of God, without whom being guider & director, the Chirch of God can not stande. For we haue the eternal promise and which shal euer stande in foze, by which Christ calleth to him self them that thirst, that they may drinke liuing waters. But those miracles of powers, and manifest workings, which wete distributed by the layeng on of handes, haue ceassed, neither behoued it that they shoulde be, but for a time. For it behoued that the preaching of the Gospell while it was new, shoulde be gloriously set fourth and magnified, with vnheard of and vnboouted miracles, from which when the Lord cessed, he did not by and by forsake his Chirch, but taught that the royaltie of his kingdome, and the dignitie of his word was excellentlye enough disclosed. In what point therfoze wil these stageplaiers say that they follow the Apostles? They shoulde haue done it with layeng on of handes, that the euident power of the Holy ghost might by and by shew forth it self. Thys they bring not to passe: why therfoze do they boast that the laieng on of handes maketh for them, which we rede in dede that the Apostles vsed, but altogether to an other ende:

This



This hath like reason as if a man should teache that that breathing wherewith the Lord breathed vpon his disciples, is a Sacrament wherby the Holy ghost is geuen. But whereas the Lord did this oneg, he did not also will that we should do the same. After the same maner also the Apostles layed on their handes, during the time that it pleased the lord that the visible graces of the Holy ghoste should be distributed at their prayers: not that they which come after, should only playe like and without the thing in dede counterfait an empty & cold signe, as these apes do. But if they proue that in layeng on of handes they folow the Apostles, (wherein they haue no like thing with the Apostles, sauing I wote not what ouerthwart wrongfull counterfaying) yet whense cometh their oyle which they call y<sup>e</sup> oyle of saluatio<sup>n</sup>? Who taught them to seke saluatio<sup>n</sup> in oyle? Who taught them to geue to it the power of strengthening? Did Paule, which draweth vs far away from y<sup>e</sup> elements of this world, whiche condemneth nothing moze than the sticking to suche petty obseruations? But this I boldly pronounce, not of my selfe, but from the Lorde. Whoso call oyle the oyle of saluation, they forswear the saluation whiche is in Christ, they denye Christ, they haue no part in the kingdome of God. For oyle is for the belly, and the belly for oyle: the Lorde shall destroy bothe. For all these weake elementes, whiche decay with very vse, belong nothing to the kyngdome of God, which is spiritual and shall neuer decay. What then? wil some men say: do you measure with the same measure, the water wherewith we be baptyzed, and the bread and wine vnder which the Supper of the Lord is geuen? I answer that in Sacramentes geuen of God, twoo thinges are to bee looked vnto: the substance of the bodily thing which is set befoze vs, and the forme that is by the worde of God printed in it, wherein lyeth the whole strength. In respect therfoze that the bread, wine, and water that are in the Sacramentes offered to our sight, do kepe their owne substance, this saieng of Paul alway hath place, Meate for the belly, and the bellye for meates: God shall destroy them both. For they passe and banish away with the fashio<sup>n</sup> of this world. But in respect that they be sanctified by the word of God, that they may be Sacramentes, they do not hold vs in the flesh, but doo truely and spirituallly teache vs.

But let vs yet moze nerely loke into it, how many monsters this fat liquoz fostreth and fedeth. These anoynters saye, that the Holy ghost is geuen in Baptisme, to innocence: in Confirmatio<sup>n</sup>, to encrease of grace, y<sup>e</sup> in Baptisme, we are new begotten into life: in confirmation, we are prepared to battell. And they are so paste shame, that they deny that Baptisme can well bee doone without confirmation. O wickednesse. Are we not therfoze in Baptisme buried together wyth Christ, being made partakers of hys death, that we maye bee also parteners of hys resurrection. But thys felowship wyth the death and life of Christ Paule expoundeth to be the mortifieng of our flesh, and quickning of our spieite: for that our olde man is crucified, that we may walk in newnesse of life. What is to be armed to battell if this be not? If they compted it a matter of nothing, to tread vnder feete the word of God: why did they not yet at least reuerere the Church, to whom they wil in euery point seme so obedient. But what can be brought forth moze strag against their doctrine, thā that decree of the Nicleitane councel. Whoso sayeth that Baptisme is

7  
John. ii.  
xii.

Gal. iii. ix  
Colo. ii.  
xi.

1. Cor. vi.  
xiii.

8

Ro. vi. iiii



is geuen onely for forgeuenesse of finnes, and not for a helpe of grace to come, accursed be he. But whereas Luke, in the place which we haue alleged, sayth that they were baptised in the name of Iesus Christe, which had not receiued the Holy ghost: he dothe not simply denie that they wer endued with any gift of Holy ghost, which beleued in Christ with hart, and confessed him with mouth: but meaneth of that receiuing of the Holy ghost, wherby the open powers and visibie graces were receiued. So is it sayd that the Apostles receiued the Spirite on the day of Pentecost, wheras it had ben long before sayd vnto them of Christ. It is not you that speake, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Beholde all ye that are of God; the malicious and popsonous deceite of Satan. That thynge which was truely geuen in Baptisme, he lyengly saith to be geuen in his confirmation, that he may by stealth leade you vnware from Baptisme. Who now can doute that this is the doctrine of Satan, which cuttyng away from Baptisme the promises proprely belongyng to Baptisme, doth conuey away and remoue them to an other thynge? It is founde (I say) vpon what maner of fundati- on this godly annoynting standeth. The worde of God is, that al they whiche are baptised in Christ, haue put on Christe with his gistes. The worde of the anoynters is, that they receiued in Baptisme no promise, by which they may be armed in batails. That is the voice of the truth, therfore this must be the voice of lying. Therfore I can moze truly define this Confirmation than they haue hetherto defined it: namely, that it is a notable sclander of Baptisme, whiche darkeneth, yea abolysheth the vse therof: that it is a false promise of the deuell, which draweth vs away from the truthe of God. Or, if you will, it is oyle defiled with the lyeng of the deuill, whiche as it were by ouerspreadyng of darkenesse, deceiueth the eyes of the simple.

They adde furthermoze, that al the faithfull ought after Baptisme to receiue the Holy ghost by layeng on of handes, that they may be founde full Christians: because he shall neuer be a Christian, that is not chrest- med with the Bishoppes Confirmation. These be their owne sayynges worde for worde. But I had thought that whatsoeuer thynge pertey- ned to Christianitie, were all set forth in wrytyng and comprehended in Scriptures. Nowe, as I perceyue, the trewe forme of religi- on is to be soughte and learned from ells where than oute of the the Scriptures. Therfore the whole wisdom of God, the heavenly truthe, the whole doctrine of Christ, doth but beginne Christians, and oyle maketh them perfect. By this sentence ar damned al the Apostles, and so many Martyrs, whome it is mooste certaine to haue neuer ben chrestmed: forasmuche as the oyle was not yet made, which beyng pou- red vpon them, they myght fulfill all the partes of christianitie, or ra- ther myght be made christians whiche yet were none. But, though I holde my peace, they doo largely confute themselves. For, howe many of the numbze of their owne people doo they annoynt after Baptisme? why therfore do they suffer suche halfe christians in their flocke, whoes imperfection might easily be holpen? Why do they with so carelesse neg- ligence suffer them to omitte that whiche was not lawfull to be omitted without greuous offense? Why do they not moze seuerely cal bpō the ke- ping of a thing so necessarie, and without which saluation cā not be ob-

teined,

Acts. viii.  
181.

Gal. iii.  
27.  
De conse-  
cra. dist. v.  
cap. Sp.

Gal. iii.  
27.  
De conse-  
cra. dist. v.  
cap. Sp.

Verba  
cap. i. de  
Consecr.  
dist. v. cō-  
aurel. ca.  
v. Ieiunii



teined, vnlesse peraduenture some be prevented by death: Verily when they so freely suffer it to bee despised, they secretly confesse that it is not of so greate value as they boſte it.

10  
 Cap. De  
 his vero,  
 Dist. ca.  
 dem.  
 Trestle,  
 Apollo  
 among  
 heathen  
 gaue an  
 swetes &  
 Prophe-  
 cies at a  
 trestle  
 ted boord  
 of trestle  
 Lib. iiii.  
 Senten.  
 Dist. vii  
 cap. ii.  
 Actes. ix.  
 ybii.  
 Dist. ix.  
 cap. Per  
 uenit.

Last of all they determine that this holy annoynting is to be had in greater reuerence than Baptisme: because this annoynting is peculiarly ministred by the handes of the these Bishops, but Baptisme is commonly distributed by euery prest. What maye a man here say, but that they are vtterly mad, which so flatter their owne inuentions, that in comparison of them they carelesly despise the holy ordināces of God: O mouth that robbest God, darrest thou set a fat liquoz onely defiled with the stink of thine owne bzeath, and enchaunted with murmuring sounde of wordes, against the Sacramēt of Christ, and to compare it with water halloved with the word of God: But thy wickednesse accompted this but a smal matter, vnlesse thou didst also preferre it aboue the same. These be the answers, of the Holy see, these be y<sup>e</sup> Oracles of the Apostolike trestle. But some of them, euen in their owne opinion, begonne some what to qualifie this vnbridled madnesse. It is (say they) to be worshipped with greater reuerence: peraduenture not for the greater vertue and profite that it geueth: but bicause it is geuen of the worthier men, and is made in the worthier part of the body, that is, in the forehead: or bicause it bringeth a greater encrease of vertues, although Baptisme auaille moze to forgiuenesse. But in the first reason do they not betraye themselues to be Donatistes, whiche measure the force of the Sacramente by the worthinesse of the minister. But I will admitte, that Confirmation bee called y<sup>e</sup> worthier by reason of the worthinesse of the Bishops hand. But if a man aske of them, from whence so great prerogatiue hath ben geue to Bishops, what reason will they bring beside their owne lust: The Apostles alone bled that powe, which alone distributed the Holye ghost: Are the Bishops alone Apostles: yea, are they Apostles at all: But lette vs also graunt them that: why do they not by the same argumēt affirme, that Bishoppes alone ought to touche the Sacrament of the blood in the Supper of the Lorde: which they therfore denye to lay men, because the lord gaue it to the Apostles alone: If to the Apostles alone, why do they not conclude: therfore to the Bishops alone: But in that place they make the Apostles, simple prestes: but now the gyddynesse of their head carrieth them an other way, sodeinly to create them Bishops. Finallye Ananias was no Apostle, to whom yet Paule was sent, that he shoulde receiue his sight, be baptised, and be filled with the Holy ghoste. I will adde this also to the heape: If by the law of God this was the proper office of Bishops, why haue they ben so bolde to geue it away to common prestes: as we rede in a certaine epistle of Gregorie.

11

As for their other reason, howe triflyng, fond, and foolishe is it, to call their Confirmation worthier than the Baptisme of God, because in it the forehead is annoynted with oyle, and in Baptisme the hynder part of the head, as though Baptisme were done with the oyle and not with the water: I call all the godly to witnesse, whether these loselles do not enuideoz them selues to this only end, to cozrupt y<sup>e</sup> purenesse of the Sacraments with their leauen. I haue alreedy spoken this in an other place, y<sup>e</sup> in the Sacramētes, that which is of God scarcely glimmereth through at holes, among the rout of the inuentions of men. If any man did not beleue



beleue me therein, let him now at least beleue his owne maisters: Let, passing ouer the water, and making no accompt of it, they hvely esteeme the onely oyle in Baptisme. We therfoze on the contraty syde doo saye, that in Baptisme the fozehead also is dipped in water. In comparisen of this, we esteeme not your oyle worth one piece of dong, whether it be in Baptisme or in confirmation. If any allege y it is sold for more: by this adding of price, the goodnesse (if anye were in it) is corrupted: so muche lesse may they commend a most filthy deceite by thest. In the thirde reason they bewray their owne vngodlynesse, while they prate that in confirmation is geuen a greater encrease of vertues than in Baptisme. By the laying on of handes the Apostles distributed the visible graces of y Spirit. In what thing do these mens fat liquoz thewe it selfe fruiteful? But away with these qualifiers, that couer our sacrilege with many sacrileges. It is like the Gordian: whiche it is better to breake in sonder, than to laboz so much in vndoing it.

But now when they see themselves destitute of the wozd of God and probable reason, they pretend as they are wont, that it is a most auncient obseruation and stablished by consent of many ages. Although that were true, yet they wyne nothing thereby. A Sacrament is not from the earthe, but from heauen: not from men, but from God alone. They must proue God to be the authour of their confirmation if they wil haue it taken for a Sacrament. But why do they object antiquitie, whereas the olde wyters, when they mynde to speake properly, doo no where reckon moe Sacramentes than twoo? If a fortreffe of our faith were to be sought from men, we haue an inuincible tower, that the old fathers neuer acknowledged those for Sacramentes which these men do lyengly faine to be Sacramentes. The olde wyters speake of the laying on of handes: but do they cal it a Sacrament? Augustine plainly affirmeth that it is no other thing than praiet. Neither let them here bark against me with their stinking distinctions, that Augustine meante that not of the layeng on of handes bled to confirmation, but whiche was bled to healing or reconciliation. The boke remaineth and is abrode in the handes of me. If I wrest it to any other sense than Augustine himself wrot it, I giue them leaue after their ordinarie maner to oppresse me not onely with rayling, but also with spitting at me: for he speaketh of the that returned from Schisme to the vnitie of the Chirch. He denieth that they needed to be newly baptized: for he sayth, that the layeng on of handes sufficeth, that by the bonde of peace the Lord maye geue them the Holye ghost. But for asmuche as it might seeme an absurditie, that the layeng on of handes should be done of new rather than Baptisme: he sheweth a difference. For (sayth he) what other thing is the layeng of handes, than praiet vpon a man? And that this is his meaning, appeareth by an other place, whete he sayeth: Hande is layed vpon here: ikes amended, for the coupling of Charitie, which is the greatest gifte of the Holye ghost, withoute whiche whatsoeuer holye thynges are in man they a uayle not to saluation.

But I would to God we did kepe still y maner whiche I haue said to haue been in the old tyme, befoze that this vnitimely deliuered image of a Sacramet was bozne: not that it should be such a confirmatio as they faine, which can not ones be named without iniurie to Baptisme: but a

catechi-

12

lib. iii.  
de bap.  
contra.  
Donat.  
Cap. lvi.

lib. iij.  
cap. lxxv.

lib. v.  
cap. lxxij.

13



catechizing, whereby children or they that were here to the age of discretion didde declare an account of their faith befoze the Church. But it should bee the beste manner of Catechizing, if a forme were witten to that vse, conteinyng and familiarly setting oute a summe in a maner of al the articles of our religion, in which the whole Church of the faithful ought without controuersie to agree: that a chyld beyng ten yeres olde should offer himselfe to the Church to declare a confession of his faith, should be examined of euery article, and answer to euery one: if he were ignozant of any thing, or did not vnderstande it he might be taught. So should he, befoze the Church witnessing and beholding it, professe the onely, true, and pure faith, wherewith the people of the faithfull dothe with one minde worshop the one God. If this discipline were at this day in force, truly y<sup>e</sup> slouthfulnesse of some parentes would be whetted, who do carelesly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing nothing belonging to them, whiche then withoute open shame they could not committe: there should be among christian people a greater consent of faith, and not so great ignozance and rudenesse of many: some should not bee so rashly carried away with new and strange doctrines: finally all should haue as it were a certayne orderly instruction of christian learning.

## Of Penance.

14 In the next place they set Penance, of which they entreate so confusedly and disordredly, that consciences can beare away no sure or sounde thing of their doctrine. We haue alreadye in an other place declared at large, what we had learned out of the Scriptures concerning repentance, and then what they also teache of it. Now we haue this onely to touch, what reason they had that raised by the opinion, which hath heretofore reigned in Churches and schooles, that it is a Sacramente. But first I will bzeafely saye somewhat of the vsage of the olde Church, the pretense whereof they haue abused to stablishe their fayned inuention. This order they kepte in publike penance, that they whiche had fully done the satisfactions enioyned them, were reconciled with solenne laying on of handes. That was the Signe of abolution, whereby both the sinner him selfe was raised by befoze God with truste of pardon, and the Church was admonished gently to receyue him into fauor, putting awaye the remembrance of his offence. This Cyprian oftentimes calleth, to geue peate. That this doing mighte bee of greater dignitie, and haue moze commendation among the people, it was ordeined that y<sup>e</sup> Bishops authozitie should alway be bled for y<sup>e</sup> meane herein. Fro hence came y<sup>e</sup> decree of y<sup>e</sup> second council at Carthage: Be it not lawfull to a prest: at y<sup>e</sup> Masse publikely to recõcile a penitēt. And an other decree of y<sup>e</sup> council at Arausiu: Let those, which in time of their penance depart out of this life, be admitted to y<sup>e</sup> Comunion without y<sup>e</sup> laying on of handes bled in recõciling: if they recover of their sicknesse let them stand in y<sup>e</sup> degree of penitētes. & whē y<sup>e</sup> time is fully expired, let them receiue of the Bishop y<sup>e</sup> laying on of handes bled in recõciling. Againe y<sup>e</sup> decree of the thirde council at Carthage: Let not the prest without the authozitie of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, recõcile a penitent. All these tēded to this end, that y<sup>e</sup> seueritie which they would haue to be vsed in y<sup>e</sup> behalf, should not w<sup>o</sup> much lenitie grow in decay. Therfore they willed the Bishop to be iudge of it, which was likely that he would be moze circūspect in y<sup>e</sup> examinatio thereof. Hobbert Cyprian



in a certaine place thewoeth, that not only the Bishop, but also the whole Clergie layed their handes on him. For thus he sayth. At the ful tyme they do penance, then they come to the Communion, and by the layeng on of handes of the Bishop and the clergie, they receiue power to partake of the Communion. Afterwarde by processe of tyme it came to this poynt, that beside publike penance they vsed this ceremonie also in priuate absolutions. Hereupon came that distinction in Gratian betwene publike and priuate reconciliation. I iudge that same olde vsage of which Cypriane maketh mention, to haue ben holy and healthfull for the Church, and I would that it were at this day restored. As for thys later, although I dare not disallow it, or at least speake moze sharplye against it, yet I thinke it to be lesse necessarie. Howsoeuer it be, yet we se y<sup>e</sup> the layeng on of hādes in penāce is a ceremonie ordeined of men, not of God, which is to be set amōg meane things & outward exercises: and those verily which are not to be despised, but which ought to be in a lower degree, than those y<sup>e</sup> are comēded vnto vs by y<sup>e</sup> word of the Lord.

But y<sup>e</sup> Romanistes & y<sup>e</sup> scholemē, (which haue an ordinarie custome to corrupt al things w<sup>th</sup> wōg expōding them) do here very carefully trauail in fynding out a Sacramēt. Neither ought it to seme any maruel, for they seke a knot in a rush. But where they haue it best, they leaue a thing entāgled, in suspēse, vncertaine, & cōfounded & troubled w<sup>th</sup> diuersity of opiniōs. Thei say therfoze either y<sup>e</sup> outward penāce is a Sacramēt, and if it be so, y<sup>e</sup> it ought to be takē for a signe of y<sup>e</sup> inward penance, that is, of the contrition of hart, which shalbe y<sup>e</sup> thing of y<sup>e</sup> Sacramēt: or that they both together are a Sacrament, not twoo Sacramentes, but one ful one. But, that the outward penance is only the Sacramēt; the inward is both the thing & the Sacramēt: and y<sup>e</sup> the forguenesse of synnes is the thing & not the Sacrament. Let them which kepe in remembrance the definitiō of a Sacrament which we haue aboue set, examine therby y<sup>e</sup> which these mē cal a Sacrament, & they shal fynd y<sup>e</sup> it is not an outward ceremonie ordeined of the Lord for the cōfirming of our faith. If they cauil y<sup>e</sup> my definitiō is not a law which they nede to obey: let thē heare Augustine, whō they faine y<sup>e</sup> thei esteeme as most holy visibible Sacraments (sayth he) were ordeined for carnal mens sakes, y<sup>e</sup> by degrees of Sacramētes they may be conueyed frō those things y<sup>e</sup> are seen with eyes to those thinges y<sup>e</sup> are vnderstāded. What like thing do either they thēselues see, or can they shewe to other in y<sup>e</sup> which they call the Sacramente of Penance? The same Augustine sayth in an other place: It is therfoze called a Sacramēt, because in it one thing is seen, & an other thing is vnderstāded. That which is seen, hath a bodily forme: y<sup>e</sup> which is vnderstāded, hath a spiritual frute. Neither doe these things in any wise agree with the Sacrament of penance, such as they faine it, where there is no bodily forme y<sup>e</sup> may represent a spirituall frute.

And, to kil these beasts vpon their own fightig place, if ther be any Sacramēt here to be sought, may it not be much moze colerably said y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> absolutiō of y<sup>e</sup> prest is a Sacramēt, thā penāce either inward or outward? For it might redly be said, y<sup>e</sup> it is a ceremony to assure our faith of y<sup>e</sup> forguenesse of sines, & hath a promise of y<sup>e</sup> keyes as thei cal it. Whatsoeuer ye shal bide or lose vpon earth, shalbe bound or losed in heauen. But some mā wold haue objected, y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most part of thē y<sup>e</sup> are absolved of y<sup>e</sup> prestes,

Decter.  
26. que. 6

19

Libr. 4.  
Den. di.  
22. cap. 2Libr. 3.  
que. ver.  
testam.Sermos  
ne de  
bapt. inf  
fant.

16



obtaine no such thing by such absolution: whereas by their doctrine the Sacramentes of the newe law ought to worke in dede that which they figure. This were but to be laughed at. For, as in the Supper, they make a double eating, a Sacramental eating which is egally common to good and to euil, & a spiritual eating which is only propre to þ good: why might they not also saie þ absolutio is receiued twoo wayes: Yet could I not hetherto vnderstand what thei meant w this their doctrine, which we haue alredy taught how farr it disagreeeth frō þ truth of God; whē we purposely entreated of þ argument. Here my mynde is only to shew, þ this dout withstandeth not, but þ they may cal þ absolutio of the Priest a Sacramēt. For they might answer by þ mouth of Augustine, that sanctificatio is without þ visible Sacrament, & the visible Sacrament without inwarde sanctification. Againe, þ the Sacramentes doe worke in þ only elect þ which they figure. Againe, that some do putt on Christ so farr as to þ partaking of þ Sacramēt, other some to sanctificatio: þ one, the good and euil egally do: this other, the good only. Truly they haue moze than childishly erred and be blinde in þ clere sunne, which traouiling with great hardnesse, yet espyed not a thing so playne and open to euery man.

17

Yet least they should wate to proude, in what part soener they set the Sacrament, I deny þ it ought rightfully to be taken for a Sacramēt. First, because there is no special promise to it, which is the only substance of a Sacramēt. Againe, because whatsoeuer ceremonie is here shewed fourth, it is the mere inuention of men: whereas we haue alredy proued that the ceremonies of Sacramentes can not be ordeined but of God. Therefore it was a lye and a deceite which they haue inuented of þ Sacrament of penance. Thys sayned Sacrament they haue garnished w a mete commendation, calling it a seconde bozde after shipwrecke: because if a man haue by sinning marred the garimēt of innocence whiche he receiued in Baptisme, he may by penance repaire it. But it is the sayeng of Hierome. Whoes soener it be, it can not be excused but þ it is vtterly wicked, if it be expoūded after their meaning. As though Baptisme be blotted out by sinne, and is not rather to be called to remembrance of euery sinner, so oft as he thinketh of the forgiuenesse of sinne, that he may therby gather by himselfe, and reconer courage, and strengthen hys fayth, that he shal obtaine the forgiuenesse of synnes which is promised him in Baptisme. But that which Hierome hath spoken hardly & vnproperly, that by penance Baptisme is repaired (frō which they fal away þ deserue to be excommunicate from the Chirch) these good expositors drawe to their wickednesse. Therefore you shall moste fittly speake, if you cal Baptisme the Sacrament of penance, lithe it is gener for a confirmation of grace, and seale of confidēce, to them þ purpose repentance. And least you should thinke thys to be our deuise, beside this that it agreeth with the words of the Scripture, it appeareth þ it was in the olde Chirch commonly spoken like a most certaine principle. For in the boke of fayth to Peter, which is sayd to be Augustines, it is called the Sacrament of fayth and of penāce. And why flee we to vn certaine sayenges: As though we could require any thing moze plaine, thā that which the Euāgelis reciteth: that Ihon preached the Baptisme of repentance vnto forgiuenesse of synnes:

Lib. iiii.  
que vet.  
Testam.  
De bap.  
paruul.  
Libr. v.  
de bap.  
contra.  
Donat.

Lib. 4.  
Sen. dist.  
xiiii.  
cap. i.  
De peni.  
dist. i.  
cap. ii.

Decret.  
xv. que. i  
cap. fir  
missime.  
part. i.  
liii.  
Luk. iii.  
iii.



Of extreme unction as they call it.

The thirde fained Sacrament is extreme unction, which is not done but of þ̄ Priest, & that in extremes, (so thei terme it) & with oyle consecrate of the Bishop, & with this forme: By thys holy anointing, & by his most kind mercy, God pardon thee whatsoeuer þ̄ hast offēded by seing, by hearing, by smelling, feling, tasting. They saie þ̄ there be twoo vertues of it, the forgenesse of sinnes, & ease of bodily sicknesse if it be so expediēt: if not, the saluation of the soule. They say that the institution of it is set of James, whose wordes are these. Is any sicke among you? Let hym byyng in the Elders of the Chirch, and let them pray ouer hym, anointing him with oyle in the name of the Lorde: and the prayer of fayth shal saue the sicke man, and the Lorde shal rayse hym vp: and if he be in synnes, they shalbe forgeuen hym. Of the same sorte is thys anointing, of which we haue aboue shewed that the other layeng on of handes is; namely a playerlike hypocrissie, whereby without reason and without frute they woulde resemble the Apostles. Marc rehearseth that the Apostles at their first sending, according to the commaundement whiche they haue receiued of the Lorde, raised by dead mē, cast out devils, cleansed leprous mē, healed the sicke, and þ̄ in healing of the sicke they bled oyle. They anointed (sayth he) many sicke mē with oyle, and they were healed. Hereunto James had respect, when he commaūded the Elders to be called together to anoint the sicke man. That vnder such Ceremonies is contayned no hyer mysterie, they shal easily iudge which marke how great libertie the Lorde and his Apostles bled in these outwarde thinges. The Lorde going about to restore sight to the blinde mā, made cley of dust & spittle, some he healed with touching, other some with his word. After the same maner the Apostles healed some diseases with the word only, some with touching, other some with anointing. But it is likely þ̄ this anointing was not (as al other things also wer not) causelessly put in bre. I graunt: yet not þ̄ it hold be a meane of healing, but only a signe, þ̄ the dulnesse of the vnskillful myght be put in mynde from whence so great power proceded, to thys ende that they shoulde not geue the prayse therof to the Apostles. And, that the Holy ghost and hys gyftes are signified by oyle it is a common and vsual thing. But that same grace of healinges is banished awaye, like as also the other miracles, which þ̄ Lorde willed to be shewed for a tyme, wherby he might make þ̄ new preaching of þ̄ Gospel maruelous for euer. Therefore though we graūt neuer so much, þ̄ anoynting was a Sacramente of thoses powers which wer thē ministred by þ̄ hands of þ̄ Apostles, it now nothing pertaineth to vs to whom the ministratio of such powers is not comitted.

And by what greater reaso do they make a Sacramēt of this anointing, than of al other signes that are rehearsed to vs in the Scripture? Why do they not appoint some Siloah to swynne in, wherinto at certayne ordinarie recourses of tymes sicke men may plunge themselues: That (say they) shoulde be done in baine. Truly no moze in baine than anoynting. Why do they not lye along vpon dead men, because Daule raysed by a dead childe with lyeing vpon hym? Why is not cley made of spittle & dust, a Sacrament? But the other wer but singular examples: but this is geuē of James for a commaudemēt. Verily James spake for thesame time, when the Chirch yet stil enioied such blessing of God.

¶.ii. They

18

James. b  
viii.

Marc. vi.  
viii.

Job. ix. b  
Math. ix.  
xi.  
Luk. xlviii  
viii.  
Act. iii. vi.  
v. b. xvi. &  
xix. xii,  
Psal. xlv.  
viii.

19

John. ix.  
vi.  
Act. xx. x.



They affirme in dede y<sup>t</sup> there is yet stil y<sup>e</sup> same foze in their anointing; but we finde it otherwise by experie<sup>n</sup>ce. Let no mā now maruel how they haue w<sup>ith</sup> such boldnesse mocked soules, which they know to be senselesse & blinde when they are spoyled of y<sup>e</sup> woꝛd of God, y<sup>e</sup> is, of their life & light: sith they are nothing ashamed to go about to mocke y<sup>e</sup> living and feling senses of y<sup>e</sup> body. Therfoze they make themselues worthy to be scoꝛned, whyle they boast y<sup>t</sup> they are endued w<sup>ith</sup> the grace of healinges. The Loꝛd verily is present w<sup>ith</sup> his in al ages, and so oft as nede is he helpeth their sicknesse no lesse th<sup>an</sup> in olde tyme; but he doth not so vtter those manifest powers, noꝛ distributeth miracles by the handes of the Apostles: because this gift both was but foꝛ a tyme, and also is partly fallē away by the vnthankfulnesse of men.

20

Math. iii.  
bl.  
Iohn. 1.  
xvii.

Therfoze as not w<sup>ith</sup>out cause y<sup>e</sup> Apostles haue by y<sup>e</sup> signe of oyle opely testified, y<sup>t</sup> the grace of healinges comitted to them was not their owne power, but y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost: so on y<sup>e</sup> other side they are woꝛgdoers to y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost, which make a stinking oyle & of no foze, to be hys power. This is altogether like as if one would say y<sup>t</sup> al oyle is y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost, because it is called by y<sup>e</sup> name in Scripture: that euerye doue is the Holy ghost, because he appered in y<sup>e</sup> foꝛme. But these thigs, let them loke to. So much as foꝛ this pꝛesēt is enough foꝛ vs, we do most certainly perceiue y<sup>t</sup> their annointing is no Sacrament: whiche is neyther a Ceremonie ordeined of God, noꝛ hath any pꝛomise. Foꝛ when we require these twoo thinges in a Sacrament, that it be a ceremonie ordeined of God, & that it haue a pꝛomise of God: we do there wal require that y<sup>e</sup> same Ceremonie be geuen to vs, and y<sup>e</sup> the pꝛomise belong vnto vs. Foꝛ no man doth affirme y<sup>t</sup> Circumcision is nowe a Sacrament of the Christian Chirch, althoughe it both was an ordinance of God, and had a pꝛomise knitt vnto it: because it was neither commaunded to vs, noꝛ the pꝛomise which was adioyned to it was geuē to vs with the same conditiō. That the pꝛomise which they pꝛoudely boast of in their annointing, is not geuen to vs, we haue evidently shewed, and they theselues declare by experience. The Ceremonie ought not to haue ben vsed, but of them that were endued with the grace of healinges, not of these butchers that can moze skill of slayeng and murthering than of healing.

21

James. v.  
iii

Hobobē it althoughe they obteyne thys, that that which James commaundeth concerning annointing, agreeth with thys age (which they are most farr from) yet euē so they shal not haue much pꝛeualled in pꝛouing of their vnction wherwith they haue hetherto annointed vs. James wylleth that all sicke men be annointed: these men infecte with their fatt liquoz, not sicke men, but cozpses half dead, when the lyfe lieth already laboꝛyng at the toppe of their lippes, oꝛ (as they themselues terme it) in extremes. If they haue in their Sacramente a pꝛesent medicine, wherby they may either ease the sharpenesse of diseases, oꝛ at the least may byyng some comfort to the soule, they ar to cruel that do neuer heale in time. James willeth that the sicke mā be annointed of the Elders of the Chirch: these men allow no anointer but the pety sacrificing Pꝛest. Wheras they expounde in James pꝛesbyteros the Elders to be Pꝛestes, and fondly say that the plurall number is there set foꝛ comlyness sake: that is but trifling: as though the Chirches at that tyme abounded with swarmes of sacrificing Pꝛestes, that they mighte goe in a long



a long pompous shewe to carrie a pageante of holy oyle. When James simply biddeth that sicke men be annointed, I vnderstande by it none other annointing but of common oyle: and none other is founde in markes rehearsal. These men vouchesaue to haue none other oyle, but that which is hallowed of the Bishop, that is to say, warmed with much breathing on it, enchaunted with much mumbling, and with the knee bowed nine times saluted in thys maner: thrise Haile holy oyle: thrise Hayle holy chrefine: thrise Hayle holy balme. Oute of whom haue they sucked such coniurations: James sayth: that when the sicke man is annointed with oyle, and prayer hath ben pronounced ouer hym, if he be in sinnes they shalbe forgeuen hym: namely, that the giltinesse being taken away, they may obtaine release of the peine: not meaning that sinnes are put away with fat liquoz, but that the prayers of the faithful wherby the afflicted brother is commended to God, shal not be vaine. These men do wickedly lye, that by their holy, that is to say, abhominable annointing, sinnes are forgeuen. Aoe how gayly they shal preuaile, when they haue ben at large suffred to abuse the testimonie of James at their pleasure. And least we should nede to trauaile lög in prote hereof, their own chzonicles do discarge vs of this hardnesse. For thei report that Pope Innocentius, which in Augustines time gouerned y Chirch of Rome, ordeined that not only Prestes, but also all Christians should vse oyle to annoint for their own necessitie and others. Authoz hereof is Sigebert in his Cronicles.

## Of ecclesiasticall Orders.

The fourth place in their register hath the Sacrament of Order: but the same so fruteful, that it bredeth out of it selfe seuen litle Sacramentes. But this is very worthy to be laughed at, that wheras they affirme that there be seuen Sacramentes, whē they go about to rehearse them they reckon by thirtene. Neither can they allege for themselves, y they are but one Sacrament, because they tende all to one Presthode; and are as it were certaine degrees vnto it. For sith it is euident y in euery one of them are seuerall Ceremonies, and they theselues say that there be diuerse graces: no mā can dout but that they ought to be called seuen Sacramentes, if their opiniōs be receiued. And why strue we about it as though it were a thing doutefull, foras much as they themselues doe plainly and seuerally declare seuen: But first we wil briefely knitt vp by the way, how many and how vnsauorie absurdities they thrust in vnto vs, when they goe aboute to commend to vs their Orders in stede of Sacramentes: & then we wil se whether y Ceremonie which Chirches vse in ordering of ministers, ought to be called a Sacramēt at all. They make therfoze seuen ecclesiasticall Orders or degrees, which they garnish with the name of a Sacrament. Those be, dozekeepers, Readers, Crozicistes, Acoluthes or folowets; Subdeacons; Deacons, Prestes. And vti they say that they be, for the seuenfolde grace of the Holy ghost, where v they ought to be endued y are promoted vnto them. But it is encreased & more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Now y nūber it selfe is hallowed w a wōgful expōding of Scripture, whē they think y thei haue red in Esai vñ vertues of y Holy ghost wheras both in dede Esay there rehearseth but six, & also y prophet met not to cōprehēd them al in that place: for he is eils where as wel called the Spirite of Iyfe, of sanctification, of adoption of the childzen, as he is in y place called the

22

Libr. 4.  
Sen. dist.  
xxxiii.  
cap. 9.

Esai. vii.  
Czec. i. r.  
Ro. i. iiii.  
& viii. rb.



The first is the opinion of Huc, the other of William of Paris. Isidorus lib vii. Dist. 21. & disti. 33. cap. Lect. & cap. Of tianus.

Spirite of wisdom, of vnderstanding, of counsel, of strength, of knowledge, & of the feare of the Lord. Howbeit some sutteler men make not seuen orders, but nyne, after y<sup>e</sup> libelle (as they say) of the Chirche triu- phing. But among them also there is strife: because some would haue y<sup>e</sup> Chauning of the clergie to be y<sup>e</sup> first order of al, & Bishoprike the last: other some excluding Chauning altogether, reckon Archebshoprike among the orders. Isidore otherwise diuideth them: For he maketh Psalmistes & Reders to be diuerse: he apointeth y<sup>e</sup> Psalmists for songes, & the Reders to y<sup>e</sup> reding of y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, wherw<sup>th</sup> the people may be instructed. And thys distinctio is kept by y<sup>e</sup> canons. In so great diuersitie what wil they haue vs to follow or flee? Shal we say y<sup>e</sup> there be seue<sup>n</sup> orders? So teacheth y<sup>e</sup> master of y<sup>e</sup> schole: but y<sup>e</sup> most illuminate doctozs do oitherwise determine. Againe they also disagree among themselues. Whereouer the mosse sacred canons call vs an other way. Thus sozsoth do men agree, when they dispute of Godly maters without the worde of God.

23

John. ii. rb.

Joh. i. bff Luke. liii rbii. Mar. rbf. rrriff. Joh. biff. riii. Joh. lii, liii. Mat. rrbf rrbf. Mathew rrbf. l. Eph. b. li.

But thys excedeth all follye, that in euery one of these they make Christ fellow with them. First (say they) he executed the office of Doze- keeper, when he did with a whip made of cordes, dzyue the byers and sellers oute of the temple. He signifieth himselfe to be a dozekeeper, when he sayeth, I am the doze. He toke vpon hym the office of Reader, when he red Clay in the Sinagoge. He did the office of an Exorcist, when touching the tong and eares of the deff and dumme man, he restozed to hym hys hearing. He testified himselfe to be an Acoluthe or folower in these wordes, He that foloweth me, walketh not in darke- nesse. He executed the office of Subdiacon, when beyng girded with a linnen cloth he washed the disciples feete. He did beare the persone of a Deacon, when he distributed hys body and blood in the Supper. He fulfilled the office of Preste, when he offred himselfe vpon the crosse a sacrifice to his father. These thinges can not so be heard w<sup>th</sup> out laugh- ing, y<sup>e</sup> I maruel y<sup>e</sup> they were wzitten w<sup>th</sup> out laughing, if yet they wer me that wzote them. But mosse notable is their sutteltie wherewith they play y<sup>e</sup> Philosophers about y<sup>e</sup> name of Acoluth, calling him a Ceroserar, a taper bearer with a worde (as I thynke) of sozcerie, truely such a one as was neuer heard of in al nations and languages: wheras Acoluthos in Greke simply signifieth a folower. Howbeit if I should earnestly tar- ry in confuting these men, I should my self also woorthily be laughed at, they are so trifling and very mockeries.

24

But that they may not be able yet stil w<sup>th</sup> false colozs to deceiue eu<sup>e</sup> very silly women, their vanitie is by the way to be vttered. They create with great pompe and solemnitie their Reders, Psalmistes, Dozeke- pers, Acolutes, to execute those offices, wherunto they appoint very children, or those whome they call lay men. For who for the most part lighteth the candels, who poureth wine and water into the cruet, but a childe or some base fellow of the lairie, that maketh hys gaynie thereof? Doe not the same men sing? Doe they not shutt and open the Chirche dozes? For who euer sawe in their temples an Acoluthe, or a Dozeke- per executing his office? But rather he that when he was a boy dyd the office of an Acoluthe, when he is ones admitted into the order of Acoluthes, resteth to be that which he beginneth to be called, that they may seme to wil of purpose to cast of the office wh<sup>ch</sup> they take vpon them

the



the title. Beholde why they haue nede to be consecrate by Sacramētes; and to receiue the Holy ghost, namely, y they may do nothing. If they allege for exercise, that this is the frowardnesse of tymes, that they forsake & neglect their ministeries: let them ther wal cōfesse that there is at this day in the Chirch no ble noz frute of their holy Orders, which they maruelously aduance, & that their whole Chirch is ful of curle: because it suffreth tapers & cruets to be handled of childzē & prophane mē, which none are woorthy to touche but they that are consecrate Acoluthes: and because it committeth the songes to childzē, which ought not to be heard but of a hallowed mouth. As for their Exorcistes, to what ende do they cōsecrate them? I heare that the Jewes had their Exorcistes: but I see that they were so called of the exorcismes oz coniuurations whiche they vsed. Of these counterfeit exorcistes who euer heard it spokē, that they shewed any exāple of their professiō: It is sayned that they haue power geuē them to lay their handes vpon mad men, them that are to be catechised, & mē possessed with deuils: but they can not perswade the deuils that they haue such power, because the deuils doe not onely not yelde to their commaundementes, but also ble commaunding authoritie over them. For a man can scarcely fynde euery tenth of them, that is not led with an euil Spirite. Therfore whatsoeuer thinges they babble concerning their pey Orders, are patched together of foolish and vnlawofull lies. Of the old Acoluthes, & Docekeepers, & Reders, we haue spoken in an other place, when we declared the order of the Chirch. Our purpose here is only to fyght agaynst that new foūd inuētiō of the seuefold Sacrament in ecclesiastical orders. Of which there is no where any thyng red, but amōg these foolysly praters the Sorbonistes and Canonistes.

Now let vs cōsider of y ceremonies which they vse about it. First whōsoeuer they receiue into their order of soldiars, they do w one common signe entre them into Clergie. For they haue them in y crowne, that the crowne maye betokē kingly dignitie, because Clerkes ought to be kiges, that they may rule theselues & other. For Peter speaketh thus of them, Ye are a chosen kynde, a kyngly presthode, a holy natiō, a people of purchace. But it was sacrilege to take to theselues alone that which is geuē to the whole Chirch, & proudly to glory of the title which they had takē frō the faithful. Peter speaketh to y whole Chirch: these fellowes wrest it to a few haue mē: as though it were sayd to them alone, be ye holy: as though they alone wer purchaced by the blood of Christ: as though they alone were by Christ made a kyngdome & presthode to God. Thē they assigne also other rellions: the top of their hed is made bare, y their mind may be declared to be free vnto the Lord, which w opē face may behold y glozy of God. Or y they may be taught y the faultes of their mouth & their eyes must be cut of. Or y hauning of their hed is y putting away of tēporal thynges, & y heary cōpasse about y crowne are y remnantes of goods y are retained for their sustēance. All in signes: because forsoth the beile of y tēple is not yet cut in soder. Therfore being perswaded y they haue gaily discharged their duttes, because they haue figured such thigs by their crowne, of y very thinges in dede they perfozme nothing at all. How lōg wil they morke vs w such false colozs & deceites: The clergie by hearing of a few heares do signifie y they haue cast away y abūdāce of tempoꝝall goods, that they beholde the glozy of God, that they haue

Actes. xxi. riii.

cap Dupl  
in quest. i

1. Pet. ii. 9

Lib. iiii.  
Senten.Dist.  
xliiii.cap. Duo  
lunc.Libr. 4.  
Sen. dist.

24. ca. 1.



mortified the luste of the eares and eyes: but there is no kinde of mē moze rauening, moze sensedly dul, moze lustful: Wh by do they not rather truely perfozme holinesse, than with false and lyeng signes counterfait a shewe of it:

26

Mozeouer when they say that the crowne of the Clergie hath the beginning and reso from the Nazarites: what other thing do they allege, than that their mysterie are sprong out of the Jewish Ceremonies, oz rather that they are mere Jewishnesse: But wheras they further saye, that Priscilla, Acyla, and Paule hymselfe, taking a bobo vpon them did sheare their heds, that they might be purified: they bewraye their grosse ignozāce. For it is no where red of Priscilla: and of Acyla also it is doubtful: for that same shearing may as wel be referred to Paul as to Acyla. But, that we may not leaue to them that which they require, that they haue an example of Paule: the simpler must note, that Paule did neuer sheare his head for any sanctification, but only to serue the weakenesse of his brethren. I am wont to cal such bowes the bowes of charitie not of godlinesse: that is to say, not taken in hande for any service of God, but to beare with the rudenesse of the weake: as he hymselfe sayth, that he was made a Jewe to the Jewes, &c. Therefore he did this, and the same but ones, and for a shozte tyme, that he myghte for a time fashion himselfe to the Jewes. These men, when they wil without any vse counterfait the purifienges of the Nazarites, what do they ells but rapse vp an other Jewishnesse, when they wzōgfully couet to folow the old Jewishnesse: With the same religiousnesse was þ decretall Epistle made, which, accozding to the Apostle, forbiddeth clerkes þ they shold not suffer their heare to grow, but there it rōūde lyke a boobole. As though the Apostle, whē he teacheth what is comly for al men, were careful for the rounde shearing of the Clergie. Hereby let the reders cōsider, of what forze and woorthinesse are those other mysterie that follow, into which there is such an enttie.

27

Whense the shearing of Clerkes toke beginning, appeareth sufficiently enē by Augustine alone. Wheras at that time none suffred their heare to growe, but nice men, & such as coueted a smothernesse & trimnesse not mete enough for men: it semed to be a point of no good example, if that were permitted to the clergie. Therefore Clerkes were cōmāded either to sheare their head oz to haue it, that they shold not beare any shewe of womanlyke trimming. But this was so common, þ certaine mōkes, that they might the moze set out their own holinesse with notable and seueral attire from other men, did let their heare growe long. But afterwarde when the fashion turned to wearing of heare, & certain nations were added to Christiādome which alway bled to weare lōg heare, as Fraunce, Germany, & England: it is likely þ clerkes did euerywhere sheare their heds, least they shold seme to couet the gaynesse of heare. At the last in a corrupter age, whē al old ordinaunces wer either peruerterd oz gone out of kinde into superstition, because they saw no cause in þ shearing of þ clergie (for they had retained nothing but a solithe cōnterfaying) they fled to a mysterie, which now they superstitiously thrust in vnto vs for þ approuing of their Sacrament. The doze keepers at their cōsecratio receiue þ keyes of þ Chirch, wherby they may vnderstād þ the keeping of it is cōmitted to thē. The reders receiue þ holy Bible. The ex-

ozures

Act. xlii.  
vii.

Cor. ii.

1 Tim. vi.  
viii.1 Tim. vi.  
viii.1 Tim. vi.  
viii.1 Tim. vi.  
viii.1 Tim. vi.  
viii.

August.

de oper.

nonach

in fine.

Item in

Retract.

Libr. 4.

Senten.

disti.

14, ca. 8,



ozzistes receiue þ fozmes of exozzismes, which they should vse ouer mad and them that are to be catechised. The Acolythes receiue the tapers & cruets. Lo these ar the ceremonies, whetin (if God will) there is so much secret power, that they may be not only signes and tokens, but also causes of inuisible grace. Foz this they requite by their definition, when they will haue them taken among the Sacramentes. But to make an ende in fewe woordes, I say it is an absurditie that in their scholes and canons they make these lesser ozders Sacramentes: whereas euen by their owne confession that teache this, they were vnknowen to the primitive Chirch, and deuised many yeares after. Foz Sacramentes, sith they conteyne the promise of God, can not be ozdeyned of Angels, noz of men, but of God alone, whoes office alone it is to geue promise.

There remaine thzee ozders, whiche they calle the greater. Of the whiche, Subdeaconrie (as they call it) was remoued into that number, sins that the route of the smaller ones beganne to growe. But because they seme to haue a testimonie foz these out of the woord of God, they do peculiarly foz honozs sake, call them holye ozders. But nowe it is to be sene, howe crokedly they abuse the ozdinances of God to their pretence. We will begyn at the ozder of Presthode oz the sacrificets office. Foz by these two names they signifie one thyng, and so they call them to whom they say that it pertaineth to offer vpon the altat the sacrifice of the bo-dye and blood of Chziste, to pronoune prayers, and to blesse the giftes of God. Therfoze at their consecration they receiue the patine with the hostes, foz tokens of power geuen to them, to offer acceptable sacrifices to God. And their handes are anointed: by which signe they ar taught, that they haue power geuen them to consecrate. But of the Cere-mo-nies we shall speake hereafter. Of the thyng it selfe I say: it so hath no title of the woorde of God which they pretende, that they could not moze wickedly corrupt the ozder set by God. Fyzt verily this ought to stande foz a thyng confessed (which we haue affirmed in entreating of the Popishe masse) that they are all wzong doers to Chzist, which cal them sel-ues sacrificyng prestes, to offer a sacrifice of appeasement. He was ap-pointed and consecrate of the ffather a prest with an othe, accozdyng to the ozder of Melchisedech, without any ende, without any succesoz. He ones offred a sacrifice of eternall satisfactorie cleansyng, and reconcilia-tion: and nowe also beyng entred into the Sanctuarie of heauert, he maketh intercession foz vs. In hym we are all sacrificyng prestes, but to praises and geuyngs of thanks, finally to offer vs and ours to God. It was his singular office alone, with his offryng to appeale God, and to purge sinnes. When these men take that vpon them, what remaineth but that their sacrificyng Presthoo-de is vngodly and full of sacrilege: Cruely they are to wicked, when they dare gaue that with the name of a Sacrament. As touchyng the true office of Presthode, which is com-mended to vs by the mouth of Chziste, I willyngly accompt it in that degree. Foz therin is a ceremonie, fyzt taken oute of the Scriptures, then suche a one as Paul testifieth not to be baine noz superfluous; but a faithfull Signe of spirituall grace. But whereas I haue not set it foz a thirde in the number of Sacramentes, I did it because it is not oz-dinarie and common among all the faithfull, but a speciall rite foz one certaine office. But sith this honoz is geuen to the Chzistian ministerie, there



there is no cause therfoze why the Popish sacrificers should bee proude. For Christ commaunded distributers of his Gospell and mysteries to be ordeined, not sacrificers to bee consecrated. He gaue them commaundement to preache the Gospell and to feede the flock, not to offer sacrifices. He promised them the grace of the Holy ghost, not to make satisfactorie purging of sinnes, but rightly to execute and to mainteine the gouernement of the Church.

The ceremonies agree very well with the thing it selfe. Our Lorde when he sent forth the Apostles to preache the Gospell, did blow vppon them. By which Signe he represented the power of the Holy ghost which he gaue vnto them. This blowyng these good me haue retained, and as though they did put forth y<sup>e</sup> Holy ghost out at their throte, they whisper ouer their silly prestes that they make, Receiue the Holy ghost. So leaue they nothing which they do not ouerthwartly counterfait: I wyl not say like players (which vse their gesturings neither without arte nor without signification) but like apes, which counterfait euery thing wantonly and without any choise. We kepe (say they) the example of the Lorde. But the Lorde did many thinges which he willed not to be examples to vs. The Lorde said to the disciples, Receiue the Holye ghoste. He sayd also to Lazarus, Lazarus come forth. He said to the man sicke of the palsey, Rise and walke. Why do not they say the same to al dead men and sicke of the palsey? He shewed a profe of hys diuine power, when in blowing vpo the Apostles he filled them w<sup>th</sup> the grace of the Holy ghost. If they go about to do the same thing, they enuiously counterfait God, and do in a maner chalenge him to striue with them: but they are farr fro the effect, and do nothing with thys foolish gesturing but mocke Christ. Verily they bee so shamelesse, that they dare affirme that they geue the Holy ghost. But how true that is, experience teacheth, which cryeth oute that so many as be consecrated prestes are of horses made asses, of foolles made madmen. Neither yet doo I stryue with them for that: only I condemne the ceremonie it selfe, which oughte not to haue ben drawn to bee an example, for asmuche as it was bled of Christe for a singular signe of one miracle: so farre is it of, that the excuse of folowing hys example ought to defend them.

But of who receiued they the annointing? They answer that they receiued it of the sonnes of Aaron, fro who their order also toke beginning. Therfoze they had rather alway to defend them selues with wrongfull examples, than to confesse that themselues haue deuised that which they vse without cause. But in the meane tyme they consyder not, that while they professe them selues the successors of the sonnes of Aaron, they are wrongdoers to the presthode of Christ, which alone was shadowed and figured by all the olde sacrificing presthodes. In him therfoze they were all conteyned and fulfilled, in him they celled, as we haue sometimes already repeted, and the Epistle to the Hebzuers without helpe of any glosses testifieth. But if they be so much delited with y<sup>e</sup> ceremonies of Moses, why do they not hastily take oxen, calues, and lambes to make sacrifices? They haue in deede a good part of the olde tabernacle and of y<sup>e</sup> whole Jewish maner of worshipping: but yet this watech in their religio, that they do not sacrifice calues and oxen. Who can not see, that this obseruation of annoynting is much moze hurtfull than Circumcision, specially



cially when there is adioyned superstition and Pharisaicall opinion of the worthinesse of the worke: For the Jewes did sette in Circumcision; trust of righteoufnesse: these men doo set in anoynting, spiritual graces. Therfore while they couet to be counterfaiters of the Leuites, they are made Apostataes from Chyriste, and do putte them selues from the office of Pastors.

This is (if God will) the holy oyle þ printeth the marke that can not be rased out. As though oyle coulde not be wyped awaye with dust and salt, or if it stick faster, with sope. But this marke is spiritual. What hath oyle to do with the soule? Haue they forgotten that which they oft chaſit to vs out of Augustine, that if þ woꝝd be taken from the water, it shalbe nothing but water, & that it hath this from the woꝝd that it is a Sacrament: What woꝝde will they shew in their fat liquoz? Will they shew the comaundemēt þ was geuen to Moses, concerning the anoynting of the sonnes of Aarō? But ther is also comaundemēt geue, of þ coate, þ ephod, the hatt, the crown of holinesse, with which Aaron was to be garnished; and of the coates, girdles, and miters, wherewith the sonnes of Aaron were to be clothed. There is commaundement geuen to kill a calfe, and burne the fatte of him for incense, to cutt rammes and burne them, to sanctifie their eares and garmentes with the blood of an other ramme; and innumerable other obseruations, which being passed ouer, I marvel why the onely anoynting of oyle pleaseſh them. But if they loue to be sprinkled, why are they rather sprinkled with oyle than with blood? Forsoth they goe about a witty thing, to make one religion of Chyristianitie, Jewishnesse, and Paganisme, as it were of patches sowed together. Therfore their anoynting stinketh which is without the salt, that is, the woꝝd of God. There remaineth layeng on of handes, which as I graunt in true and lawfull Orderings to be a Sacrament, so I deny þ it hath any part in this play, where they neither obey the comaundemēt of Chyrist, nor haue respect to the ende wherunto the promise oughte to leade vs: If they wil not haue the signe denied them, they must apply it to the thing it selfe, wherunto it is appointed.

About the order also of Deaconrie I woulde not strue with them, if that same ministerie which was in the Apostles tyme and in the purer Chyrche were restozed to the vncorrupted state thereof. But what like thing haue they, whome those men faine to be deacons? I speake not of the men least they shoulde complaine that the doctrine is wrongfullye weyed by the faultes of the menne) but I affirme that for those whome they deliuer vs by their doctrine; they vnworthily ferche testimonte from the example of them whome the Apostolike Chyrch ordeined Deacons. They say that it pertaineth to their deacons to stand by the prestes, to minister in all thinges that are done in the Sacramentes, namelye in Baptisme, in the chesme, in the patine, in the chalice: to byng in the offrynges and lay them vpon the altar, to make ready the Lordes table, and to couer it; to carry the Crosse, to pronounce and sing the Gospell and Epistle to the people. Is here any one woꝝde of the true ministerie of Deacons? Nowe lett vs heare the institutyng of them. Vpon the Deacon that is ordered, the Bishop alone layeth his hande. He laſeth a prayer boke and a Stoale vpon his lefte shoulder, that he may vnderstande that he hath receyued the lyght yoke of the Lord, wherby he



he may subdue to the feare of God those thyngs that pertelne to the left side. He geueth him the texte of the Gospell, that he maye perceiue himselfe to be a publishe of it. And what belong these thinges to Deacons? They doo euen like as if a man wold say that he ordeined them Apostles whom he appointed only to burne frankincense, to trimme the Images, to sweepe the Chirches, to catche mice, to driue away dogs. Who could suffer such kinde of men to be called Apostles, and to be compared with y<sup>e</sup> very Apostles of Christ: Therfore let them not hereafter lyngly say y<sup>e</sup> those be Deacons, whom they institute only for their enterlude-like plaies. Yea & by the very name it self they sufficiently declare what maner of office they haue. For they call them Levites, & will haue their order & beginning referred to y<sup>e</sup> childe of Leui. Which I geue the leaue to do, so that they do not afterwarde garnish them with y<sup>e</sup> fethers of other.

33

Of Subdeacons to what purpose is it to speake: For whereas in dede they were in olde tyme appointed for care of the pooze; they assigne to them I wote not what triflyng busynesse, as to bring the chalice & the patine, the litle cruete with water, and y<sup>e</sup> towel to the altar, to potoze water to washe handes, &c. Now whereas they speake of recepyng & bringing in of offrings, they meane those which they deuoure as abandoned to their holy vse. With this office very well agreeth the forme of theyr consecratyng. That he receiue of the Bishop, the patine & the chalice: of the Archdeacon, the cruete with water, y<sup>e</sup> manuale, & such other baggage. Within these trifles they require to haue vs confesse that the Holy ghost is enclosed. What godly mā can abide to graūt this: But, to make ones an ende, we may determine the same of them that we do of the rest. Neither nede we to repete further those thynges that are aboue declared. This may be enough to teache the sober and willing to learne (whome I haue taken in hand to instruct) y<sup>e</sup> there is no Sacrament of God but where is shewed a Ceremonie ioynted with a promise: or rather verily but where is a promise sene in a Ceremonie. Here is not found one syllable of any certain promise: therfore it were in haine to seke a Ceremonie to confirme the promise. Againe of those ceremonies that they vse, it is not red y<sup>e</sup> any one is institute of god. Therfore here can be no Sacramēt.

Of Matrimonie.

34

The last is Matrimonie, which as all men confesse to be ordeined of God, so no man vntill the tyme of Gregorie euer sawe that it was geuen for a Sacrament. And what sober man wold euer haue thought it: It is a good & a holy ordināce of God: so tyllage, carpentrie, woemakers craft, barbers craft, are lawfull ordinances of God, and yet they are no Sacramentes. For there is not only this required in a Sacrament, that it be the worke of God, but that it be an outward Ceremonie appoynted of God to confirme a promise. That there is no suche thyng in Matrimonie, very chyldren also can iudge. But (say they) it is a Signe of a holy thyng, that is, of the spirituall coniuyng of Christe with the Chirche. If by this woorde Signe, they vnderstand a Token sett befoze vs of God, to this ende to raise by the assurednesse of our faith, they are farre belyde the truthe. If they simply take a Signe for that which is brought to expresse a similitude, I wyl shewe howe wittily they reason. Paule sayth, As one starre differeth from an other star in brightnesse, so shalbe y<sup>e</sup> resurrectio of y<sup>e</sup> dead. Lo here is one Sacra-



Sacrament. Christ sayth, The kyngdome of heauen is lyke to a grain of mustardsede. Lo here is an other. Againe, The kingdom of heauen is like vnto leaue. Lo here is y<sup>e</sup> third. Esai sayth, Behold, the lord shall fede his flock as a shepherd. Lo here is the fowerth. In an other place, The Lord shall go forth as a Gyant. Lo here is the fiftth. Finally what end or measure shall there be? There is nothyng but by this meane it shall be a Sacrament. Howe many parables and similitudes are in the Scripture, so many Sacraments there shall be. Yea and thest shall be a Sacrament, because it is wrytten, the day of the Lorde is lyke a thefe. Whoe can abyde these sophisters prating so foolishly? I graunt in dede that so oft as we see a vine, it is very good to call to remembrance that whiche Christ sayth, I am a vine, ye be branches, my father is the vinedresser. So oft as a shepherde with his flocke cometh toward vs, it is good also that this come to our mynde, I am a good shepherd, my shepe heare my voice. But if any man adde such similltudes to the number of Sacramentes, he is mete to be sent to Antycira.

But they still laye fourth the wordes of Paule, in which he geueth to Matrimonie the name of a Sacrament: he that loueth his wife, loueth hymselfe. No man euer hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth it and cherissheth it, euen as Christ doth the Chirch: because we are members of hys body, of his flethe and of his bones. For this, a man shall leaue hys father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shall be two into one flethe. Thys is a great Sacrament: but I saye in Christ and the Chirch. But so to handle the Scriptures, is to mingle heauen and earth together. Paule, to thew to married men, what singular loue they ought to beare to their wiues, setteth fourth Christe to them for an example. For as he poured fourth the bowells of his kindenesse vpon the Chirch which he had espoused to himselfe: so ought euery man to be affectioned toward his own wife. It foloweth after, He that loueth his wife, loueth hymselfe: as Christ loued the Chirch. Now, to teache how Christ loued the Chirch as hymselfe, yea how he made himselfe one with hys spouse y<sup>e</sup> Chirch, he applyeth to hym those thinges which Moses reporteth that Adam spake of him selfe. For when Eue was brought into his syght, whom he knew to haue ben shapen out of his syde: This woman (sayth he) is a bone of my bones, and flethe of my flethe. Paul testifieth that all this was spirituallly fulfilled in Christ and vs, when he sayeth that we are membres of his body, of his flethe, and of his bones, yea and one flethe with hym. At lengthe he addeth a concludyng Sentence, This is a great mysterie. And least any man shoulde be deceiued with the doble signifyng of the woordes, he expresth that he speaketh not of the fleshely conioynng of man and woman, but of the spiritual marriage of Christe and the Chirch. And truly it is in dede a great mysterie, that Christe suffred a ribbe to be taken from himselfe, whereof we might be shapen: that is to say, whē he was strong, he willed to be weake, that we might be strengthened with his strength: that now we may not our selues lyue, but he may lyue in vs.

The name of Sacramente deceiued them. But was it rightfull that the whole Chirch should suffer the punishment of their ignozance? Paul said Mysterie: which word when the translater might haue leftē beyng not vnuised with Latin eares, or might haue translated it a Secrete: he chose

Pat. xiii.  
xxxi. et  
xxxi.  
Esa. xl. xi.  
Esa. xlii.  
xlii.  
i. Thes.  
v. ii.  
Ioh. xv. i.  
Ioh. x. xi.

Antycira,  
where gro  
weth Wel  
leboz, a  
good pur-  
gation for  
phrentike  
heaves.

35.  
Eph. v.  
viii.

Gene. ii.  
viii.

Galat. ii.  
ii.



those rather to put in the worde Sacrament, yet in no other sense than Paule had in Greke called it Mysterie. Now let them go and with crying out raile against the skil of sages, by ignorance whereof they have so long most fowly been blynde in an easy mater, and suche as offerth it self to be perceiued of euery man. But why doo they in this one place so earnestly sticke vpon this litle word Sacrament, and some other tymes do passe it ouer vnraged: For also in the first Epistle to Timothe the Translater hath bled it, and in the selfe same Epistle to the Ephesians: in euery place for Mysterie. But let this slipping be pardoned them: at least the liers ought to haue had a good remembrance. For, whē they haue ones set out Matrimonie with title of a Sacrament, afterward to call it vncleannesse, defyling, and fleshly filthinesse, how gyddy lightnesse is this? How great an absurditie is it to debarre prests from a Sacramēt: If they deny y they debarre them frō y Sacramēt, but frō the lust of copulation: they escape not so away frō me. For they teach y the copulatio it self is a part of y Sacramēt, & that by it alone is figured the vniing that we haue with Christ in conformitie of nature: bicause man and woman are not made one but by carnall copulatio. Howbeit some of thē haue here founde two Sacramentes: the one of God and the soule, in the betrothed man and woman: the other of Christe and the Chirch, in the husband and the wife. Howsoever it be, yet copulatio is a Sacrament, from which it was vnlawful that any christian should be debarred: Unlesse peradventure the Sacraments of christiās do so yll agree, that they can not stand together. There is also an other absurditie in their doctrine. They affirme that in the Sacrament is geuen the grace of the Holye ghoste: they teache that copulation is a Sacrament: and they deny that at copulation the Holye ghost is at any tyme present.

37

And, because they would not simply mocke the Chirch, howe long a roaue of errors, lyes, deceites, and wickednesse haue they knitte to one erroze so that a mā may say, that they did nothing but seke a denn of abominations, when they made of matrimonie a Sacrament. For when they ones obteyned this, they drew to themselues the hearing of causes of matrimony: for it was a spiritual mater, which profane iudges might not medle with. Then they made lawes, whereby they stablished their tyrannie, but those partlye manifestly wicked against God, and partlye most vniust toward men. As are these: That mariages made betweene yong persones without consent of their parentes, shoulde remayne of force and stablished. That the mariages be not lawfull betweene kinsfolkes to the seuenth degree: and if any suche be made, that they be diuorced. And the very degrees they faime against the lawes of all nations, and against the ciuile gouernement of Moses. That it be not lawfull for a manne that hath putte away an adulteresse, to mary an other. That spirituall kinsfolkes maye not bee coupled in mariage. That there be no mariages celebrate, from Septuagesime to the vti of Easter, in three weekes befoze Midsummer, nor from Aduent to Twelftide. And innumerable other like, which it were long to reherse. At length we must crepe out of their myze, wherein our talk hath nowe taried longer than I woulde. Yet I thinke I haue somewhat profited, that I haue partly plucked the Lyons skynnes from these asses.



## The. xx. Chapter.

Of ciuile Governement.



**M**o whereas we haue aboue set twoo kindes of gouernement in man: and whereas we haue spoken enough of the one kinde which consisteth in the soule or in the inward man, and hath respect to eternal life: this place requireth y<sup>e</sup> we speake somwhat also of y<sup>e</sup> other, which pertaineth only to the ciuile and outward righteousnesse of manners. For the course of this matter seemeth to be severed from the spiritual doctrine of faith, which I toke in hande to entreate of: yet the proceeding shal shew that I do rightfully ioyne them together, yea that I am of necessitie compelled to doo it: specially sithe on the one side, mad and barbarous men doo furiously goe aboute to overthrowe this order stablished by God: and on the other side the flatterers of princes, aduancing their power without measure, sticke not to set it against the empire of God himself. Unless both these mischeues be met withall, the purenesse of faith shal be lost. Beside that it is not smally for our behofe, to know how louingly God hath in this behalf provided for mankinde, that there may arise in vs a greater desire of godlinesse to witnesse our thankfulness, first, ere we enter into the thing it selfe, we must hold fast that distinction which we haue aboue set, least (as it commonly happeneth to many) we vnwisely mingle these two things together, which haue altogether diuerse consideration. For when they heare that libertie is promised by the Gospell, whiche acknowlegeth among men no king and no magistrate, but hath regarde to Christe alone: they thinke that they can take no fruite of their libertie, so long as they see any power to haue preeminence ouer them. Therfore they think that nothing shalbe safe, vnlesse the whole world be reformed into a new fashion: where may neither be iudgements, nor lawes, nor magistrates, nor any such thing which they thinke to withstande their libertie. But who soeuer can put difference betwene the body and the soule, betwene thys present and transitorie life, and that life to come and eternal: he shal not hardlye vnderstande that the spiritual kingdome of Christ, and the ciuile gouernemēt ar thyngs far a sonder. Sith therfore that is a Jewish vanitie, to seke and enclose the kingdome of Christ vnder the elementes of this world: let vs rather thinking, as the Scripture plainly teacheth, that it is a spirituall fruite, whiche is gathered of the benefite of Christ, remember to kepe within the boundes thereof thys whole libertie which is promised and offered vs in him. For, what is the cause why the same Apostle which biddeth vs to stand, and not to be made subiecte to y<sup>e</sup> yoke of bondage, in an other place forbiddeth bond seruantes to be carefull of their state: but bicause spirituall libertie may very wel agree with ciuile bondage? In which sense also these his sayengs are to be taken: In the kingdome of God there is no Jew, nor Grecian, no male nor female, no bondeman nor freeman. Againe, There is no Jew nor Grecian, Circūcision, Uncircūcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bondman, Freeman: but Christe is all in all. Whereby he signifieth, that it maketh no mater in what estate thou be among men, nor vnder the lawes of what nation

Gala. 6. 1.  
1. Cor. vii  
vii.

Ca. iii.  
viii.  
Col. iii. 11



nation thou lyest : forasmuche as in these thynges consisteth not the kyngdome of Christ.

2

Yet dothe not this distinction tende hereunto, that we shoulde thynke that the whole order of policie is an vnclene thyng, not pertainyng at all to chistian men. So in deede doo the phrentike men, that are dealed with vnbridled licentiousnesse, crie out and bofte. For sithe we bee dead by Christ to the elementes of this worlde, and being remoued into the kyngdome of God do sitte among the heauenly ones: they thinke that it is vnworthy for vs, and farre benethe our excellence, to be occupied with these prophane and vnclene cares that are busted about affaires not pertainyng to a chistian man. To what purpose (saye they) are lawes without iudgements and iudgement seates: But what hath a Christian man to do with iudgements themselues: yea if it be not lawfull to kill, wherto serue lawes and iudgements among vs: But as we haue euen nowe geuen warning, that this kynde of gouernement is seuerall from that spirituall and inward kyngdome of Christ: so it is also to be knowen that they nothyng disagree together. For, the Ciuile gouernement dothe nowe beginne in vs vpon earth certaine beginnyngs of the heauenly kyngdome, and in this mortall and banishyng life doth as it were entre vpon an immortall and incorruptible blessednesse: but the entent of this spirituall gouernement is, so long as we shall lyue among mē, to cherish & mainteyne the outward worshippyng of God, to defend the sound doctrine of godlinesse and the state of the Chirche, to frame our lyfe to the felowship of men, to fashyon our maners to ciuile righteousnesse, to procure vs into frendship one with an other, to nozish common peace and quietnesse: all whiche I graunt to be superfluous, if the kyngdome of God, suche as it is nowe among vs, do destroy this present life. But if the will of God be so, that we while we long toward the heauenly countree, should be wayfaryng from home vpon y<sup>e</sup> earth: and sithe the vse of such wayfaryng nedeth such helpes: they whiche take them from man, do take from him his very nature of man. For wheras they allege that there is so great perfection in the Chirche of God, that her owne moderate gouernement suffiseth it for a law: they themselues do foolishly imagine that perfection which can neuer be found in the common felowship of men. For sith of noughty men the pride is so great, & the wickednesse so obstinate, as can not be restrained with great sharpnesse of lawes: what thynke we that they will doo, if they see vnpunished libertie lie open to their lewdnesse, whiche can not euen with force be sufficiently compelled not to doo euell:

3

But of y<sup>e</sup> order of policie, there shalbe an other fitter place to entreate. Now our meanyng is to haue this only vnderstanded, that to thinke to dzyue it away, is outragious barbarousnesse, the vse wherof is no lesse among men, than of bread, water, the sunne, and ayze, but the dignitie muche moze excellent. For it tendeth not only hereunto (whiche is the onely commoditie of all those thynges) that men may breath, eate, dzyinke and be cherished (although in dede it comprehendeth all these thynges, whyle it maketh that they liue together) yet I say, it tendeth not herunto only: but also that idolatrie, sacrileges agaynst the name of G O D, blasphemies agaynste his truthe, and other offences of religion may not rylse by and be scattered among the people, that common quiet



be not troubled, y<sup>e</sup> euery man may kepe his owne safe & vnappereid, that me may vse their affaires together without hurt, y<sup>e</sup> honestie & modestie be kept among them: finally y<sup>e</sup> among Chzistians may be a comon shew of religio, & among me may be malike ciuilitie. Neither let any man be moued, for y<sup>e</sup> I do now referre the care of stablishing of religion to the policie of me, which I seme befoze to haue set without y<sup>e</sup> iugemēt of me. For I do no more here, thā I did befoze, geue me leaue after their own wil to make lawes cōcerning religio & the worshipping of God, whē I allow the ordināce of policie, which endeuoreth herunto, y<sup>e</sup> the true religion which is cōteined in y<sup>e</sup> law of God, be not openly & with publike sacrileges freely broken & defiled. But y<sup>e</sup> reders being holpē by the very plainnesse of order, shal better vnderstande what is to be thought of the whole kinde of ciuile gouernement, if we seuerally entreate of y<sup>e</sup> partes thereof. There be three partes of it: y<sup>e</sup> magistrate, which is y<sup>e</sup> gouernoz and keper of the lawes: y<sup>e</sup> lawes, according to which he gouerneth: the people, which are gouerned by y<sup>e</sup> lawes, & obey y<sup>e</sup> magistrate. Therfoze let vs first consider of y<sup>e</sup> office of the Magistrate, whether it be a lawfull vocation and allowed of God, what maner of office he hath, & howe great is his power: then with what lawes a Chzistian ciuile state is to be ordered: then last of al, what profit of the lawes cometh to the people, what reuerence is due to the Magistrate.

a. + The Lord hath not only testified that the office of magistrates is allowed and acceptable to hym, but also setting out y<sup>e</sup> dignitie therof with most honozable titles, he hath maruelously cōmended it vnto vs. That I maye reherse a few of them. Whereas whosoener be in place of magistrates are named gods, let no mā thynke that in that naming is small importance: for therby is signified that they haue cōmaundement frō God, that they are furnished with y<sup>e</sup> authoritie of God, & do altogether beare the persō of God, whoes stede they do after a certaine maner supplie. This is not my caullatio, but y<sup>e</sup> expositio of Chzist. If the Scripture (saith he) called them gods to whom the worde of God was geuen. What is thys ells, but that God hath committed his businesse to them, that they should serue in his office, and (as Moses & Josaphat sayed to their iudges whom they appointed in euery seuerall citie of Iuda) that they should sit in iugemēt, not for man but for God: To the same purpose maketh thys that the wisdome of God affirmeth by the mouth of Salomon, that it is his worke, that kinges reigne, and counsellers decree righteous thinges, that Princes beare principallitie, and al the iudges of the earth execute iugement. For thys is all one in effect as if it had ben sayed, that it cometh not to passe by the perverseness of men, that the gouernemente of all thinges in earth is in the hande of Kinges and other Rulers, but by the prouidence and holy ordinance of God, to whome it so semed good to order the maters of men: forasmuch as he is both presente and president among them in making of lawes and in executing vpryghtnesse of ingementes. Which Paule also playnly teacheth, when he reckeneth Gouernementes among the gistes of God, which beyng diuersly distributed according to the diuersitie of grace, oughte to be employed of the seruantes of Chziste to the edification of the Chirche. For althoughe he there properly speaketh of a Councell of graue menne, whiche in the Primitiue

4

Cr. xxi.  
viii.  
Psalme.  
lxxviii.  
& vi.

John. v.  
xxxv.

Deu. i. xv.  
i. Chron.  
ix. vi.

Deo. viii.  
rb.

Rom. xxi.  
viii.

F. i. Chirch



Coz. xii  
 v. ii. Church wer apointed þ they should haue þ rule of ordering the publike discipline (which office in þ Epistle to þ Cozynthias he calleth Gouvernment) yet forasmuch as we se þ the ende of ciuile power cometh to þ same point, it is no dout but þ he comēdeth vnto vs al kind of iust Gouvernement. But he speaketh moze plainly, where he purposeth to maketh a full discourse of þ mater. For he both sheweth þ Power is the ordinance of God, and þ there are no powers, but they ar ordeined of God: and þ the Princes theselues are þ ministers of God, to þ wel doers vnto prayse: to þ euil, reuengers vnto wraath. Herunto may be added also þ examples of holy mē: of which some haue possessed kyngdomes, as Dauid, Josias, Ezechias: other some, Lordshippes, as Joseph and Daniel: other some, Ciuile gouernementes in a free people, as Moses, Josue, & þ Judges: whoes offices þ lord hath declared þ he alloweth. Wherefore none ought now to dout þ the ciuile power is a vocation not onely holy and lawefull befoze God, but also the most holy, and the most honest of all other in the whole lyfe of men. 4

5 They which couet to bring in a state wout Rulers, take exception and say þ although in old time there were kings & Judges ouer þ rude people, yet at this day þ seruite kinde of gouerning agreeth not w the perfectiō which Christ hath brought w his Gospell. Wherin they bewrape not only their ignozāce, but also their deuelish pride, while they take vpo theselues perfectiō, of which not so much as þ hundzeth parte is seen in them. But what maner of men soeuer they be, it is easy to cofute it: because where Dauid exhorteth al kinges and Rulers to kisse the sōne of God, he doth not bidde them, geuing ouer their authoritie, to stake theselues to a priuate life, but to submit þ power þ they beare to Christ, þ he alone may haue preeminēce aboue al. Likewise Esay, whē he promiseth that kinges shalbe fosterfathers of þ Church, & Quenes shalbe nourses, he doth not depole them frō their honor: but rather doth by an honorabile title make them defēders to the godly worshippers of God: For, þ propheticie pertaineth to þ coming of Christ. I do wittingly passe ouer many testimonies which do eche where offer theselues, & specially in þ psalms wherin al gouernozs haue their right mainteined. But most clere of all is the place of Paul, where admonishing Timothee þ in þ comō assemble prayers must be made for kinges, he by & by addeth a reaso, That we may vnder them leade a quiet life w al godlinesse & honestie: in whiche words he comitteth the state of þ Church to their defēse & saueguarding.

6 Which cōsideratiō ought cōtinually to busy þ iudicatures themselves, forasmuch as it may put a great spur to them wherby they may be pricked forward to their duty, & byng them a singular cōfort wherby they may mitigate þ hardneses of their office, which truly are both many & great. For w how great an endeuor of bprightnesse, wisdom, myldenesse, cōtinēce, & innocēcie, ought they to charge theselues, which know themselves to be appointed ministers of the righteousnesse of God: By what affiāce shal they admit vniustice to their iugemēt seate, which they heare to be þ throne of þ liuing God: By what boldnesse shal they pronounce a wrosgful sentence w that mouth, which they vnderstād to be appointed an instrumēt for the truth of God: With what cōsciēce shal they subscribe to wicked decrees with þ hād, which they know to be ordeyned to wryte þ actes of God: In a sum, if they remēber þ they be the vicegerentes



rentes of God, they must watch w<sup>th</sup> al care, earnestnesse, & diligence, that they may represent in theselues vnto me a certaine image of y<sup>e</sup> prouidēce, preferuatiō, goodnesse, good will, & righteousnesse of God. And they must continually set thys befoze their eyes, y<sup>e</sup> if al they be accursed, y<sup>e</sup> doe execute in deceite y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> bēgeāce of God, thei are much moze greuously accursed, y<sup>e</sup> vse theselues deceitfully in a rightful vocatiō. Therfoze whē Moyses & Josaphat mynded to exhort their iudges to their duty, they had nothing moze effectual to moue their mindes withal, thā y<sup>e</sup> which we haue befoze reherfed, Loke what ye do. For ye sit in iugemēt not for mā but for God: namely he which is nere to you in the cause of iugemēt. Now therfoze let y<sup>e</sup> feare of y<sup>e</sup> Lord be vpon you. Loke & be diligent: because there is no peruersnesse w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lord our God. And in an other place it is sayd, y<sup>e</sup> God stode in y<sup>e</sup> assēbly of y<sup>e</sup> Gods, & sitteth iudge in the middest of the gods, y<sup>e</sup> they may be encouraged to their duty when they heare y<sup>e</sup> they be the deputies of God, to whom they must one day yelde accompt of the gouernemēt of their charge. And worthily this admonitiō ought to be of great force with them. For if they make any defaulte, they are not only wrong doers to men whō they wickedly bere, but also scaunderers to God himselfe, whoes holy iugemētes they defile. Again they haue also wherupon they may singularly cōfort themselues, when they consider with themselues y<sup>e</sup> they are not busied in prophane affaires and such as are not fit for the seruant of God, but in a most holy office, namely forasmuch as they are the deputies of God.

As for them y<sup>e</sup> are not moued with so many testimonies of Scripture fro being bold to rayle at this holy ministry, as a thing disagreeing w<sup>th</sup> Christiā religio & godlinesse what do they els but rayle at God hymselfe, the dishonoz of whō can not but be ioyned with the reproche of his minister: And verily they do not refuse the magistrates, but doe caste away God, y<sup>e</sup> he should not reigne ouer them. For if the Lord sayd thys truely of the people of Israel, because they had refused the gouernemēt of Samuel: why shal it be lesse truely sayd at thys daye of them y<sup>e</sup> geue themselues leaue to rage against al gouernementes ordeyned of God: But sith the Lord sayd to the disciples, that the kinges of nations beate rule ouer them, but that among them it is not so, where he that is the first must be made the least: by this saying it is forbyddē to all Christiāns that they should not take kingdomes or gouernementes vpon them. O handsome expositors. There rose a strife among the disciples, whiche of them excelled other: the Lord, to suppress thys bayne ambition, taught them that their ministerie is not like vnto kingdomes, in which one mā hath preeminence aboue the rest. I beseeche you, what doth this cōparisō make to the dishonoz of kingly dignitie: yea what doth it proue at all, but y<sup>e</sup> the ministerie of an Apostle is not the office of a king? Moreouer although among the magistrates themselues there be diuerse formes, yet there is no differēce in this behalfe, but that we ought to take them al for the ordinances of God. For Paule also doth comprehend them altogether, when he sayth that there is no power but of God: and y<sup>e</sup> which best liked him of al, is cōmeded with notable testimonie aboue y<sup>e</sup> other, namely the power of one: which because it bringeth with it a cōmō bondage of al, (except y<sup>e</sup> one man, to whoes wil it maketh all thynges subiecte) in olde tyme coulde lesse be allowed of noble and the excellent



sort of natures. But  $\S$  Scripture, to mete with their vniust iugemētes, expressly by name affirmeth, that it is the prouidence of gods wisdom that kinges do reigne, & peculiarly comaundeth the king to be honored.

And truly it were very vaine  $\S$  it should be disputed of priuate men, which should be  $\S$  best state of policie in  $\S$  place where they lyue: for who it is not lawfull to consult of the framing of any comon weale. And also the same could not be simply determined without rashnesse, forasmuch as a great part of the order of this question consisteth in circumstances. And if  $\S$  compare also the states themselues together without circūstances, it shal not be easy to discerne which of them ouerweieth the other in profitablenesse, they match so egally together. There is an easy way to fall from kingdome into tyranny: but not much harder is it to fall from the rule of the chiefe men to the faction of a few: but most easy of all, from the peoples gouernement, to sedition. Cruely, if those thre formes of gouernementes which the Philosophers set out, be considered in themselves, I wil not deny  $\S$  either  $\S$  gouernemēt of  $\S$  chiefe men, or a state tempered of it and comon gouernement farr excelleth al other: not of it selfe, but because it most seldome chaunceth  $\S$  kynges so temper themselves,  $\S$  their wil neuer swarneth from  $\S$  which is iust and right, again that they be furnished w so great sharpenesse of iugement and wisdom that every one of them seeth so much as is sufficient. Therfore  $\S$  fault or defaulte of men maketh, that it is safer and moze tolerable that many should haue the gouernement,  $\S$  they may mutually one helpe an other, one teache and admonish an other, and if any aduaunce himselte hyper than is mete, there may be ouerseers and maisters to restraine his wilfulness. Thys both hath alway ben approued by experience, and  $\S$  lord also hath confirmed it with his authozitie, when he ordeined among the Israelites a gouernement of the best men very neze vnto common gouernement, at such tyme as he mynded to haue them in best estate, tll he brought fourth an image of Christ in Dauid. And as I willingly graūt  $\S$  no kynde of gouernement is moze blessed than thys, where libertie is framed to such moderation as it ought to be, and is orderly stablished to continuance: so I compt them also most blessed, that may enioy thys estate: and if they stoutely and constantly traual in preseruing and reteining it, I graunt that they do nothing against their dutie. Yea and the magistrates ought with most great diligence to bende theselues herunto, that they suffer not the libertie of the people, of which they are appointed gouernors, to be in any part diminished, muche lesse to be dissolved: if they be negligent and litle careful therein, they are false faithbreakers in their office, and betrayers of their contree. But if they would byyng this kinde to themselues, to who the Lord hath appointed an other forme of gouernement, so that therby they be moued to desire a change, the very thinking therof shal not only be foolish and superfluous, but also hurtfull. But if thou bende not thyne eyes onely to one citie, but loke about or beholde the whole world together, or at least sprede abzode thy sight into farther distances of contrees, without dout thou shalt fynde that this is not vnzprofitably appointed by the prouidence of GOD, that diuerse contrees should be ruled by diuerse kyndes of gouernemente. For as the elementes hang together but by an vnegall temperature, so contrees also are with their certaine

inequa-



inequalitie veri wel kept in order. Howbeit al these things also are spoken in baine to them whom the wil of the Lord shal satisfie. For if it be hys pleasure, to set kynges ouer kyngdomes, Senates or officers ouer free cities, whomsoever he maketh rulers in the places where we are conuersant, it is our dutie to shewe our selues yelding and obedient vnto them.

Now the office of Magistrates is in this place to be declared by the way, of what sort it is described by the word of God, & in what things it consisteth. If the Scripture did not teache, it extendeth to both the tables of the law, we might learne it out of the prophane writers. For none hath entreated of the dutie of magistrates, of making of lawes & of the publike weale, but hath not begon at religion and the worshipping of God. And so haue they all confessed, that no policie can be happily framed, vnlesse the firste care be of godlinesse: and that those lawes be preposterous which neglecting the right of God, do prouide only for men. Sith therefore with all the Philosophers religion hath the firste place, & sith the same hath alway ben obserued by the vniuersal consent of all nations, Let Christian Princes and magistrates be ashamed of their slothfulnesse; if they endeuor not themselves to this care. And we haue already shewed, that this dutie is specially enioyned them of God: as it is mete, that they shoulde employ their traual to defende & maintaine his honor, whose vicegerentes they be, & by whose benefit they gouerne. For thys cause also chiefly are the holy kinges prayed in Scripture, for that they restored the worship of God being corrupted or ouerthrowen, or toke care of religion, that it might flourish pure and safe vnder them. But contrarywise the holy hystorie rekeneth states wout gouernors, among faultes, sayeng that there was no kyng in Israell, and the therfore euery man did what pleased hymselfe. Wherby their follie is confuted, whiche would haue them, neglecting the care of God, only to apply themselves to be iudges of law among men. As though God appointed gouernors in his name to decise controuersies, & omitted that which was of muche weightier importance, but he hymselfe shoulde be worshipped according to the prescribed rule of his law. But a desire to innouate all thinges wout punishment, moueth troublesome men to this point, that they wishe all reuengers of the breach of peace to be taken away. As for so muche as pertaineth to the seconde table, Jeremie warneth kinges, to do iugement and righteousnesse, to deliuer the forcibly oppressed from the hand of the false accuser, not to greue the stranger & widow, not to do wrong, and not to shed innocent blood. To the same purpose maketh the exhortation which is red in the 22. Psalme, that they shuld render right to the poore & neddy, acquite the poore & neddy, deliuer the poore & neddy from the hande of the oppressor. And Moses geueth charge to the Princes whom he had set in his stede: lett them heare the cause of their brethren, and iudge betwene a man & his brother and a stranger, & not know faces in iugement, lett them heare as well the litle as the great, & be not afraid of any man: because it is the iugement of God. But I speake not of these thinges: the kinges shoulde not get to themselves multitudes of horses, not cast their minds to couetousnesse, not be lifted by aboue their brethren: but they may be continually busied in studieng by the law of the lord all the dayes of their life: the Judges swaue not to the one side, nor receiue giftes: because in declaring here the office of

9

Iud. r.  
r. b.Jere. r.  
iii.Deu. l. i.  
Deu. r. b.  
r. b.



magistrates, my purpose is not so much to instruct y<sup>e</sup> magistrates themselves, as to teache other what Magistrates be, and to what ende they are set of God. We see therfore y<sup>e</sup> they be ordeined defenders and reuengers of innocencie, modestie, honestie, and quietnesse, whoes only endeuor shoulde be to prouide for the common safetie and peace of all men. Of which vertues Dauid professeth that he will be an exemplar; when he shall be aduanced to the royall seate: that is, that he will not consent to any euell doynges, but abhorre wicked men, sclanderers, and proude men, and get to hymselfe from eche where honest and faithfull men. But sithe they can not performe this, vnlesse they defend good men from the wronges of the euill, let them helpe the good with succor and defense, let them also be armed with power whereby they may seuerely suppress open euill doers and wicked men by whoes lewdnesse the common quiet is troubled or beryed. For we througely fynde thys by experience which Solon sayd, y<sup>e</sup> common weales consist of rewarde & punishment, and that when those be taken away, the whole discipline of cities faileth and is dissolued. For the care of equitie and iustice wareth colde in the myndes of many, vnlesse there be due honor ready for vertue: neither can the wyllfulnesse of wicked men be restrained but by seueritie & chastisement of paynes. And these two partes the Prophet comprehendeth, when he byddeth Kynges and other gouernours to doo iudgement and righteousnesse. Righteousnesse is, to take into charge of tuition, to embrace, to defende, to reuenge, to deliuer the innocent. Iudgement is, to withstande the boldnesse of wicked men, to repress their violence, to punish their offences.

But here, as it seemeth, doth arise a hye and hard question: If by the lawe of God all Christians are forbidden to kyll: and the Prophet prophesieth of the holy mount of God, that is, the Church, that in it they shall not afflict nor hurt: how many magistrates be together both godly and blood shedders? But if we vnderstand, that the Magistrate in executing of punishmentes, doth nothing of hymselfe, but executeth the very selfe iudgementes of God, we shall be nothing combred wyth thys doubt. The lawe of the Lorde forbiddeth to kyll: least manslaughter should be vnpunished, the lawe maker hymselfe geueth to the ministers the sword in their hande, which they should draw fourth against all manslayers. To afflict and to hurt, is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurte, nor to afflict, by the Lordes commaundement to reuenge the afflictions of the godly. I would to God that thys were alway presente before our myndes, that nothyng is here doone by the rashnesse of man, but all things by the authoritie of God y<sup>e</sup> commaundeth, which going before vs, we neuer swarue out of y<sup>e</sup> right way. Vnlesse perchappes there be a bridle put vpon the righteousnesse of God, that it may not punish wycked doynges. But if it be not lawfull to appoint any law to it, why shall we cauil against the ministers of it? They beare not the sword in vain, sayth Paule: for they be the ministers of God to wrath, reuengers to euill doers. Therfore if Princes and other rulers knowe that nothing shall be moze acceptable to God than their obedience, let them apply this ministerie, if they desire to shewe their godlinesse, righteousnesse, and vncorruptnesse allowable to God. With thys affection was Moses led, when knowing hymselfe appointed by the power of the Lorde to be the

deliue:



deliuerer of hys people, he layed hys handes vpon the Egyptia. Againe, when by slaying of three thousande men in one day, he toke vengeance of the sacrilege of the people. Dauid also, when nye to the ende of hys lyfe he gaue commaundement to Salomō hys sonne to slay Joab and Semei. Wherupō he also rehearseth thys amōg the vertues of a king, to slay the wicked of the lande, that al woꝝkers of wickednesse, maye be dꝛyuen out of the citie of God. To whiche purpose also pertaineth the prayse that is geuen to Salomon, Thou hast loued righteousnesse and hast hated wickednesse. How doth that mylde and gētle nature of Moses burne out into so great crueltie, that beyng sprinkled and embꝛued with the blood of his bꝛethzen, he runneth thꝛoughout the cāpe to newe slaughter: How doth Dauid, a mā of so great gentlenesse in al his life; among hys last bꝛeahinges make that bloody testamente, ꝑ hys sonne should no: bꝛyng the hoare heate of Joab and Semei in peace to the graue: But they both when they executed the vengeance committed to them of God, so sanctified with cruell dealing their handes which they had defiled with sparing. It is an abhominatiō with kinges, sayth Salomon, to do iniquitie, because hys thꝛone is stablished in righteousnesse. Againe, The kyng which sitteth in the thꝛone of iugement, sprayeth hys eyes vpon euery euill man. Againe, A wise king scattereth the wicked and turneth them vpon the whele. Againe, Take away the dꝛosse from the siluer, and there shall come fourth a vessel to the melter: take away the wicked man from the sighte of the king, and his thꝛone shall be fast set in righteousnesse. Againe, He that iustificieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, bothe are abhominatiō to the Lorde. Againe, A rebellious man purchaceth euil to himselfe, and a cruel messenger is sent vnto hym. Againe, whoso sayth to the wycked man, thou art righteous, hym peoples and nations do curse. Howe if theyꝝ true righteousnesse be, with dꝛawen sword to pursue gylty and wicked men: let them put vpon their swerde, and holde their handes pure from blood, while in the meane tyme desperate men doe range with murders and slaughters: the thei shall make theselues gilti of most great wickednesse, so much lesse shall they get therby ꝑ prayse of goodnesse & righteousnesse. Only let there be no precise and cruell rigorousnesse, and that iugement seate which may woꝝthily be called the rocke of accused men. For I am not he that either fauor extreme crueltie, or doe thinke that righteous iugement can be pronouced, but whyle clementie the best & surest counsellor of kynges, as Salomō affirmeth, ꝑ preseruer of ꝑ kinges thꝛone is assistent, which a certaine man in olde tyme cruelly sayd to be the principal gift of Princes. Yet a magistrate must take hede to both, that he doe neither with rigorousnesse of mynde wound rather than heale, or by superstitious affectation of clementie fall into a most cruel gentlenesse, if with soft & loose tendernes he be dissolute to the destruction of many mē. For thys was in olde tyme not without cause comonly spoken vnder the empire of Perua, ꝑ it is in dede euil to liue vnder a prince vnder whom nothing is lawfull, but much worse vnder whom al things are lawfull.

But sith sōtime kinges & peoples must of necessitie take sword in hand to execute such publike vengeāce, by thys reson we may also iudge ꝑ the warres are lawfull which are so takē in hād. For if there be power deliuered them, wherby they may mainteine quiet to their dominio, wherby

Cr. ii. rii.  
Acte. vii.  
rrvii.  
Cr. rrrii.  
rrvi.  
i. iii. ii. v.

P. 20. r. vi.

rr.

P. 20. r. viii.

P. 20. r. r.

P. 20. r. vi.

iii.

P. 20. r. viii.

rr.

P. 20. r. viii.

rrviii.



they may kepe downe þe seditious stirres of vnquiet mē, wherby they may helpe the forceably oppressed, wherby they may punish euil doinges: can they at fitter seasō vtter it, thā to suppressē hys rage which troubleth both pziuatly the rest of euery man, and the common quiet of al men, which seditiously maketh vprozēs, which committeth violent oppzessions and haynous euil doinges: If they ought to be preseruers and defenders of the lawes, they must also ouerthrowe þe enterpizes of al them by whoes wicked doing the discipline of lawes is corrupted. Yea if they worthyly punishē those theues whoes iniuries haue extended onely to a few: shal they suffer a whole contree to be without punishmēt bered and wasted with robberies: For it maketh no differēce whether he be a king oz one of the basest of the commonaltie, that innadeth an others contree into which he hath no right, and spoileth it like an enemy: all are alike to be takē and punished for robbers. Thys therfore both natural equitie, and the rule of dutie teacheth that Princes are armed not only to restrayne pziuate duties with iudicial punishmentes, but also to defende w warre the dominions committed to their charge, if at any tyme they be enuie-like assailed. And suche warres the Holy ghost by many testimonies of Scripture declareth to be lawfull.

12 If it be objected against me, þe in þe new Testamēt is neither witnesse nor exāple which teacheth þe warre is a thyng lawfull for Christiāns: first I answer, that the same rule of makynge warre whiche was in old time remaineth also at this daye, and that on the contrary syde there is no cause that may debarre magistrates from defendynge of their subiectes. Secondly, that an expresse declaration of these maters is not to bee sought in the writynge of the Apostles, where their purpose is not to frame a ciuile state, but to stablishe the spirituall kingdome of Christe. Last of all I say that in them also is shewed by the waye, that Christe hath by his commynge chaunged nothyng in this behalf. For if christiā doctrine (that I may speake in Augustines owne wordes) condemned all warres, he would rather haue said this to soldiars when they asked counsell of saluation, that they shold cast away their weapons, & vtterly withdraue themselves from the warre. But it was said to them: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your wages suffice you. Whome he taughte that their wages ought to suffice them, he did verily not forbidde them to be warriors. But all magistrates ought here to take great hede, that they nothing at all folowe their owne desyres: but rather, if they muste punish, let them not be bozn away with a hedlong angrinesse, let thē not be violētly caried with hatred, let them not broile with vnappeasable rigoz, yea let them (as Augustin saith) pity cōmon nature in him in whom they punishē his pziuate fault. Oz if they must put on armure against þe enemy, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seke occasiō therof, nor take it beyng offred vnlesse they be driuen to it by extreme necessitie. For if we ought to perfozme much moze than that heathen man required, which would haue warre to seme a seking of peace: truely we oughte firste to attempte all thinges ere we ought to trye the matter by warre. Finally in both kindes let them not suffer themselves to be caried with any pziuate affection, but be led only with cōmō feling. Otherwise they doe very ill abuse their power, which is geuen them, not for their own commodity, but for others benefit and ministerie.

Augu.  
pist. v.  
d. Mar

uke. iiii.  
41.

Acero of  
rectes.



of the same rightfull rule of making warre hangeth the order bothe of garrisons, and leagues, and other ciuile fortifications. Garrisons I call those that are placed in towne to defende the borders of the countrey: Leagues, which are made wth Princes adioyning for this couenante that if any trouble happen in their lades they may mutually helpe them, and ioyne their forces in common together to suppress the common enemies of mankind: Ciuile fortifications, whos vse is in the arte of warre.

Thys also I wil last of al adde, that tributes and taxes are y labfull reuenues of princes, which they may chesely emplay to susteine the common charges of their office: whiche yet they maye likewise vse to their priuate royaltie which is after a certayne manner conioyned wth honor of the princely state that they beare. As we se that Dauid, Ezechias, Josias, Josaphat, and other holy kynges, and Joseph also and Daniel, according to the state of the person that they did beare, were without offense of godlinesse sumptuous of the common charge, and we rede in Ezechiel that there was a very large portion of lande assigned to the kinges. Where although he paint out the spiritual kingdome of Christ, yet he fetcheth the exāplar of hys similitude from the lawfull kingdome of men. But yet so, that Princes agayne on their behalues should remember, that their treasure chambers are not so muche their owne priuate cofers, as the treasuries of the whole people (for so Paul testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrong prodigally wast or spolie: or rather that it is the very blood of the people, whiche not to spare, is most cruel vnnaturalnesse: and let them thinke, that their impositions, and subsidies, and other kindes of tributes, ar nothyng but the supporters of publike necessitie, wherewyth to wery the pooze communalitie wthout cause, is tyzannicall extortion. These thynges doe not encourage Princes to wasteful expence and ryot, (as verily there is no nede to adde a spherband to theyr lustes that are of themselves to much already kyndled) but sythe it much behoueth that they shoulde wth pure conscience before God be holde to do al that they are holde to do, least wth wycked boldnesse come into despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawfull for them. Neyther is thys doctrine superfluous for priuate men, that they shoulde not rashly and stubboznlly geue themselues leaue to grudge at any expenses of Princes, although they excede common and ciuile measure.

Nexte to the magistrate in ciuile states are lawes, the moste strong sinewes of common weales, or (as Cicero calleth them accoꝝdyng to Plato) the soules, without which the Magistrate can not stand, as they agayn without the Magistrate haue no liuely force. Therfore nothing coulde be moze truely said, than that the lawe is a dumme Magistrate, and that the Magistrate is a luyng lawe. But whereas I promised to speake, wth what lawes a Christian ciuile state ought to bee ordered, there is no cause why any man shold loke for a long discourse of the best kynde of lawes, which bothe shold be infinite, and pertained not to this present purpose and place: yet in a fewe wordes, and as it were by the way, I will touche what lawes it may vse godlily before God, and bee rightly gouerned by them among men. Which selfe thyng I had rather to haue bitterly passed ouer wth silence, if I dyd not vnderstande that

many

13

Ezechiel.  
lib.iii. p.1.

Ro. xiii. 6

14



many do herein perillously erre. For there be some that denye that a common weale is well ordered, whiche neglectyng the ciuile lawes of Moses is governed by the common lawes of nations. Howe dangerous & troublesome this sentence is, let other men consider, it shall be enough for me to haue shewed that it is false and foolish. That common diuision is to be kept, which diuideth the whole lawe of God published into morall, ceremoniall, and iudiciall lawes: and all the partes are to be seuerally considered, that we maye knowe what of them pertyne to vs, and what not. Neither in the meane time let any man be combred with this dout, that iudiciall and ceremoniall also pertyne to the morall lawes. For although the olde wyters whiche haue taught this diuision, were not ignozant that these two later partes had their vse about maners, yet because they myght be changed and abrogate, the moralls remaining safe, they did not call them moralls. They called that fyrst part peculiariy by that name, withoute whiche can not stande the true holynesse of maners, and the vncchangeable rule of luyng rightly.

15

Therefore the Morall lawe (that I may first beginne therat) sith it is contained in two these pointes, of which the one commaundeth simply to worshop God with pure faith and godlynesse, & the other to embrace men with vnfained loue, is the true and eternall rule of righteousnesse, prescribed to the men of al ages and tymes that wil be willyng to frame their lyfe to the will of God. For this is his eternall and vncchangeable will, that he hymselfe should be worshipped of vs all, and that we should mutually loue one an other. The Ceremoniall lawe was the schooling of the Jewes, wherwith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certainti childehode of that people, tyll that tyme of fullnesse come, wherin he would to the full manifestly shewe his wisdoome to the earth, and deluyer the truthe of those thynges which then were shadowed with figures. The iudiciall lawe geuen to them for an order of ciuile state, gave certayne rules of equitie and righteousnesse, by whiche they myght behaue themselves harmlessely and quietly together. And as that exercise of ceremonies proprely pertyned in dede to the doctrine of godlynesse (namely which kept the Chirch of the Jewes in the worshop & religion of God) yet it might be distinguished from godlynesse it self: so this forme of iudiciall orders (although it tended to no other ende, but howe the selfe same charitie might best be kept whiche is commaunded by the eternall lawe of God) yet had a certayne thyng differing from the very commaundement of louyng. As therefore the Ceremonies myghte be abrogate, godlynesse remainyng safe and vndestroyed: so these iudiciall ordinances also beyng taken away, the perpetuall dueties and commaundementes of charitie may continue. If this be true, verily there is libertie left to euery nation to make suche lawes as they shall forsee to be profitable for them: whiche yet must be framed after that perpetuall rule of charitie, that they may in dede vary in forme, but haue the same reason. For I thinke that those barbarous & sauage lawes, as were those that gaue honoz to theues, that allowed common copulations, and other both muche more filthy and more against reason, are not to be taken for lawes: forasmuche as they are not onely against all rightuousnesse, but also against naturall gentylnesse and kyndnesse of men.

This which I haue sayde shalbe playne, if in all lawes we beholde these



these two thynges as we ought, the makynge and the equitie of the lawe, upon the reason wherof the makynge it selfe is founded & stayeth. Equitie, because it is naturall, can be but one of all lawes: and therfore one lawe, accordyng to the kynde of mater, oughte to be the propounded ende to all lawes. As for makynge of Lawes, because they haue certaine circumstances upon which they partly hang, if so that they tende all together to one marke of equitie, though they be diuerse it maketh no mater. Howe lithe it is certayne that the lawe of God, whiche we call mozell is nothyng ells but a testimonie of the naturall law, and of that conscience which is engrauen of God in the myndes of men, the whole rule of this equitie wherof we nowe speake is set forth therein. Therfore it alone also must be bothe the marke and rule and ende of all lawes. Whatsoeuer lawes shalbe framed after that rule, directed to that marke, and limited in that ende, there is no cause why we should disallowe them, howsoeuer they otherwise differ from the Jewishe lawe or one from an other. The lawe of God forbiddeth to steale. What payne was appoynted for thestes in the ciuile state of the Jewes, is to be sene in Exodus. The most auncient lawes of other nations punished theste with recompence of double: the lawes that folowed afterwarde, made difference betwene manifest theft and no manifest. Some proceeded to banishment, some to whippynge, some at last to the punishmente of death. False witness was among the Jewes punished with recompence of egall paine, in some places onely with greate shame, in some places with hangyng, in other some with the Crosse. Manslaughter all lawes vniuersally doo reuenge with blood, yet with dyuers kyndes of deathe. Agaynst adulterers in some places were ordeined seuerer paynes, in some places lighter. Yet we see howe with suche diuersitie all tend to the same ende. For with one mouthe they all together pronounce punishment against all the offences which haue ben condemned by the eternal lawe of God, as manslaughter, thestes, adulterie, false witnessings: but in the maner of punishment they agree not. Neither is the same needfull, nor yet expedient. There is some contree, which vnlesse it shewe rigour with horrible examples against manslayers, should immediately be destroyed with murders and robberies. There is some tyme that requirereth the sharpnesse of paynes to be encreased. If there arysle any trouble in a common weale, the euils that are wont to growe therof muste be amended with newe ordinances. In tyme of warre all humanitie would in the noyse of armure fall away, vnlesse there were caste into men an vntwonted feare of punishmentes. In barennesse, in pestilence, vnlesse greater seueritie be vsed, all thyngs will come to ruine. Some nation is moze bent to some certaine vice, vnlesse it be most sharply suppressed. Howe malicious and enuious shall he be agaynste the publike profite, that shalbe offended with suche diuersitie whiche is most fitte to holde fast the obseruyng of the lawe of God: For, that whyche some saye, that the Lawe of God geuen by Moses is dishonored, when it beyng abrogate, hewe are preferred aboue it, is mozte baine. For neither are other preferred aboue it, when they are moze allowed, not in simple comparison, but in respect of the estate of the tymes, place, and nation: neither is that abrogate, which was neuer made for vs. For the **L D R D E** gaue not that lawe by the hande of Moses, which should



be published into all nations, and flozithe euery where: but when he had receiued the nation of the Jewes into his faith, defence, and protection, he willed to be a lawemaker peculiarly to them, and lyke a wise lawmaker, he hadde in making of hys lawes a certaine singular consideration of them.

17 Now remayneth that we consider that which we haue set in the last place, what profit of lawes, iudicial orders, and magistrates, cometh to the common felowship of Chzistians. Wherwith also is coupled an other question, how much priuate men ought to yeld to magistrates, and how farre their obedience nught to procede. Many thought the office of magistrat to be superfluous among Chzistians, because forsoth thei can not godlily craue their ayde, namely si the they are forbbiden to reuenge, to sue in the law, and to haue any controuersie. But whereas Paule contrarywise plainly testifieth, that he is y minister of God to bs for good: we thereby vnderstand, that he is so ordeined of God, that we being defended by his hande and succours agaynst the maliciousnesse and iniuries of mischeuous men, may lyue a quiete and assured lyfe. If he be in vaine geuen bs of the Lorde for defence, vnlesse it be lawfull for bs to vse suche benefite: it sufficiently appereth that he may also without vngodlinesse be called vpon and sued vnto. But here I muste haue to doo with twoo kyndes of men. For there be many men that boyle with so great rage of quarelling at the lawe, that they neuer haue quiete with themselves vnlesse they haue strife with other. And their controuersies they exercise with deadly sharpnesse of hatred, and with mad gredinesse to reuenge and hurt, and do pursue them with vnappealable stiffenesse euen to the verye destruction of their aduersarie. In the meane tyme, that they may not be thought to doo any thyng but rightfully, they defende suche peruersnesse with coloz of lawe. But though it be graunted thee to go to lawe with thy brother, yet thou mayste not by and by hate hym, not be carried agaynste hym with furious desyre to hurt hym, not stubboznelly to pursue hym.

18 Let this therfore be said to such men, that the vse of lawes is lawoful, if a man doo rightly vse it. And that the right vse bothe for the pleintife to sue, and for the defendant to defende, is if the defendant beeyng summoned doo appere at an appointed day, and dothe with such exception as he can, defend his cause without bitternesse, but only with this affection to defend that whiche is his owne by law: and if the pleintif beeyng vnwozthily oppzessed either in his person oz his goodes, do resort to the defence of the Magistrate, make his complainte, and require that which is equitie and conscience, but farre from all gredy will to hurte oz reuenge, farre from sharpnesse and hatred, farre from burnyng heate of contention, but rather redy to yeld of his owne and to suffer any thing, than to be caried with an enemylike mynd agaynste his aduersarie. Contrarywise when beeyng filled with malice of mynde, cozrupted with enuie, kindled with wzath, bzeathyng out reuenge, oz finally so enflamed with the heate of the contention, they geue ouer any parte of charitie, the whole procedyng euen of a moste iuste cause can not but be wicked. For this ought to be a determined pynckle to all chzistians, that a controuersie though it be neuer so righteous, can neuer be rightly pursued of any man, vnlesse he beare as good will and loue to his aduersarie, as

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if the matter whiche is in controuersie were already concluded and ended by composition. Some man will here peradventure say, that suche moderation is so neuer vsed in goyng to lawe that it shoulde be lyke a miracle if any suche were founde. I graunt in dede, as the maners of these tymes be, that there is seldome sene an example of a good contender in lawe, yet the thyng it selfe beyng defiled with addition of no euell, ceaseth not to be good and pure. But when we heare that the helpe of a Magistrate is a holy gift of God: we must so muche the moze diligently take hede, that it be not defiled by our faulte.

As for them that precisely condemne all contendings at lawe, lett them vnderstande that they do therewithall despise the holy ordinance of God, and a gifte of that kynde of giftes whiche maye be cleane to the cleane: vnlesse peradventure they will accuse Paule of wicked doyng, whiche did bothe put away from himselfe the scanders of his accusers with declaring also their deceite and maliciousnesse, and in iudgement claimed for hymselfe the prerogative of the cite of Rome, and when nede was he appelled from an vnrighteous gouernoꝝ to the Emperors iudgement seate. Neither withstandeth it, that all Christians are forbidden to desire reuenge, which we also do driue farre away from Christian iudgemente seates. For, if the contention be about a common case, he goeth not the right way that doth not with innocent simplicitie, commit his cause to the iudge as to a common defender, thynking nothing lesse than to reder mutual recopence of euill, which is the affection of reuenge: or if any matter of life and death, or any greate criminal action be commenced, we require that the accuser be suche a one, as commeth into the courte beyng taken with no boyllyng heate of reuenge, and touched with no displeasure of priuate iniurie, but only hauyng in mynde to withstande the enterpryses of a mischeuous manne, that they may not hurt the common weale. But if thou take away a reuengyng mynde, there is no offence done against that commaundement whereby reuenge is forbidden to Christians. But they are not only forbidden to desire reuenge, but they are also commaunded to wayt for the hande of the Lord, which promisseth that he wil be a present reuenger for the oppressed and afflicted: but they do prevent all reuenge of the heauely defendoꝝ, which require helpe at the Magistrates hande either for themselues or other. Not so. For we muste thinke that the Magistrates reuenge is not the reuenge of man but of God, which (as Paule sayth) he extēdeth and exerciseth by the ministerie of man for our good.

And no moze do we disagree with the wordes of Christ, by which he forbiddeneth to resist euell, and commaundeth to turne the righte cheke to hym that hath geuen a blowe on the left, and to suffer him to take away thy cloke that taketh away thy coate. He willeth in dede there that the myndes of his should so much abhorre from desire of recompensing like for like, that they should soner suffer double iniurie to be done to themselves, than desire to reacquite it: from which patience neither do we also leade them awaye. For Christians truely oughte to bee a kinde of men made to beare reproches and iniuries, open to the malice, deceites, and mockages of noughty men: and not that onely, but also they muste bee bearers of al these euilles, that is to say so framed with al their hartes, that hauing receiued one displeasure they make themselues redy for another,

19

Act. xxi.

1. et. xxiii.

xii. 4. 17b.

1.

Rom. 12.

xvi.

Math. 5.

xxix.

Deuter.

xxii.

xxv.

xxv.

Rom. xii.

xii.

Rom. xii.

iii.

20

Math. 5.

xxix.



other, promysing to them selues nothyng in their whole lyfe but the bearing of a continuall Crosse. In the meane tyme also they muste doo good to them that doo them wzong, and wythe well to those that curse them, and (whyche is their onely victorie) stryue to overcome euill with good. Being so minded they wil not seke eie for eie, tooth for tooth, as the Pharises taught their disciples to desire reuenge, but (as we are taught of Christ) they will so suffer their body to be mangled, and their goodes to be maliciously taken from them, that they will forgiue and of their owne accorde pardon those euels so soone as they are done to them. Yet this euermesse and moderation of mindes shall not withstād, but that the frendshyp toward their ennemies remaining safe, they may be the helpe of the magistrate to the p̄seryng of their goodes, or for zeale of publike commoditie may sue a gilty and pestilent man to be punished, whom they know that he can not be amended but by death. For Augustine truely expoundeth that all these commaundementes tend to this ende, that a righteous and godly man should be ready to beare patiently the malice of them whome he seeketh to haue made good men, that rather the number of the good maye encrease, not that he should with like malice adde himselfe also to the numbze of the euell: then, that they moze perteyne to the p̄paration of the hart, which is inwardely, than to the woꝝke which is done openly: that in secrete may be kept patience of mynde with good will, but openly that may be doone whiche we see may be profitable to them to whom we ought to beare good will.

But this whiche is wonte to be obiected, that contendynges in lawe are altogether condemned of Paule, is also false. It may easily be perceiued by his woꝝdes, that there was an immeasurable rage of stryuing at lawe in the Chirch of the Coꝝynthians: so farre fooꝝth that they did make the gospell of Christ and the whole religion which they p̄fessed, open to the caullations and euell speakyng of the wycked. This is the fyrst thyng that Paule blameth in them, that by their intemperance of contentios they brought the Gospel in sclander among the vnbeluevs. And then this point also, that in suche soꝝt they stryued among themselves bꝛethzen with bꝛethzen. For they were so farre from bearyng of wzonges, that they greedily gaped one for an others goodes, prouoked one an other, and beyng vnprouoked did hurte. Therfoze he inueyeth agaynst that rage of contendyng, and not simply agaynst all controuerlies. But he pronouiceth that it is a fault or a weakenesse, that they dyd not rather suffer losse of their goodes than to trauayle euen to contentions for the p̄seryng of them: namely when they were so easily moued with euery damage, and for mooste small causes did runne to the court of lawe and to controuerlies, he sayth that this is a pꝛofe that they were of a mynde to ready to anger and not well framed to paciēce. Christians verily ought to do this, that they had alway rather to yelde of their owne right than to go to lawe, from whens they can scarcely get out agayne but with a mynde to muche moued and kindled to hatred of their brother. But when a man seeth that without losse of charitie he may defend his owne, the losse whereof should be a soze hindꝛance vnto him: if he do so, he offendeth nothing against this sayeng of Paule. Finally (as we haue taught in the beginnyng) charitie shall geue euery man best counsell, without whiche whatsoeuer controuerlies are taken  
in hand,



in hande, and beyonde which whatsoeuer do procede, we holde it out of controuersie that they be vniust and wicked.

a. The fyrr duetie of subiectes toward their magistrates is, to thinke moſte honozably of their office, namely which they acknowlege to be a iurisdiction committed of God, and therefore to esteine them and reuerence them as the ministers and deputies of God. For a man may fynd some, which yelde themselues very obedient to their magistrates, and would not that there were not some whome they should obeye, because they so know it to be expedient for the common benefite: but of the magistrates themselues they thinke no otherwise than of certaine necessarie euills. But Peter requireth somewhat more of vs, when he commaundeth that the kyng be honozed: Salomon, when he commaundeth God and the kyng to be feared. For Peter vnder the worde of Honozing conteineth a sincere and well demyng estimation: and Salomon ioyning the kyng with God, sheweth that he is full of a certaine holpe reuerence and dignitie. This is also a notable commendation in Paul, that we obey not onely for wrathe but for conscience. Wherby he meaneth that subiectes ought to be ledde not onely with feare of princes and rulers to be holden in their subiection (as they are wont to yeld to their armed enemy, which see that vengeance shall redily be taken vpon them if they resist) but because the obediences that are shewed to them are shewed to God himselve, forasmuch as their power is of God. I speake not of the men, as if the visor of dignitie dyd couer foolishnesse, or fluggishnesse, or cruelties, or wicked maners and full of mischeuous doying: but I say that the degree it self is worthy of honoz and reuerence: that whosoever be rulers may be esteemed with vs, and haue reuerence, in respecte of their beyng rulers.

Of this then also foloweth an other thyng: that with myndes bente to the honozing of them, declare their obedience in profe to them: whether it be to obey their proclamations, or to paye tribute, or to take in hande publike offices and charges that serue for common defence, or to doo any other of their commaundementes. Let every soule (saith Paul) be subiect to the hyer powers. For he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinaunce of God. The same Paule writeth to Titus: Warne them that they be subiecte to rulers and powers, that they obey the Magistrates, that they be redy to euery good worke. And Peter saith, Be ye subiect to euery humaine creature (or rather as I translate it, Ordinance) for the Lordes sake, either to the kyng as moſte excellent, or to the rulers that are sent by hym, to the punishment in dede of euell doers, but to the praise of well doers. Howeouer that they should testifie that they doo not fayne subiection, but are sincerely and hartily subiect, Paule addeth that they should commend to God the safetie and prosperitie of them vnder whom they lyue. I exhorte (sayth he) that there be made prayers, beseechynges, intercessions, thankesgeuynges for all men, for kynges, and for all that be set in superiozitie, that we may liue a peaceable & quiet life with all godlynesse and honestie. Neither let any man here deceiue himselfe. For sithe the magistrate can not be resisted, but that God himselve must also be resisted: although it may be thought that an vnarmed magistrate may frely be despised, yet God is armed whiche will strongly take vengeance on the dispising of hymselfe, Howeouer vnder this



obedience I contemne moderation, which priuate men ought to bynde themselves to kepe in cases touchyng the publike state, that they do not of their owne head entermedle in publike busineses, or rashely breake into the office of the Magistrate, and enterprize nothyng publikely. If any thyng shall in a publike ordinance be behouefull to be amended, let not themselves rayse byprozes, noz put their handes to the doying of it, whiche they all ought to haue fast bounde in this behalfe: but let them comit it to the iudgement of the magistrate, whose hand alone is herein at libertie. I meane, that they presume to do nothing vncōmanded. For when the commaundment of the ruler is adioyned, then are they also furnished with publike authoritie. For as they are wont to call the counsellors of a king, his eares and eyes: so not vnfitly a man may call them the handes of the prince, whome by his commaundement he setteth in authoritie for the doying of thynges.

24 Nowe forasmuche as we haue hether to described a magistrate suche as is in dede the same that he is called, namely the father of the contree, and (as the Poete calleth hym) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousnesse, the reuenger of innocēce: he is worthily to be iudged a madde man, that alloweth not suche a gouernement. But wheras this is in a maner the experience of all ages, that of princes some beyng carelesse of al thyngs to the foreselyng wherof they ought to haue ben hedefully bent, doo without all care slothfully wallowe in delites: other some addicted to their gaine, doo set out to sale all lawes, priuileges, iudgements, and grauntes: other somme spoile the pooze communitie of money whiche they may after waste vpon mad prodigall expendynges: other some exercise mere robberies, in pillying of houses, defilyng of virgins and matrones, murtheryng of innocētes: many can not be perswaded that suche shoulde be acknowleged for princes, whoes authoritie they ought to obey so farre as they may. For in so great haynous vnworthinesse, among doynges so much contrarie to the duetie not onely of a magistrate, but also of a man, they beholde no forme of the image of God whiche ought to shyne in a Magistrate: when they see no token of that minister of God, whiche was geuen for praise to the good and for vengeance to the euell: so neither do they also acknowlege such a Gouernoz, whoes dignitie and authoritie the Scripture commendeth vnto vs. And truely this selyng of affection hath alway ben naturally planted in the myndes of men, no lesse to hate and abhorre tyrantes, than to loue and honoz lawfull kynges.

25 We loke to the worde of God, it will leade vs further, that we be not only to the gouernement of those princes which execute their office towarde vs well and with suche faithfulnessse as they ought, but also of all them, which by what meane soener it be, haue the dominion in possession although they perfozme nothyng lesse thā that which pertaineth to the duetie of princes. For though the Lord testifieth that the magistrate is a speciall great gift of his liberalitie for prescryng of the safetie of men, and appoynteth to magistrates themselves theyz boundes: yet he dothe therwithall declare, that of what sort soener they be, they haue not their authoritie but from him: that those in dede, which rule for benefite of the comon weale, are true examplars and paternes of his bountifullnesse: that they that rule vnjustly and wilfully, are raysed  
by by



by hym to punishe the wickednesse of the people: that all egaully haue that maiestie wherewith he hath furnished a lawfull power. I will procede no further, till I haue added some certayne testimonies of that point. Yet we nede not muche to laboz to proue that a wicked King is the wra<sup>th</sup> of God vpon the earth, for asmuche as I thinke that no man will say the contrary, and otherwise there should be no more sayed of a King than of a common robber that violently taketh away thy goods, and of an adoulturer that defileth thy bed, of a murthurer that seeketh to kill thee, wheras the Scripture rekeneth all such calamities among the curses of God. But let vs rather tary vpon prouing that, which doth not so easly settle in the mindes of men: that in a most noughty man, & most vnwozthy of al honoz, if so that he haue the publike power in possession, remayneth that noble and diuine power which the Lozde hath by his wo<sup>rd</sup>e geuen to the ministers of hys righteoulnesse & iugement: and therfore that he ought of hys subiectes to be had in as great reuerence & estimation, so much as pertaineth to publike obedience, as they would haue the best King if he were geuen them.

First I would haue y<sup>e</sup> Reders to perceiue and diligently marke that prouidēce and singular doinges of God, which is in the Scripture not without cause so oft rehearsed vnto vs, in distributing of kingdomes & making Kinges whom it pleaseh him. In Daniel, it is sayd: The lozde chāgeth tymes, & courses of tymes, he casteth away & maketh Kinges. Agayne: That y<sup>e</sup> liuing may know that the Hiest is mighty in tye kingdome of men, & he shal geue it to whō he wil. With which maner of sentences wheras the whole Scripture aboundeth, yet that same prophecy of Daniel specially swarmeth ful. Now what maner of King was Nabuchadonezar, he that conquered Hierusalem, it is sufficiently knowen, namely a strōg invader and destroyer of other. Yet in Ezechiel the lord affirmeth that he gaue hym the lande of Egypt for the seruice y<sup>e</sup> he had done to hym in wastying it. And Daniell sayd to hym: Thou King arte the King of Kinges, to whome the King of heauens hath geuen a mightie, and strong, and glorio<sup>us</sup> kyngdome: to thee, I saye, he hath geuen it, and all the landes where dwell the children of men, the beastes of the wood, and fowles of the ayre: he hath deliuered them into thy hande, and hath made thee to beare rule ouer them. Agayne he sayed to hys sonne Belsasar: The hyste God hath geuen to Nabuchadonezar thy father kyngdome and royaltie, honoz and glozy: and by reason of the royaltie that he gaue hym all peoples, tribes, and languages were trembling and fearfull at his sighte. When we heare that a King is ordeined of GOD, let vs therof call to remembrance those heauenly warnynges concernyng the honozing & feating of a King: then we shal not dout to accompt a most wicked tyzant in the same place wherin the Lozde hath vouchesaued to set him. Samuell, when he gaue warnyng to the people of Israel, what maner of thyngs they shold suffer at the handes of their Kinges, sayd: This shalbe the right of the king that shal reigne ouer you: he shal take your sonnes and put them to his chariot, to make them his hozsmen, & to plow his land, & reape his crophe, & to make instrumentes of warre. He shal take your daughters, that they may be his dressers of ointmentes, his cookes & bakers. Your lāds, your vineyardes, & your best Oliue



plattes he shall take away and geue to his bonde seruantes. He shall take tithes of your sedes and binyardes, and shall geue them to his eunuches and bonde seruantes. He shall take away your bonde men, your bonde women & your asses, and set them to his worke. Yea and he shall take tithes of your flockes: and ye shall be his bonde seruantes. Verily Kinges should not haue done this of right, whome the Law did very wel instruct to al continence: but it was called a right ouer the people whiche it behoued them of necessitie to obey, and they might not resist it: as if Samuell had sayd, The wilfulnesse of Kinges shall runne to such licenciousnesse, which it shall not be your part to resist, to whome this onely thing shall be left, to obey their commaundementes and harken to their worde.

27

Jer. xxvii  
b.

But chesely there is in Ieremie a notable place and worthy to be remembred, which although it be somewhat long, yet I wil be content to rehearse, because it most plainly determineth this whole question. I haue made the earth and men, sayth the Lorde, and the liuing creatures that are on the ouerface of the earth in my great strength and stretched out arme, and I wil deliuer it to hym whom it pleaseth in my eyes. And now therfore I haue geuen all these landes into the hand of Nabuchadnezar my seruante, and all nations and great Kinges shall serue hym, tyll the tyme shall come of that lande. And it shall be as a nation and a kingdom that hath not serued the Kyng of Babel, I wil visit that nation in swerde, famine, and pestilence. Wherefore, serue ye the Kyng of Babel and lyue. We see with how greate obedience the Lorde wylled that cruell and proude tyzant to be honored, for no other reason but because he possessed the kingdom. And the same was by the heauenly decree, that he was set in the throne of the kyngdome, and taken by into kingly maiestie, which it was vnlawful to violate. If we haue thys continually before our myndes and eyes, that euen the worst Kinges are ordeyned by the same decree by which the authozitie of Kinges is stablished: these seditious thoughtes shall neuer come into our mynde, that a Kyng is to be handeled according to his deseruinges, and that it is not mete that we shoulde thewe our selues subiectes to hym that deeth not on hys behalfe thewe hymselfe a Kyng to vs.

28

Droue.  
xxviii. ii.  
Job. xii.  
xxii.  
Ier. xlv  
vii.

In bayne shall any man object that thys was a peculiar commaundemente to the Israelites. For it is to be noted with what reason the Lorde confirmeth it. I haue geuen (sayeth he) the kyngdome to Nabuchadnezar. Wherefore serue ye hym and lyue. To whome soeuer therfore it shall be certayne that the kyngdome is geuen, let vs not dout that he is to be obeyed. And so sone as the Lord aduanceth any man to the topall estate, he therein declareth hys will to vs that he will haue hym reigne. For therof are generall testimonies of the Scripture. Salomō in the xxviii. Chapter, Many Princes are because of the wickednesse of the people. Againe Job in the xii. chapter, He taketh away subiectiō fro Kinges, and girdeth them againe with the girdle. But thys being confessed, there remaineth nothing but that we must serue and liue. There is also in Ieremie the Prophet an other commaundement of the Lord, wherin he commaundeth hys people to seke the peace of Babilō, wher they had ben led away captiue, and to pray to hym for it, because in the peace of it shoulde be their peace. Beholde the Israelites beyng spoiled



spoiled of al their goods, plucked out of their houses, led away into exile, and cast into miserable bondage; are commaunded to pray for the safetie of the Conqueror: not as in other places we are commaunded to pray for our persecuters: but that þ kingdom may be preserved to himselfe and quiet, that they themselves may also liue prosperously vnder hym. So Dauid being already appointed King by the ordinance of God, and annointed with his holy oyle, when he was without any hys deserving vnbworthly persecuted of Saul, yet the head of him that layed waite for hys lyfe, he esteemed holy, which the Lord had hallowed w<sup>th</sup> the honoz of kingdome. Farre be it from me (sayd he) that I should be for the Lord do thys thng to my Lorde the annointed of the Lorde, that I should laye my hande vpon hym, because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, My soule hath spared thee, and I haue sayd, I will not laye my hande vpon my Lorde, because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, Who shall lay his hande vpon the annointed of the Lord, and shall be innocēt: So sure as the Lord liueth, vnlesse the Lord strike hym, or his day be come that he dye, or he goe down into battell: farr be it from me that I should lay my hande vpon the annointed of þ Lorde.

Finally we owe this affection of reuerence yea and deuotion to all our rulers, of what sort soeuer they be. Which I do therfoze the oftener repete, that we may learne not to searche what the men themselves be; but take this for sufficiente, that by the will of the Lord they beare that personage, in which the Lord himself hath emprinted and engraued an inuolable maiestie. But (thou wilt say) Rulers owe mutuall duties to their subiectes. That I haue already confessed. But if thou therupon conclude, that obediences are to be rendred to none but to iuste gouernementes, thou art a foolish reasoner. For, husbandes also are bounde to their wiues and parentes to their children with mutuall duties: Let parentes and husbandes depart frō their dutie: let parentes be to themselves so hard and vnpleasable to their children, whom they are forbidden to prouoke to anger, that with their penitnesse they do vnrascably wery them: let the husbandes most despitefully vse their wyues, whom they are commaunded to loue, and to spare them as weake vessels: shall yet therfoze either children be lesse obediēt to their parentes or wyues to their husbandes: But they are subiect both to euil parentes and husbandes and suche as do not their dutie. Yea, wheras all ought rather to endeuor themselves not to looke behynde them to the bagge hanging at their backe, that is, not to enquire one of an others duties, but euery man set before hym that which is his own dutie: this ought chiefly to haue place among those that are vnder the power of other. Wherfoze if we be vnmmercifully tormētēd of a cruel Prince, if we be rauenuously spoiled of a couietous or tyrotous Prince: if we be neglected of a slouthfull Prince, finally if we be bered for godlinesse sake of a wicked and vngodly Prince: let vs first cal to minde the remembzance of our sinnes, which vndoutedly are chastised with suche scourges of the Lord. Therby humilitie shall brydle our impatience. Let vs the also call to minde this thought, þ it pertaineth not to vs to remedy suche euells: but this only is left for vs, þ we craue þ helpe of þ Lord, in whoes hand are the hartes of Kinges, & the bowinges of kingdomes: He is þ God that shall stande in the assemblie of gods, and shall in the middest iudge



the gods from whoes face al Kinges shal fal, and be broken, and al the iudges of the earth that shal haue not kissed his annoined, that haue written vniust lawes to oppresse the pooze in iugemēt, and do violence to the cause of the humble, to make widowes a pray, and robbe the fatherlesse.

And here both his maruelous goodnesse, & power, & prouidence sheweth it selfe: for somtyme of hys seruantes he raiseth vp open reuēgets, and furnissheth them with hys commaundement, to take vengeance of their vniust gouernement, and to deliuer hys people many wayes oppressed out of miserable distresse: somtyme he directeth to the same end the rage of men that entēde and goe about an other thing. So he deliuered the people of Israel out of the tirannie of Pharao, by Moses: and out of the violence of Chusam king of Syria, by Orhoniel: and oute of other thraldomes, by other kynges or Iudges. So he tamed the pryde of Tyrius, by the Egyptians: the insolence of the Egyptians, by the Assyrians: the fercenesse of the Assyrians, by the Chaldees: the boldnesse of Babilon, by the Medians, and by the Persians when Cyrius hadde subdued the Medians. And the vnthākefulnesse of the Kinges of Iuda and Israel, and their wicked obstinatie toward his so many benefites, he did beate downe and bying to distresse somtyme by the Assyrians, somtyme by the Babilonians, albeit not al after one maner. For, y first sort of men when they were by the lawfull calling of God sent to do such actes: in taking armure against Kinges, they did not violate that maiestie which is planted in Kinges by the ordinance of God: but being armed from heaue they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like as it is lawfull for Kinges to punish their Lordes vnder them. But these latter sort, although they wer directed by the hand of God whether it pleased him, and they vnbuitingly did his work, yet purposed in their mind nothing but mischefe.

But howsoeuer the very doinges of men be iudged, yet the Lord dyd as wel execute hys worke by them, when he did breake the bloody scepters of proude Kinges, and overthrow their intolerable gouernemētes. Let Princes heare & be affrayde. But we in the meane tyme must take greate hede, that we do not despise or offende that authoritie of Magistrates full of reuerend maiestie, whiche God hath stablished with most weighty decrees, although it remaine with mosse vnworthy men, and which doe with their wickednesse, so muche as in them is, defyle it. For though the correcting of vnbriyled gouernement be the reuengement of the Lorde, let vs not by and by thynke that it is committed to vs, to whom there is geuen no other commaundement but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of priuate men. For if there be at thys time any Magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time wer y Ephori, that were set against the Kinges of Lacedomonias or the Tribunes of y people, against the Romane Cōsuls: or the Demarchi, against the Senate of Athenes: & the same power also which paraduēture, as things are now, the three estates haue in every realme, when they holde their principal assemblies) I do so not forbide them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousnesse of Kinges, that I affirme that if they winke at Kinges wilfully raging ouer and treading down the pooze communalitie, their dissembling is not without wycked breache



breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, wherof they know themselves to be appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.

Ⓞ + But in that obedience whiche we haue determined to be due to the authorities of Governours, this is alway to be excepted, yea chesely to be obserued, that it do not leade vs away from obeying of hym, to whoes will & desires of al Kinges ought to be subiect, to whoes decrees al their commaundementes ought to yelde, to whoes maiestie their maces ought to be submitted. And truely how vnorderly were it, for the satisfieng of men to ruine into his displeasure for whom men themselves are obeyed: The Lord therfore is the King of Kinges: who, whē he hath opened hys holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and aboue al: next to hym we be subiect to those men that are set ouer vs: but no otherwise than in hym. If they commaunde any thing against him, let it haue no place and let no accompt be made of it: neither let vs herein any thing say vpon al that dignitie wherewith the Magistrates excell, to whiche there is no wrong done, when it is brought into order of subiection in comparison of that singular and truely soueraigne power of God. After thys reason Daniell denied that he had any thyng offended against the King, when he obeyed not hys wicked proclamation: because the King had passed his boundes, and had not only ben a wrong doer to men, but in lifting vp hys hornes against God he had taken awaye power from hymselfe. On the other side the Israelites are condemned, because they were to much obedient to the wicked commaudemēt of the King. For when Jerobeam had made golden calves, they forsaking the temple of God, did for his pleasure turne to newe superstitions. With like lightnesse their posteritie inclined themselves to the ordināces of their Kings. With this the Prophet that ply reprocheth them, that they embraced the commaundementes of the King: so farr is it of, that the pretense of humilitie may deserue praise, wherewith the flatteres of the court do couer themselves and deceiue the simple, while they say that it is not lawfull for them to refuse any thyng that is commaunded them of their Princes: as though God had resigned hys right to mortal men, geuing them the rule of mankinde: or as though the earthly power were diminished, when it is made subiect to the author of it, befoze whome euen the heavenly powers do humbly tremble for feare. I know how greate and how present perill hangeth ouer thys constantie, because Kinges doe most displeasantly suffer themselves to be despised, whoes displeasure (sayth Salomon) is the messenger of death. But sith this decree is proclaimed by the heavenly harald Peter. That we ought to obey God rather than men, let vs comfort our selues with thys thoughte, that we then perfozme that obediēce which the Lord requirerh, when we suffer any thing rather whatsoeuer it be, than swarue from Godlinesse. And that our courages shold not faint, Paul putteth also an other spurre to vs. That we were therfore redemed of Christ with so great a price as our redemption cost hym, that we should not yelde our selues in thraldome to obey the peruerse desires of men, but much lesse should be bound to vngodlynesse. +

Prayse be to God.

T.N.

Ps. iii.

32

Dan. vi.  
xiii.Dse. v.  
xiii.  
1. Sam. xxi  
iii.

Ac. x. vi

1. Cor. vi  
xiii.



# What Chapters are contei-

ned in the boke of this Institution.

In the first boke Which entreateth of the know-  
lege of God the Creator. Are contained,

XViii. Chapters.

- 1 **W**hat the knowlege of God, and of our selues, are thinges con-  
ioyned: and how they be lincked the one with the other.
- 2 **W**hat it is to know God, and to what ende tendeth the know-  
lege of hym.
- 3 **T**hat the knowlege of God is naturally planted in the mindes of  
men.
- 4 **T**hat the same knowlege is either choked, or corrupted, partly by ig-  
norance, and partly by malice.
- 5 **T**hat the knowlege of God doth shiningly appeare in the making of  
the world and in the continual gouernement therof.
- 6 **T**hat, to attaine to God the Creator, it is nedeful to haue y<sup>e</sup> Scrip-  
ture to be our guide and maistresse.
- 7 **B**y what testimonie the Scripture ought to be stablised, that is by  
the witnessse of the Holy ghost, that the authozitie therof maye re-  
maine certaine. And that it is a wicked inuention to say that the  
Credit therof doth hang vpon the iudgement of the Chirche.
- 8 **T**hat so farr as mans reason may beare, there are sufficient pzoues  
to stablische the credit of Scripture.
- 9 **T**hat those phanaticall men, which forsaking Scripture, resozt vnto  
reuelation, doe ouerthrowe al the principles of godlinesse.
- 10 **T**hat the Scripture, to correct all superstitiō, doth in comparison set  
the true God against al the gods of y<sup>e</sup> gentiles, reckening him for  
none of them.
- 11 **T**hat it is vnlawful to attribute vnto God a visibill forme, and that  
generally, they forsake God, so many as doe erectte to themselues  
any images.
- 12 **T**hat God is seuerally discerned from idols, that he may be only and  
wholly worshipped.
- 13 **T**hat there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the  
very creation, which essence containeth in it thzee persons.
- 14 **T**hat the Scripture euen in the creation of the world and of all  
thinges doth by certaine markes put difference betwene the true  
God, and fayned gods.
- 15 **W**hat a one man was created: where in there is entreated of the po-  
wers of the soule, of the image of God, of free wil and of the firste  
integritie of nature.
- 16 **T**hat God by hys power dothe nourishe and mainteine the worlde,  
which himselve hath created, and by hys pzovidence doeth gouerne  
all the partes therof.
- 17 **W**here to and to what ende this doctrine is to be applied, that we  
may be certaine of the pzoffit therof.

That



- 18 That God doth so ble the seruiſe of wicked men, and so boweth their myndes to put his iudgement in execution, that yet ſtyll hymſelfe remaineth pure from all ſpott.

**I**n the ſecond Booke Which intreateth of the knowledge of God the Redemer in Chriſt, which knowledge was firſt opened to the fathers in the tyme of the lawes, and then to vs in the Goſpell. Are conteyned,

XVII. Chapters.

- 1 That by Adams ſynne and falling away, mankynd became accuſed, and did degenerate from his fyrſt eſtate: wherein is entreated of Originall ſinne.
- 2 That man is nowe ſpoyled of the freedome of will, and made ſubject to miſerable bondage.
- 3 That out of the corrupt nature of man procedeth nothyng but damnable.
- 4 Howe god worketh in the hartes of men.
- 5 A confutation of the obiections that are wont to be brought for the defence of free will.
- 6 That man beyng loſte muſt ſeke for redemption in Chriſte.
- 7 That the lawe was geuen, not to holde ſtill the people in it, but to noyſe the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt vntill his comyng.
- 8 An expoſition of the moꝛall lawe.
- 9 That Chriſt although he was knowen to the Jewes vnder the lawe, yet was deliuered onely by the Goſpell.
- 10 Of the likenesse of the olde and newe teſtament.
- 11 Of the difference of the one teſtament from the other.
- 12 That it behoued, that Chriſt to perfoꝛme the office of the Mediator ſhould be made man.
- 13 That Chriſt toke vpon him the true ſubſtance of the fleſhe of man.
- 14 Howe the two natures of the Mediator do make one perſon.
- 15 That we may knowe to what ende Chriſt was ſent of his father, & what he brought vs: three thinges are principally to be conſidered in him, his Propheticall office, his Kingdome, and his Prieſthod.
- 16 Howe Chriſt hath fulfilled the office of Redemer, to purchaſe ſaluation for vs, wherein is entreated of his Death, and Reſurrection, and his Aſcendyng into heauen.
- 17 That it is truely and propꝛely ſaid, that Chriſt hath deſerued Gods fauor and ſaluation for vs.

**I**n the thirde Booke whiche entreateth of the maner how to receiue the grace of Chriſte, and what fruites come thereof to vs, and what effectes folowe of it. Are conteyned,

XXV. Chapters.

- 1 That thoſe thynges which are ſpoken of Chriſt do profite vs, by ſecrete workyng of the Holy ghoſte.
- 2 Of faith, wherein bothe is the definition of it, and the propꝛeties



- ties that it hath are declared.
- 3 That we are regenerate by faith, wherein is intreated of repentance.
  - 4 That all that the Sophisters babble in their schooles of penance is farre from the purenesse of the Gospell, where is intreated of Confession, and Satisfaction.
  - 5 Of the supplyngs which they adde to satisfactions, as Pardons and Purgatorie.
  - 6 Of the life of a christen man: And firste by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs therunto.
  - 7 The summe of a Christian life: where is entreated of the forsaaking of our selues.
  - 8 Of the bearyng of the Crosse, whiche is a parte of the forsaaking of our selues.
  - 9 Of the meditation of the life to come.
  - 10 How we ought to vse this present lyfe, and the helpes therof.
  - 11 Of the Justification of faith, and first of the definition of the name and of the thyng.
  - 12 That to the ende we may be fully perswaded of the free iustification, we must lift vp our myndes to the iudgement seate of God.
  - 13 That there are two thynges to be marked in free iustification.
  - 14 What is þe beginning of iustificatio, & the cōtinuall proceeding therof.
  - 15 That those thynges that are commonly boasted concernyng the merites of workes, doo ouerthrowe aswell the praise of God in geuyng of ryghteousnesse, as also the assurednesse of saluation.
  - 16 A confutation of the sclanders, wherby the Papistes goe aboute to byng this doctrine in hatred.
  - 17 The agreement of the promises of the Lawe and the Gospell.
  - 18 That of the rewarde, the righteousnesse of workes is ill gathered.
  - 19 Of Christian libertie.
  - 20 Of Prayer which is the chefe exercise of faith, and wherby we daily receiue the benefites of God.
  - 21 Of the Eternall election, wherby God hath the predestinate some to saluation, other some to destruction.
  - 22 A cōfirmation of this doctrine by the testimonies of the Scripture.
  - 23 A confutation of the sclanders, wherwith this doctrine hath alway ben vniustly charged.
  - 24 That Electio is stablished by the calling of God: & that the reprobate do bring vpon the selues þe iust destructio, to which thei ar appointed.
  - 25 Of the last Resurrection.

In the fowerth Boke which entreateth Of the meanes  
or helpes wherby God calleth vs into the felowshyp of  
Christ, and holdeth vs in it, are contained  
XX. Chapters.

- 1 Of the true Chirche with which we ought to kepe vnitie, because it is the mother of all the godly.
- 2 A comparison of the false Chirche with the true Chirche.
- 3 Of the teachers and ministers of the Chirch, and of their election and office.



The Table.

- 4 Of the state of the olde Chirch, and of the maner of gouernyng that was in vse befoze the Papacie.
- 5 That the olde foyme of gouernement is vtterly ouerthrowen by the tyrannie of the Papacie.
- 6 Of the supzemicie of the See of Rome.
- 7 Of the begynnynge and encreacyng of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduanced it selfe to this heygth, wherby bothe the libertie of the Chirche hath been oppzessed, and all the right gouernement thereof ouerthrowen.
- 8 Of the power of the Chirche as touchyng the articles of faith: and with howe vnbzidled licentiousnesse it hath in the Papacie been wozsted to cozrupte all purenesse of doctrine.
- 9 Of Counsellis and of their authozitie.
- 10 Of the power in makyng of lawes: wherin the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyrannie and butcherie vpon soules.
- 11 Of the iurisdiction of the Chirche, and the abuse therof, suche as is sene in the Papacie.
- 12 Of the discipline of the Chirche, wherof the chiefe vse is in the Censures and excommunication.
- 13 Of vobes, by rashe promisyng wherof echeman hath miserably entangled hym selfe.
- 14 Of Sacramentes.
- 15 Of Baptisme.
- 16 That the Baptisme of infantis doothe very well agree with the institution of Chzist, and the nature of the signe.
- 17 Of the holy Supper of Chziste: and what it anayleth vs.
- 18 Of the Popishe Masse, by whiche sacrilege the Supper of Chziste hath not onely ben pzophaned, but also brought to nought.
- 19 Of the five falsely named Sacramentes: where is declared, that the other fiue whiche haue ben hetherco commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not sacramentes: and then is shewed what maner of thynges they be.
- 20 Of Ciuille gouernement.



A Table of the chiefe maters contained  
in this Booke.

A.

**A**dmans fall. the. 2. Boke first chap.  
Angells. the first Boke. 14. chap.  
Ancynting. See vncion.  
Ascending of Christ into heauen.  
the. 2. Boke. 16. chap.

B.

Baptisme. 4. Boke. 15. chap.  
Baptisme of Infantes. 4. Boke. 16. chap.

C.

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